INTERSTATE MIGRATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
THIRD SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 63 and H. Res. 491

RESOLUTIONS TO INQUIRE INTO THE INTERSTATE
MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS, TO STUDY,
SURVEY, AND INVESTIGATE THE SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC NEEDS AND THE MOVEMENT OF
INDIGENT PERSONS ACROSS STATE LINES

PART 6
SAN FRANCISCO HEARINGS

SEPTEMBER 24 AND 25, 1940

Printed for the use of the Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens

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SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS

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Bauer, Miss Catherine, secretary of California Housing Association; Rosenberg professor, University of California; consultant to United States Housing Authority. Address: 2525 Hill Court, Berkeley, Calif	2570, 2581
Benedict, Dr. M. R., of the College of Agriculture, University of California. Address: Berkeley, Calif	2468, 2495
Clawson, Marion, principal field representative, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Address: Spokane, Wash	2635, 2691
DeLong, William W., former Nebraska farmer. Address: Willow Creek, Oreg	2710
Derryberry, Thomas L., former Oklahoma farmer. Address: Firebaugh Camp, Calif	2207
Douglas, Mrs. Helen Gahagan. Address: Hollywood (Los Angeles), Calif	2402
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Frye, Horace E., former Missouri farmer. Address: 932 K Street, Sanger, Calif	2419
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INTERSTATE MIGRATION

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., September 24, 1940, in room 276 in the Post Office Building, San Francisco, Calif., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman) presiding.

Present were Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), of California; John J. Sparkman, of Alabama; Carl T. Curtis, of Nebraska; and Frank C. Osmers, Jr., of New Jersey.

Also present were Dr. Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; Dr. Edward J. Rowell, chief field investigator; Edwin Bates, field investigator; and Alice M. Tuohy, field secretary.

The Chairman. The committee will please come to order.

Mr. Reporter, note in your record that Congressman Curtis, of Nebraska, Congressman Sparkman, of Alabama, and Congressman Osmers, of New Jersey, are present, and that Congressman Parsons, of Illinois, was called back to Washington on official business.

The Chairman. Will Mr. Albert J. Woods please take the witness stand?

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT J. WOODS, FIREBAUGH CAMP, CALIFORNIA

The Chairman. I want to say to you, Mr. Woods, that we are glad to have you here and you can relax because this committee does not "show up" any witness. We don't cross-examine you, except to get the facts. We have not issued a subpena, and at all our hearings we have not attempted to show-up any witness. So you just be yourself and tell your story in your own way.

The Chairman. What is your full name?

Mr. Woods. Albert Jesse. I sign my name, "Albert J. Woods."

The Chairman. Where are you living now?

Mr. Woods. I am living at Firebaugh Camp.

The Chairman. Where is that?

Mr. Woods. That is, oh, something like 200 miles from here.

The Chairman. Two hundred miles south from here?

Mr. Woods. A little east, I suppose. Isn't it southeast?

The Chairman. It is in California, is it not?

Mr. Woods. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Where were you born?

Mr. Woods. Texas.

The Chairman. How old are you?

Mr. Woods. Sixty-four.

The Chairman. How many are there in your family, Mr. Woods?

Mr. Woods. There are just three in our family at the present time, at home.

The Chairman. How many children did you have?

Mr. Woods. You mean living?

The Chairman. Yes.

Mr. Woods. Well, I have five children living.

The Chairman. How many dead?

Mr. Woods. Five dead.

The Chairman. Are any of your children living with you now?

Mr. Woods. One; one girl.

The Chairman. How old is she?

Mr. Woods. Eleven years old.

The Chairman. Is your wife living?

Mr. Woods. Yes; the last wife.

The Chairman. You started farming in Texas; did you not?

Mr. Woods. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. When?

Mr. Woods. Well, let's see. I couldn't exactly give the date, like I have told some of them this morning, just to give the date of these things, but I was about 14 years old. I took the farm over from my mother. My father died when I was 14.

The Chairman. How long did you farm in Texas?

Mr. Woods. Well, I farmed there practically all of my life, as far as that is concerned. But we left out of there—I farmed on this—in Texas some years after that. I don't just remember how long, but in the period of time I moved to Childress, Tex.

The Chairman. Well, why did you leave Texas?

Mr. Woods. Oh, well, you see, along about that time was when the boll weevil hit. I moved into Fannin County in Texas. The boll weevils hit in this country where I was and it got so hard to farm I pulled out. And I went from there to Childress, Tex., and I went into the railroad yards, sold my stock after I came out to Childress.

The Chairman. Then after that you went to Arkansas?

Mr. Woods. No. I went back to Texas, back to Fannin County, Tex.

The Chairman. Did you farm there again?

Mr. Woods. Yes.

The Chairman. Then when did you leave Texas?

Mr. Woods. Well, my mother died, and a short while after we went back there I bought out the heirs of the estate. I bought 110 acres, and I farmed on there until right after the World War ended, and then moved to Mena, Ark., for about 3 years.

The Chairman. Then what became of your farm in Arkansas?

Mr. Woods. Well, you see, I sold out in Fannin County and went over and bought 228 acres of land about 12 miles east of Mena.

The Chairman. What became of that ranch?

Mr. Woods. I sold out and traded it off later for a quarter of a section close to Childress, Tex.

The Chairman. What were your best years on the west Texas lands?

Mr. Woods. My best year was 1929.

The Chairman. When did you leave west Texas?

Mr. Woods. Well, the drought was then. I suppose you folks read all about that dust in there, the sand.

The Chairman. In other words, you could not make a living in west Texas on account of the drought; is that right?

Mr. Woods. That's right.

The Chairman. You couldn't raise anything; is that the idea?

Mr. Woods. Well, now, in '31 I made a good crop, but that is when it hit me the hardest, in '31. We made a bumper crop on the place, but I got 18 cents a bushel for my wheat and 17 cents for row-crop stuff such as maize. That's what hurt me. That is the year that hurt me most there.

The Chairman. When did you move to California?

Mr. Woods. I came here, I guess, the 10th of last September, this last September a year ago.

The Chairman. Why did you come to California?

Mr. Woods. Well, it looked—of course, now, I made another move from Mena, Ark., when I bought this place, and then I moved back to Childress and worked 2 years at the shop, and then went from there to the Plains, but that's the way I made it.

The Chairman. Well, you came to California last September?

Mr. Woods. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Why did you come to California?

Mr. Woods. Well, we wasn't making anything there after moving over to Arkansas in '36. I bought a farm there—40 acres—and didn't have but little money when I got back there. I didn't have very much money there to get by on, but I thought I had enough, and I thought I could get back there and put a few cattle on the ranch.

The Chairman. Did you have much money when you hit California?

Mr. Woods. We had about $350 in money when we got here.

The Chairman. What did you do when you got here in California?

Mr. Woods. We got here on the 10th, and the 23d day of September I took an oil station from the Signal Oil people.

The Chairman. Did you make it go at the oil station?

Mr. Woods. No. That is where I got set flat with what little I had. We run that station about 3 months, I believe, lacking about 3 days of being 3 months. We lost money there in the station all the time. They got us a dead corner; didn't know it at the time. I spent a lot of money advertising. They promised me a lot of good things on this corner, but it had changed hands by all of the companies, different oil companies, three different times in the last 3 years. But you know about what that does for an oil station. Well, I done lots of work, and we got up about 2 weeks before they pulled this deal on me. We were just about breaking even on the station, and so I sold out. I sold out to them fair and square. He was to give me a check for $375, and after I got the inventory taken and signed up, he refused to do this.

Well, I got mad and said some things to him I oughtn't have said, I suppose. He got in his car and pulled out, and the second day they came up and wanted an attachment on my car of $152.48 I owed the Signal Oil people. But this was to be included in this trade, and he ran an attachment on my car. I was just——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Mr. Woods, the committee is not so interested——

Mr. WOODS (interposing). How is that?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is not so interested in this attachment. Anyway, you lost your place?

Mr. WOODS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been on relief?

Mr. WOODS. Not until after this station affair.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you go on relief in California?

Mr. WOODS. I got my first help along in January, I reckon—January or February.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you absolutely broke at the time?

Mr. WOODS. I had $3.50 when I went on relief.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you on relief now?

Mr. WOODS. Yes. I have been.

The CHAIRMAN. What are you doing in Firebaugh now?

Mr. WOODS. We are picking cotton at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Picking cotton?

Mr. WOODS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who do you mean by "we"?

Mr. WOODS. That's me and my wife.

The CHAIRMAN. How much do you earn?

Mr. WOODS. Well, of course, the cotton picking hasn't opened up right well yet. We have made right around $5 a day. Of course, the cotton picking hasn't opened up, and we figure we will make $5 or $6 a day.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your wife pick cotton alongside of you?

Mr. WOODS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How old is your wife?

Mr. WOODS. Forty-eight.

Mr. CURTIS. I am interested in the farm situation that you had to leave. How many acres did you farm most of the time; about how big a farm?

Mr. WOODS. Where was that now?

Mr. CURTIS. In the original home in Texas.

Mr. WOODS. In Texas I had 640 acres.

Mr. CURTIS. What was the average rainfall, about?

Mr. WOODS. Just exactly what that was, I really couldn't say.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, in west Texas, what was your nearest large city?

Mr. WOODS. Well, Amarillo was our nearest large city.

Mr. CURTIS. How far and in what direction were you from Amarillo?

Mr. WOODS. Southwest.

Mr. CURTIS. How much land did you farm in Arkansas?

Mr. WOODS. Well, when I first went over into Arkansas the farm I bought was 220 acres. It was about, oh, 60 or 75 acres in cultivation on that, not including the hay meadows.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, when you were farming in Texas what were your principal crops?

Mr. WOODS. Well, really just wheat and row-crop stuff—kafir, maize, and corn.

Mr. CURTIS. How many milk cows did you keep?

Mr. WOODS. Well, we run anyway from 3 to 18.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you sell cream and butter?

Mr. WOODS. Yes; sold cream.

Mr. CURTIS. About how much would your cream check run a week?

Mr. WOODS. The last year we were in west Texas our cream checks was running right around from eighty-five to a hundred dollars a month.

Mr. CURTIS. What livestock did you have when you went to Arkansas?

Mr. WOODS. I disremember just how many. We had 18 milk cows. I think maybe we had 20 milk cows when we sold out, and I had a few heifers.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you happier off the farm than you were on?

Mr. WOODS. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You are a natural-born farmer?

Mr. WOODS. Yes. I love the farm. I always taught—tried to teach them to love the farm—the kids.

Mr. CURTIS. It is a question of getting a farm to produce in accordance with the price of it and the amount of interest you have to pay, together with a fair price for what you have to sell?

Mr. WOODS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN In other words, Mr. Woods, you are like thousands of others in the South, or in the Great Plains States, who find when there comes a time that you cannot make a living you have got to move; is that right?

Mr. WOODS. That's right.

Mr. CURTIS. One more question I think the record should show. This was the 640-acre farm; that is the one you bought of your family?

Mr. WOODS. No. I bought this land from J. B. Anderson, of Farwell, Tex.

Mr. CURTIS. How much did you pay for that?

Mr. WOODS. I think that was $40 an acre. It kind of slipped my mind. I could get some papers and figure up on that. You see, I had this quarter section. I first bought a half section, and when I first went on the plains I bought that through the Senator people there. I don't know. It's something that they bought this land up years and years ago and selling it out, and they got me on this half section of land, and later I found this section that I got cheaper, and I turned this back to them, lost my first down payment on that.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, now, at the time you gave up there in Texas, how much of a mortgage did you owe on the entire tract?

Mr. WOODS. On the entire property when I bought this section?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. At the time you quit.

Mr. WOODS. Let's see. When I let it go I owed $3,100.

Mr. CURTIS. $3,100. At about what rate of interest?

Mr. WOODS. I believe that was 8 percent.

Mr. CURTIS. It was that interest load that got you down, was it not?

Mr. WOODS. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. WOODS. In 19—you see, in '29 I had taken up all these individual notes. I only had left there—it left me $2,100.

Mr. OSMERS. Where are you staying now, Mr. Woods?

Mr. WOODS. At Firebaugh.

Mr. OSMERS. A Government camp?

Mr. WOODS. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. A Federal camp?

Mr. WOODS. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you pay anything to stay there, or is that absolutely free?

Mr. WOODS. Well, the camp, of course, we work that out. We pay a camp dues now, a dollar a month.

Mr. OSMERS. That is, $1 a month for you, your wife, and your youngster?

Mr. WOODS. That is for the camp-fund money.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes. They have a little pool?

Mr. WOODS. No charge is made for the cabin, and so forth. We work that out.

Mr. OSMERS. You say you are on relief now?

Mr. WOODS. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How much do you get on relief?

Mr. WOODS. About $17 a month.

Mr. OSMERS. $17 a month?

Mr. WOODS. A little more than that. Our first check we got, I believe, was twenty-some-odd dollars. The last check was $20.

Mr. OSMERS. $20 for the month?

Mr. WOODS. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, are you doing any work for pay in addition to receiving that?

Mr. WOODS. Yes; all I can get. Of course, it's been a little hard up to the cotton picking. One of the boys worked a month—a little better than a month on the yard.

Mr. OSMERS. On the what?

Mr. WOODS. On the yard, camp yard, cleaning up a little. He got 50 cents an hour on that.

Mr. OSMERS. What would you say that your monthly income was, taking the $20 of relief that you get and the amount of money that you and your wife make besides?

Mr. WOODS. Well, I judge that on her, perhaps since we have been out here now—this is getting it all together—we have made something like between $45 and $50 since we have been there, 5 months the 19th of this month.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is in addition to relief?

Mr. **Woods**. Yes.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is about $25 a month?

Mr. **Woods**. Yes.

Mr. **Osmers**. So that your total income each month would be $20 from the Government relief and $25 from work that you could get, a total of about $45 a month?

Mr. **Woods**. Something like that.

Mr. **Osmers**. I see. That is your income. What do you expect to do in the future, Mr. Woods? Do you want to stay there?

Mr. **Woods**. I am going to stay here until something opens up.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is all I have.

The **Chairman**. Thank you very much, Mr. Woods.

(Witness excused.)

The **Chairman**. Mr. Derryberry will be the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS L. DERRYBERRY, FIREBAUGH CAMP, CALIFORNIA

The **Chairman**. Will you give your first name, please?

Mr. **Derryberry**. Thomas L.

The **Chairman**. Where do you live?

Mr. **Derryberry**. At Firebaugh.

The **Chairman**. Congressman Curtis will ask you the questions.

Mr. **Curtis**. Mr. Derryberry, by "Firebaugh" you mean——

Mr. **Derryberry** (interposing). That is a Government migratory camp.

Mr. **Curtis**. How many families are living there; about how many?

Mr. **Derryberry**. I believe he said they had about 125 families.

Mr. **Curtis**. How many rooms do you have there?

Mr. **Derryberry**. Two cabins.

Mr. **Curtis**. Two cabins?

Mr. **Derryberry**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Curtis**. How many in your family?

Mr. **Derryberry**. Six.

Mr. **Curtis**. Your wife and four children?

Mr. **Derryberry**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Curtis**. How large are these cabins?

Mr. **Derryberry**. They are 14 by 16, I believe.

Mr. **Curtis**. What rent do you pay?

Mr. **Derryberry**. A dollar a month and 2 hours' work each week.

Mr. **Curtis**. You are from Oklahoma, are you not?

Mr. **Derryberry**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Curtis**. What part of Oklahoma?

Mr. **Derryberry**. The eastern part.

Mr. **Curtis**. Near what large town or city?

Mr. **Derryberry**. Well, the closest town is—the biggest place is Fort Smith. Oklahoma City is 150 miles; Fort Smith, 110.

Mr. CURTIS. You were about 150 miles north and a little east or a little south?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Southeast of Oklahoma City.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the occupation of your father?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Farmer.

Mr. CURTIS. How many children in your father's family?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Twelve.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you one of the younger ones?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No.

Mr. CURTIS. You are one of the older ones?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. There is three older than I. I am the fourth child.

Mr. CURTIS. How much education have you had?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Seventh grade.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you get married?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. 1930.

Mr. CURTIS. You were about 20 years old then?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What were you doing at that time?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Farming.

Mr. CURTIS. For yourself?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, with my father; helping my father.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you live in the same household as your father?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir. I was living in the same house with him.

Mr. CURTIS. How much education has your wife had?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Eighth grade.

Mr. CURTIS. How big a farm does your father operate?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. About 60 acres row crop at that time.

Mr. CURTIS. And how much other crop?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, about 40 acres. That is what he was farming, but the Government has cut him out of that now.

Mr. CURTIS. I mean, at the time that you went in with him?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of deal did he give you?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I just worked there, you see, and took in so big a crop, you see, about 10 or 12 acres of row crop is what I got.

Mr. CURTIS. What row crop were you farming?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Cotton.

Mr. CURTIS. How much could you make working for your father if you had an average crop with just a fair price?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, it got down to where that it was impossible to break even.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, I mean, when you went in there how much did you expect to make if you had an average crop and a fair price?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I come out with $20 or $25 with a fair crop.

Mr. CURTIS. At the end of the year?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. But you boarded at your father's table?

Mr. DERRYBERR. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Were there any other jobs available in Oklahoma at the time you moved in with your father when you were married?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. The coal mines.

Mr. **Curtis.** Are you trained to do any other work than farm work, and that sort of thing?

Mr. **Derryberry.** I am not scheduled for nothing but farm work. I have been raised and born on a farm. I have worked on threshers, and that goes with farm work.

Mr. **Curtis.** You have never had an opportunity to become skilled in any line of work?

Mr. **Derryberry.** No.

Mr. **Curtis.** When did you leave Oklahoma?

Mr. **Derryberry.** I left Oklahoma the 3d day of July in 1940.

Mr. **Curtis.** Why did you leave?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Looking for support for my family.

Mr. **Curtis.** Was any work available in the coal mines?

Mr. **Derryberry.** No, sir; the coal mines was all shut down and they had taken about 400 or 500 men out of work.

Mr. **Curtis.** Well, when the coal mines shut down, does that have a direct effect on the farmers?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Absolutely. That killed the farmers. When they shut down, the farmers couldn't sell the produce.

Mr. **Curtis.** What kind of produce could you sell to the miners?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Anything you raise—chickens, watermelons, anything. They have big coal-mine camps there. When they were operating, you could take eggs and milk and butter. You see, they had a pay roll coming in there. They could buy that stuff. That boosted the farmer, and he could pay some man to help him with that stuff.

Mr. **Curtis.** He could sell his butter and eggs at retail prices?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Yes, sir. He could get a good price.

Mr. **Curtis.** And he could butcher cattle and hogs and sell them out in small lots and get more than by shipping it?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Four or five cents more.

Mr. **Curtis.** What was the condition of the crops, the last year or two that you were trying to make a go of it on the farm?

Mr. **Derryberry.** It wouldn't average over a quarter to a half a bale to the acre of cotton.

Mr. **Curtis.** What was the cause of that?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Drought.

Mr. **Curtis.** Have tractors and other mechanized farming implements come into that territory very much?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Yes, sir; tractors have taken it. The big farmer—the big farmer that used to work from 5 to 10 men has got 1 man and a tractor now on the farm.

Mr. **Curtis.** What has induced him to do that?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Like in every country the tractor has taken the country over wherever you go now. They are discarding the teams. Where we used to go out in the prairies and cut this hay where it employed lots of men, well, we would take this hay and sell it to the farmer for the teams, and to big stockholders. Why, now, you don't do that. They have sold the teams and bought a tractor and mortgaged the teams, and they are gone.

Mr. **Curtis.** Now, has the crop reduction and the payments program done anything to stop that movement toward large farmers?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, the last 5 to 6 years the Government has cut each farmer, and it never was a big farming place there. There was my father farming from 60 to 70 acres and only allowing him 30 to 35 acres with 12 in the family.

Mr. CURTIS. And your production is running down?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. While that has gone down and cotton has increased over in the Delta country and some of the more productive areas?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I understand they have cut the cotton acreage everywhere.

Mr. OSMERS. They have cut the acreage, but they have in some places increased the total amount of cotton produced?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you get any kind of Government work before you left Oklahoma?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, I never was on any work. I was given $5 worth of stamps.

Mr. CURTIS. In Oklahoma?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. In Oklahoma.

Mr. CURTIS. When was that?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. That was in June.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, back in 1933 and 1934 did you not get a little work on the F. E. R. A.?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. On the F. E. R. A.

Mr. CURTIS. How much did they pay you there?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I got about $1.65 a day.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you work?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, I worked something in the neighborhood of 20 days, I guess, all told on that.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you ever get on W. P. A.?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No; couldn't get on it.

Mr. CURTIS. Of the children in your father's family, how many of them are boys?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. There are seven boys.

Mr. CURTIS. How many of them are older than you?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Three.

Mr. CURTIS. The drought and crop conditions caused you to leave; did they?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir. And they are going to cause my father to leave, too.

Mr. CURTIS. As a matter of fact, though, even if things had gone pretty well on the farm, there were some of the boys who would have to do something else?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. If the farm was kept good, well, us boys would have been out farming for somebody else.

Mr. CURTIS. Farming for somebody else if land were available?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How did it happen you chose California?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I started looking this way, and when I found cotton, that's where I stopped.

Mr. CURTIS. How many were in your family when you started out?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Six.

Mr. **Curtis.** How did you travel?

Mr. **Derryberry.** In an automobile.

Mr. **Curtis.** Do you own the car?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Curtis.** How much money did you have when you left Oklahoma?

Mr. **Derryberry.** I had about $43.

Mr. **Curtis.** But the car was pretty good?

Mr. **Derryberry.** It was in fair running shape; nothing extra.

Mr. **Curtis.** Did you have any property other than a few personal belongings that you put in the car?

Mr. **Derryberry.** No.

Mr. **Curtis.** Did you get any work along the way?

Mr. **Derryberry.** No.

Mr. **Curtis.** At what point in California did you first get your work?

Mr. **Derryberry.** In Planada.

Mr. **Curtis.** What did you do up there?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Cut grapes.

Mr. **Curtis.** What did you make?

Mr. **Derryberry.** We made around $2.50 or $3 a day cutting grapes.

Mr. **Curtis.** Some of your family helped?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** Just your wife?

Mr. **Derryberry.** My wife and my oldest little boy.

Mr. **Curtis.** He is only about 5 years old?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Seven. The one that cut grapes. The oldest one didn't cut grapes; he was taking care of the baby. My wife helped, too; three of us worked.

Mr. **Curtis.** How many of your youngsters are old enough to go to school?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Two.

Mr. **Curtis.** Are they in school this year?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Curtis.** Have you picked any cotton out here?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** What are they paying a hundred pounds?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Eighty-five cents.

Mr. **Curtis.** What are they paying in Oklahoma?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Forty to sixty cents.

Mr. **Curtis.** The farmer pays for the picking; does he?

Mr. **Derryberry.** The farmer pays for the picking.

Mr. **Curtis.** That is all he can afford to pay?

Mr. **Derryberry.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** You have raised cotton for your father?

Mr. **Derryberry.** The picker with 40 to 60 cents a hundred is coming out with as much money as the farmer has.

Mr. **Curtis.** While we would like to see the price higher, it has not been willful on the part of those farmers that they have kept it down?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. That's right.

Mr. CURTIS. How many days' cotton picking have you had out here?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, something like 7 days cotton picking.

Mr. CURTIS. How much do you make a day?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. We run anywhere from $4.50 to $5 a day.

Mr. CURTIS. And how many of you pick?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, my wife and I pick, and then the oldest boy picks on Saturday, you see. She doesn't pick steady all day. She picks—goes out some days and picks.

Mr. CURTIS. Has your boy been kept out of school to work?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No; he hasn't.

Mr. CURTIS. Has he always worked under your supervision as a parent?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You have never hired him out to a farmer or under a foreman?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. He has worked by my side. He hasn't worked any other way.

Mr. CURTIS. But he has been right by you so he hasn't had any abuse from that angle?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. That's right.

Mr. CURTIS. You are doing better here than you did in Oklahoma?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you think your father will be able to hang on back there?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I doubt it.

Mr. CURTIS. How old a man is he?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. He is 59 years old.

Mr. CURTIS. Is he skilled in any trade?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. For how long have you had a drought there?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. We haven't been where we could make anything in the last 9 or 10 years up until this year, and they have got better crops this year than they have had in the last 10 or 11 years.

Mr. CURTIS. Do they raise a family garden on your father's place?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes. They have got a family garden.

Mr. CURTIS. How many cows does your father keep?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, he had about 11 or 12 head of cattle until the Government come around and taken his cattle and killed them.

Mr. CURTIS. That was a long time ago?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How many milk cows does he have now?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. About four milk cows.

Mr. CURTIS. Does he sell any cream?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I don't believe he does sell any cream at all.

Mr. CURTIS. Is your father able to produce enough foodstuffs with the garden and dairy products and the like, so that the family back there have enough to eat?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Whether they raise a cash crop or not?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you think his farm could be planned so that it could?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, he could—if he could be allowed to plant enough crops.

Mr. CURTIS. No; I am not talking about his crop that he sells. I am talking about vegetables, tomatoes, beans, and potatoes, and all that sort of thing that you can store away, together with milk and cream, and so on.

Mr. DERRYBERRY. He couldn't raise enough of that stuff.

Mr. CURTIS. He can't raise enough?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Why can't he?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, because it burns up in the summertime. The ground back there where we are at is so dry anyway it just burns up.

Mr. CURTIS. Can you not irrigate a little bit with your windmill?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. If you could find water enough to stick that windmill up on.

Mr. CURTIS. There is a shortage of underground water?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. I am not criticizing, but I want to get the situation there.

Mr. DERRYBERRY. The water don't furnish enough for the house use where he lives, and not only there but thousands of wells won't furnish enough water, see, and the lakes around there dry up in the summertime.

Mr. CURTIS. Is your father a good farmer if he gets a good chance?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir; he missed the last war by being a good farmer. The people up around McAlester, Okla., kept him from going to war because he was the best farmer in that country, besides having a large family, too, to support.

Mr. CURTIS. If something could be done to help him solve the problem of poor soil, together with a water supply in the area that either had enough rain or irrigation, he would take care of himself and family?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir; not only him but everybody. Nobody would be leaving if that could be done.

Mr. CURTIS. How about the people in this territory? Do they want to be on relief?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. They would rather be off of it.

Mr. CURTIS. Most of them would rather make their own way?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you had any relief in California?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, I got one batch of groceries.

Mr. CURTIS. When you have been traveling around hunting for work have you run into other Oklahoma people?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What other States have you seen these people from?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Every State.

Mr. CURTIS. What particular States?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Pittsburg County, I guess, is——

Mr. CURTIS (interposing). Pittsburg County what?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Pittsburg County, Okla. That is where I am from.

Mr. CURTIS. What other States?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, you notice Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, and Kansas. They are the four or five States that you see most eastern people from.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you see any New Englanders from Massachusetts?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, not many.

Mr. CURTIS. They don't get that far?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you see many unemployed city dwellers?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well——

Mr. CURTIS. In those camps?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, there's not any to speak of. There is some W. P. A. workers around.

Mr. CURTIS. Most of them that you run in contact with are forced from the land?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know of anyone in those camps that is unemployed, yet they are highly skilled in some trade?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No, I don't.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you working now?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What are you doing?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Picking cotton.

Mr. CURTIS. You said 5 or 6 days. You are still on the job?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How long will this cotton picking run?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, now, from the looks of the cotton and stuff, it will run up around the first of the year. It is one of the best things that I can see.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you ever stopped at any State line when you left Oklahoma until you got to your job here?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. When we came into the State of California we were stopped.

Mr. CURTIS. What did they say to you?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. They went through our car, through our grips and everything we had.

Mr. CURTIS. What were they looking for?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. They were looking for insects, fruits, or anything like that.

Mr. CURTIS. Did they have any questions to ask you?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, they asked us where we was going.

Mr. CURTIS. Anything else?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. That's all. They told us what they were there for.

Mr. CURTIS. Did they ask you how much money you had?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. They didn't suggest that you go back?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You said you had about how much money?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, when I left Oklahoma I had about $43.

Mr. CURTIS. When you hit the line here you did not have very much of that left?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I had a little bit over $9 when I got into California.

Mr. CURTIS. Is your family in reasonably good health?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir; we are in good health. My wife isn't going to be able to work much longer.

Mr. CURTIS. Expecting another child?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. But the children are all strong?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you think any of your children are suffering from undernourishment?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Not now.

Mr. CURTIS. You have been able to take care of them?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir. That's one thing about back east—you can't get proper food either. You go out to buy fruit, oranges and stuff, and you give 40 to 50 cents a dozen for common oranges like you get here for 5 cents a dozen. Maybe on Christmas they will get an orange, you know.

Mr. CURTIS. You mean in Oklahoma?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes. And in Texas you give about 35 or 40 cents a dozen for oranges.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where was it you said you stopped on the way out and picked grapes?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. That was in Planada, just before you get to Chowchilla.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What State is that in?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. That's in California. Also, after that, we picked figs.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have kept your family together during all of the time?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes. We have been together.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old are you?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Thirty; 30 years old.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all.

Mr. OSMERS. When did you come to California, Mr. Derryberry?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. You mean when I got in here?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I got in here about the 6th—about the 7th, I guess, of July.

Mr. OSMERS. July 1940?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, you said you had one batch of groceries from State relief or from relief since you have been here?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. That was a little over a week ago.

Mr. OSMERS. A little over a week ago?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Who supplied you with that?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Farm Security.

Mr. OSMERS. I was wondering whether it was a State agency or Federal agency.

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Farm Security.

Mr. CURTIS. Have there been people turned down who could not get in this camp where you were living because there wasn't room?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No.

Mr. Curtis. So far as you know, they have been taken care of, anybody that has come along since you have been there?

Mr. Derryberry. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Mr. Derryberry, what I get from your story is simply this: That you, like thousands of others in Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and the Great Plains States, want to stay home on the farm if you can?

Mr. Derryberry. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. But there comes a time on account——

Mr. Derryberry (interposing). Move or starve.

The Chairman. And you refuse to starve sitting down; isn't that about the story?

Mr. Derryberry. That's right.

The Chairman. Now, we hear it in all of our different hearings from different people, and there is a school of thought in California on it: "Why don't you stay home?"

Well, now, a program—a Federal program—can help to make them stay home. For instance, the Farm Security Administration has taken care of 500,000 families; that is, loaned them money to buy a horse, a mule, or a cow or seed, and 85 percent of those people are paying it back.

Mr. Derryberry. Oh, yes.

The Chairman. But there are 800,000 families still uncared for.

Mr. Derryberry. Oh, yes.

The Chairman. And I get from your story—I believe all the way through—that there comes a time, with worn-out soil, mechanization, wind, where you simply have got to move; you can't make it go?

Mr. Derryberry. That's right. If a man has got a family, and he is going to support them, he has just got to keep going all the time. That is the only way he is going to support them.

The Chairman. You have lost in the Great Plains States, according to the Census, over a million people, and I doubt if there was 1 percent of them who would want to leave if they didn't have to leave.

Mr. Derryberry. Oh, they would be ones, once in a while, I guess. I take it on the average people would rather be sitting down at home where their family is than they would be out jouncing and dragging them around.

The Chairman. In other words, you agree with me that keeping them home is only part of the solution because there is a time when they can't stay home?

Mr. Derryberry. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. They tell me that in the Great Plains States there are a million acres where only 25 percent of the top soil is left.

Mr. Derryberry. Yes. When the drought has been in, and when it does rain after the crops are all out it does damage; and it just washes away what little soil is there.

The Chairman. When you left Oklahoma did you intend to come to California?

Mr. Derryberry. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Why?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, I was coming out here to pick cotton and work on the fruit harvest.

Mr. OSMERS. Had you seen an advertisement, or had someone told you about California, or did you just have that in your own mind?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, you hear of California fruits and stuff, and we have heard that back in our older days; and you can pick up the papers and read where they have got good cotton in Arizona and California, and about what it produces to the acre; and I come this way because I couldn't get any place else, and I got to the point where I couldn't support my family.

Mr. OSMERS. It was not a case of direct advertisement?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. No; it wasn't.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Derryberry, you made some statement awhile ago about your father's farm, and you referred to the Government killing his cattle or taking his cattle.

Was that in connection with the disease-eradication campaign?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, now, they came around once and they were claiming that they were killing the cattle that people wasn't able to feed. Well, then they came around again testing the cattle to see if they had T. B., and nearly all the cattle that was fattened up in good shape had T. B. But the poor cattle that was ready to fall down, you kept her; and I wouldn't be surprised but what we are eating some of that beef today.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When was that?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. That was about 7 years ago.

Mr. OSMERS. As a matter of fact, it was 6½ years.

Mr. DERRYBERRY. It was something like that. I don't know. It was back in the neighborhood of 6 or 7 years ago.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much cotton can you pick in a day?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. How much cotton? Well, I can average 400 pounds a day.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Four hundred a day at 85 cents a hundred?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Yes. That is, if the dew and stuff wouldn't keep us out, but it's getting now where it's going to be foggy. If I can get out early and stay late, I can make my 400 every day.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long will the cotton-picking season last here?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, they tell me everything will be picked around about January, maybe the 11th.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you anticipate after that?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. What am I going to do?

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you plan to do after the cotton is out?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. I plan to do something else on the farm, as long as they will let me, as long as there is a job open.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have not had any trouble so far finding something to do?

Mr. DERRYBERRY. Well, no. I have been pretty busy picking cotton.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Derryberry.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Philip Hernandez.

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP H. HERNANDEZ, HAYWARD, CALIF.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please give your name to the reporter?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Hernandez, Philip H.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Hayward, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Osmers will interrogate you.

Mr. OSMERS. Are you a licensed labor contractor?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. How long have you operated as a labor contractor in agriculture in California?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Since 1930.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you tell us about the different types of crops that you have harvested and the kinds of concerns that you have contracted with, and describe your business in general?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well, practically everything in the agricultural line. What I mean by that is, relating to tomatoes and harvesting of tomatoes, harvesting of apricots, harvesting of beans, and of sugar beets.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you give us the names of some of the large firms that you have contracted with?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. California Packing Corporation, and the Pacific Produce Distributors, San Jose.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, have you been offered contracts outside of the State of California?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. In what other States?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Idaho. I have never left the State, though.

Mr. OSMERS. What canning firms operate in California and in other States?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well, I don't know much about the other States. In the State of California I know quite a few of them.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you name a couple of them?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well, yes. There is, for instance, F. M. Ball Canning Corporation. There is Cal-Pack, which is another canning corporation.

Mr. OSMERS. They operate in two or three States?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well, as I understand, they don't only operate in two or three other States; they operate all over the continent.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there a great many labor contractors that work in two or three States, different States?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. There's quite a few of them.

Mr. OSMERS. As I understand it, they take the workers right along with them from State to State and follow the crops?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. No. There's only a certain number of them that go. They don't take all their workers along with them.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, do you mean they do not take them all because they don't need them all, or because they are not all fitted?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Partly because they don't need them all and partly because they wouldn't let them go.

Mr. OSMERS. Who?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. The contractor himself.

Mr. **Osmers.** Why would he not let them go?

Mr. **Hernandez.** If he only needs a hundred, he is not going to take a thousand.

Mr. **Osmers.** In the State of California is the use of labor contractors increasing or decreasing?

Mr. **Hernandez.** I think it's increasing.

Mr. **Osmers.** How many licensed contractors are there in Alameda County, to your knowledge?

Mr. **Hernandez.** To my knowledge there are about three or four of them.

Mr. **Osmers.** And how many unlicensed contractors are there?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Oh, I would say approximately 50.

TERMS OF LICENSE TO LABOR CONTRACTOR

Mr. **Osmers.** You are licensed by the State of California; is that right?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers.** Do you pay a fee for that license?

Mr. **Hernandez.** That's right.

Mr. **Osmers.** What is the size of the fee?

Mr. **Hernandez.** We will pay a fee according to the population of the township in which your employment agency applies.

Mr. **Osmers.** In your own instance what is that?

Mr. **Hernandez.** $10.

Mr. **Osmers.** Do you have to post any bonds?

Mr. **Hernandez.** That's right; $500 collateral bond.

Mr. **Osmers.** How many workers does that allow you to contract with?

Mr. **Hernandez.** That doesn't specify any amount of workers at all.

Mr. **Osmers.** There is no limit as to the number that you can use on that?

Mr. **Hernandez.** No.

CONTRACT WITH CANNERY

Mr. **Osmers.** In your contract, let us say with a cannery, what degree of control does the cannery have over your operations?

Mr. **Hernandez.** All the control.

Mr. **Osmers.** They have control as to the method of packing?

Mr. **Hernandez.** That's right.

Mr. **Osmers.** Complete control?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Would you care to see a specimen of the contract?

Mr. **Osmers.** I would like to see one. I wonder if you could loan one to the committee so we could incorporate it in our record?

Mr. **Hernandez.** There is a specimen of the contract this season [handing document to the committee]. This is with Cal-Pack.

Mr. **Osmers.** I will give that to our chairman.

(The matter referred to follows:)

AGREEMENT FOR CUTTING, TRIMMING, HARVESTING, SORTING, CRATING, AND LOADING SPINACH

THIS AGREEMENT, made this 4th day of December, 1939, by and between CALIFORNIA PACKING CORPORATION, a corporation, hereinafter called the "Corporation," and Philip Hernandez, hereinafter called the "Contractor,"

WITNESSETH:

Whereas the Corporation has entered into various contracts whereby it has purchased spinach to be grown during the season of 1940 in the counties of Alameda, in the State of California, which contracts give the Corporation the option at any time, or from time to time, to have such spinach harvested above the ground; and

Whereas the Contractor represents that he is able and willing to cut, trim, harvest, sort, crate, and load spinach as required by the Corporation under the harvesting above the ground method; and

Whereas it is the desire of the parties to enter into an agreement for such purpose;

Now, Therefore, in consideration of the mutual promises of the parties and for other good and valuable consideration, receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged by each of the parties, the parties agree as follows:

1. The Contractor agrees to furnish such sufficient and competent men as may be necessary from time to time to cut, trim, harvest, sort, crate, and load, at such time or times as the Corporation may see fit, spinach to be grown and delivered to the Corporation under the contracts described in Exhibit "A" hereto attached and hereby by reference made a part hereof and under such other contracts as Corporation may designate in writing before March 15, 1940.

2. When the spinach has reached the state of maturity acceptable to the Corporation for canning, the Contractor agrees to cut, trim, harvest, sort, crate, and load said spinach according to the best approved methods now in practice, under the harvesting above the ground method. Such harvesting will be so arranged that it will not be necessary to deliver the spinach to the Corporation's canneries on Saturdays, Sundays, or holidays unless the Corporation requests such delivery.

3. It is contemplated that the work to be performed under this contract shall take place during the spring spinach season, which should be the months of March and April. The Corporation shall have the right at its option to direct the time and method of cutting, trimming, harvesting, sorting, crating, and loading, and the quantity to be ready for delivery daily, and to specify the average fill of crates.

4. Only spinach of good color, quality, and in good condition for canning, at the state of maturity required by the Corporation, and free from spray residue, visible worms, visible insects, insect bites, or other pest infections, hail, surface moisture, yellow leaves, mildew, dirt, weeds, aphis, and other foreign matter, and in all respects conforming to the requirements of the California State Board of Health, shall be harvested and crated for delivery to the Corporation. Furthermore, all spinach shall be free from waste, such as roots, crowns, stalks and stems longer than four (4) inches or which, in Corporation's opinion, are too tough and coarse to blanch properly in Corporation's normal blanching process.

5. When the spinach has been cut, trimmed, harvested, sorted, crated, and loaded by the Contractor, it will be hauled to Corporation's canneries by Corporation or Grower. A test grade then will be made of each separate lot by the Corporation, and if such test shows imperfections or waste of five per cent (5%) or less by weight, such lot will be accepted as complying with the contract. If, however, the test shows imperfections or waste in excess of five per cent (5%) but not in excess of ten per cent (10%) by weight, no payment will be made to the Contractor for the percentage of waste and imperfections determined by the test grade, and in such case there will be no tolerance allowed. The Contractor shall also be obligated to pay a fixed charge of One Dollar ($1) per ton on the entire lot and to reimburse the Corporation for any loss, cost, or expense which the Corporation may suffer or incur in connection with the hauling of the percentage of waste and imperfections determined by the test grade.

6. In the event that the test grade shows imperfections or waste in excess of ten per cent (10%) by weight, the Corporation shall have the further right to reject the entire lot, or any part thereof that it may see fit, and the Contractor

shall receive no payment for the entire lot or portion thereof so rejected. Furthermore, the Contractor shall reimburse Corporation for any loss, cost, or expense which it may suffer or incur in connection with the hauling, sorting, and removal of such rejected spinach and any payment which the Corporation may be obliged to make to the Grower therefor.

7. If the Contractor performs the above-mentioned work to the satisfaction of the Corporation, the Corporation agrees to pay the Contractor Nine Dollars ($9.00) per ton for the acceptable spinach upon demand of Contractor as soon as practicable after the spinach has been delivered to Corporation's cannery.

8. If the Contractor has fully performed all the terms and conditions of this contract upon his part to be performed, the Corporation agrees to pay the Contractor an additional sum of One Dollar and Fifty Cents ($1.50) per ton for all acceptable spinach not later than 2 weeks after the close of the season.

9. The Corporation shall have the right to deduct, offset, and withhold from the payments herein provided to be made to the Contractor the amounts of any loss, cost, or expense which may have been suffered or incurred by the Corporation in connection with spinach received which is not of the quality and condition herein specified.

10. The Contractor agrees to keep the premises upon which the work is being performed in a clean and sanitary condition at all times and not to allow any rubbish or refuse of any sort to accumulate. If the Contractor fails to comply with these covenants, the Corporation is authorized to do so at the Contractor's expense.

11. The Corporation will supply the Contractor with crates for the spinach, and the Contractor agrees to use the same exclusively for the handling and delivery of the spinach hereunder. Crates shall be handled carefully and must be returned to the Corporation in good condition, reasonable wear and tear excepted, at the close of the season. The Contractor shall be charged for all crates lost, damaged, or destroyed by any cause within his control, at the rate of fifty cents (50¢) for each crate, to cover all expenses that may be incurred by the Corporation in repairing, replacing, recovering, or attempting to recover the same; said charge to be in the nature of liquidated damages, it being impracticable and extremely difficult to fix the Corporation's actual damages. Said charge does not equal the value of the crates and the same does not pass title to the Contractor.

12. It is distinctly understood by the parties that this agreement is for the specified object of cutting, trimming, harvesting, sorting, crating, and loading spinach upon the terms and conditions herein specified, and that the Contractor is and understands himself to be an independent contractor for this purpose and in no sense an employee of the Corporation. The Contractor shall employ all workmen and persons necessary for the performance of the terms and conditions upon his part to be performed hereunder, and the Corporation shall be in no way liable or responsible to them on account of accidents or injuries under the Workmen's Compensation Insurance and Safety Act of the State of California, or otherwise, and the Contractor hereby agrees to indemnify and hold the Corporation harmless of and from all liability of every kind or nature which the Corporation may incur, either on account of or in connection with any accidents or injuries happening or occurring on or about the hereinabove described premises, either to the Contractor or any agent or servant employed by the Contractor, or to any other person, or damage to property or destruction of poperty, in any way arising from the performance by the Contractor of any of the terms or conditions of this agreement upon his part to be performed.

13. It is understood by both the parties hereto that the Corporation is not hereby obligated to have any spinach cut, trimmed, harvested, or sorted hereunder in the event that the operations of the Corporation should be such as to make the same inadvisable in the discretion of the Corporation.

14. The Contractor shall have no right to transfer or assign this agreement, or any part thereof, without the written consent of the Corporation first having been obtained.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the California Packing Corporation has hereunto caused its corporate name to be signed and its corporate seal to be affixed by its officers thereunto duly authorized, and the Contractor and his associates have caused their names to be signed, the day and year first above written.

CALIFORNIA PACKING CORPORATION. [SEAL]
By A. W. EAMES, *Corporation Vice President.*
PHILIP HERNANDEZ, *Contractor.*

(Below is reprinted a second example of labor contract submitted to the committee by Mr. Hernandez:)

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT FOR PICKING APRICOTS, PEARS, AND PLUMS

JOE VALENTE, First Party, and PHILIP HERNANDEZ, Second Party, have agreed and hereby do agree as follows:

Second Party agrees to pick, during the season of 1939, all of the crop of Apricots now growing on the Shaffer Ranch located, on Mt. Eden and Harder Roads, in the County of Alameda, California, which said ranch is now leased to First Party, and to furnish in and about said picking sufficient pickers to pick said crop of Apricots, and in case of need to furnish not less than seventy (70) pickers in and about said work; and also to furnish not less than four (4) foremen to supervise said picking; and in case a greater number of pickers shall be necessary, or in case Second Party shall not furnish sufficient pickers, First Party may employ sufficient pickers at the cost and expense of Second Party; and to do and perform said picking in a husbandlike manner; and, particularly, Second Party agrees that all picking shall be done from the trees and not from the ground, and without breaking of any trees: and all of said work and the disposition of all fruit shall at all times be subject to the direction of First Party, or his agent or representative.

In case said Apricots shall be sold to a cannery, Second Party agrees to deliver and/or cause to be delivered, at his own expense, the said fruit at a designated location on the premises, and in such case Second Party shall sort said Apricots; and in case said fruit shall not be sold to a cannery but shall be dried on the premises, Second Party agrees to deliver said fruit to the dryer on the premises; and Second Party agrees to distribute all boxes from the place where they are now stored around the Apricot orchard and at such places as will best facilitate the speedy picking of said crop and to return the empty boxes to the place where same are now stored, or to such other place as First Party may designate; Second Party also agrees to return all ladders, boxes, and other equipment to their proper places at the conclusion of the picking.

Second Party agrees that the orchard shall be cleared of all picked fruit not later than 6 o'clock P. M. of each day during the picking.

Second Party also covenants that he will pay for all damages to equipment, grounds, and all other damages resulting from any act or omission of any person employed by Second Party in and about said picking.

In consideration of the said services to be performed by Second Party, First Party agrees to pay to Second Party the sum of $6.00 net per ton in case the fruit shall be delivered to the dryer on the premises; and the sum of $7.00 net per ton in case said fruit is sold to a cannery. Second Party agrees to do all sorting of fruit that may be required by the cannery to which said fruit may be sold; and in case any fruit shall be docked at the cannery the weight of the fruit so docked shall be deducted from the total tonnage for which Second Party is to receive payment; and if any of said fruit which shall be delivered to the dryer shall not be fit for drying, the same deduction shall be made.

Said prices are to be paid as follows: Thirty (30) percent thereof, plus the amount to become due for the picking of Twenty-five (25) tons of said fruit shall be held by the First Party until the conclusion of the picking and full performance of this contract, and the remaining percent shall be paid to Second Party whenever the same shall be needed by the Second Party for the payment of wages.

As security for the performance of this contract Second Party hereby authorizes First Party as his attorney-in-fact to appear before any court and confess judgment against Second Party for the amount of any damages sustained by First Party by reason of any breach of this Agreement by Second Party.

In case any pickers, or other persons employed by Second Party during the picking of said Apricots, shall camp on the premises during the picking of said Apricots, Second Party shall be responsible for all damages that may be done by said campers and covenants that the grounds will be cleaned after the removal of said campers; provided, however, that no campers shall be allowed on the said grounds unless cutters are furnished therefrom by Second Party, it being the intention that only in case such cutters are furnished that any camping on the ground shall be allowed.

Second Party agrees that he shall not be excused from full performance of this contract by any strike or by other causes but agrees that strict performance is covenanted on his part.

Second Party also agree to pick all of the Pears on the said Shaffer Ranch, according to the rules and regulations of the cannery to which said Pears may be sold, in case the same are sold to a cannery; and First Party agrees to pay for such picking at the rate of $3.50 net per ton, if the same shall be sold to a cannery; and $3.00 net per ton if the same shall be dried, and all hauling on the premises must be done by Second Party at his own cost and expense; the same times of payment thereof, as hereinbefore specified as to the picking of Apricots, shall apply to the picking of Pears.

Second Party also agrees to pick all of the Plums on the said Shaffer Ranch according to the rules and regulations of the cannery to which said Plums may be sold, in case the same are sold to a cannery; and First Party agrees to pay for such picking at the rate of $4.50 net per ton, if sold to a cannery or if the same shall be dried; and all hauling on the premises must be done by Second Party at his own cost and expense; the same times of payment thereof as hereinbefore specified as to the picking of Apricots shall apply to the picking of Plums.

Second Party further agrees that he will be responsible for all wages for labor during said pickings, and that First Party shall not be responsible for any part of said wages; and Second Party further agrees to reimburse First Party for all liability insurance covered by First Party at the rate per $100.00 paid by First Party therefor.

WITNESS the hands of the parties, in duplicate, this 5 day of July 1939.

JOE VALENTE,
First Party.
PHILIP HERNANDEZ.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5 day of July 1939.

[SEAL] HAZEL G. CROMIE,
Notary Public in and for the County of Alameda, State of California.

My commission expires July 28, 1941.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
County of Alameda, ss:

PHILIP HERNANDEZ, being duly sworn, says that he is the Second Party therein and that he has read the foregoing statement in writing and knows the contents thereof and that the same is true of his own knowledge.

PHILIP HERNANDEZ.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5th day of July 1939.

[SEAL] HAZEL G. CROMIE,
Notary Public in and for the County of Alameda, State of California.

My commission expires July 28, 1941.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, you deliver this produce to the canneries by the load?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I don't—well, all I do is harvest and let it stay in the field.

Mr. OSMERS. And then the cannery picks it up from the field?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well, they have their own drayage.

Mr. **Osmers.** Do they have the authority and the power under this contract to reject any load of produce that you have picked for them?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers.** Do you operate a grocery store and gasoline station?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers.** Where?

Mr. **Hernandez.** At Hayward, 25402 Niles Road.

TICKET METHOD OF PAYMENT OF WAGES

Mr. **Osmers.** In your operations and in the handling of your labor, do you pay them with the ticket method?

Mr. **Hernandez.** No; the ticket method is used for whatever they are doing. What I mean by that is, for instance, if they are harvesting 'cots, we will say—apricots—they are paid by the ton. The ticket method is used by the ton, or it's used by the box, or whatever it is for. But they are not paid by that. In other words, the tickets are redeemable every Saturday. They are payable once a week.

Mr. **Osmers.** Now, they are redeemable where?

Mr. **Hernandez.** With me, anywhere.

Mr. **Osmers.** With you where the job is going on?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Yes.

Mr. **Osmers.** They are redeemable in cash?

Mr. **Hernandez.** In cash.

Mr. **Osmers.** In connection with the operation of this store and gasoline station, is that where they cash these tickets?

Mr. **Hernandez.** No.

Mr. **Osmers.** That is not?

Mr. **Hernandez.** The gasoline station and grocery store gives them the privilege of trading them off. If they want gas or if they want groceries, it gives them the privilege of trading them off. But the grocery store and gasoline station have nothing to do with my work on the outside whatsoever.

Mr. **Osmers.** You mean they can get face value, dollar value, for the amount of their tickets?

Mr. **Hernandez.** That's right.

Mr. **Osmers.** Are they allowed to use these tickets in any other stores?

Mr. **Hernandez.** In previous years. This year they haven't because it's my own store.

Mr. **Osmers.** What is the arrangement that you used to have with these other storekeepers? Would they take them in and bring them to you and redeem them?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Yes.

Mr. **Osmers.** Now, would you pay them the full value, or would you take a discount?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Full price of the ticket, whatever the ticket is worth. If it calls for 20 cents, that's what it is worth. If it calls for 25 cents, that's what it is worth.

Mr. **Osmers.** That is what you paid the other stores?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers.** Did most contractors use the ticket system?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Some of them do and some of them don't. I use a different type of ticket from some of the other fellows. The type of ticket I use is in the form of a theater ticket. It gives you my name and address, and it's also made for—well, to prevent duplicating.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I have the Hancock Bros. out of San Francisco do the printing for me, and they hold a copyright on the paper. If you lose a roll of those tickets, it could amount to a lot of money. It could amount to the profit on two or three jobs to me.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, these tickets are exactly the same as cash, just like your check.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I have to make them good.

Mr. OSMERS. Either in your own establishment or in these other establishments that used to redeem the tickets. Was it possible for the worker to buy liquor at any of these places?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. It was possible for them to buy anything that was in the store.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, was liquor sold?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I don't recall offhand whether there was liquor sold in any of those stores.

Mr. OSMERS. The inference is, though, that it was the same as cash and it wouldn't make any difference whether they changed the tickets in for liquor or changed the tickets in for cash?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. It didn't make any difference. They could use them for anything.

EXTENT AND TYPE OF HOUSING FACILITIES PROVIDED BY LABOR CONTRACTOR

Mr. OSMERS. How about the housing for workers that are under your supervision? Do you supply them with housing?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. No; in most instances I don't. I have furnished camps on several occasions.

Mr. OSMERS. You have?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What do you charge for the use of that?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I charged nothing for the use of the camp when I furnished it.

Mr. OSMERS. You charged nothing?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I charged nothing for camping space or anything that I furnished. I charged nothing for it.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you furnish board for these people?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. No.

Mr. OSMERS. You have never furnished board at all?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. You have furnished board?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Yes; last year on beet topping.

Mr. OSMERS. What type of board was that? I mean, did you open a community kitchen?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Oh, no, no; no community kitchen; just for the amount of men I had, which I think at the peak was 26 men. In that instance, yes; I furnished them with beds and I furnished them with living quarters and I furnished them with everything.

Mr. OSMERS. And you employed a cook or someone to cook their food for them?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. That's right.

Mr. OSMERS. What did you charge them?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. A dollar a day.

Mr. OSMERS. For that room and board?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. And board and transportation to and from work.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. And what were the earnings of that particular group engaged in that particular endeavor, the daily earnings?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well, ranging from 50 cents an hour to 70.

Mr. OSMERS. Which would be daily earnings of what?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Figured about eight and a half or nine hours a day.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean they would have four or five dollars a day?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. That's right.

Mr. OSMERS. You would charge them a dollar for their room and board?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. That's right.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION INSURANCE

Mr. OSMERS. Now, do you carry workmen's compensation insurance?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. That's right.

Mr. OSMERS. You do. And how are your rates on agricultural workers? Are they high?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. If I am not mistaken, I think it is $1.38 on a blanket policy.

Mr. OSMERS. That covers all of your risks?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. All the types of work that I do.

Mr. OSMERS. Would that cover your truck drivers, if any?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I have no truck drivers. I don't do any hauling whatsoever. All I have got is a pick-up to haul these men around, and I drive that myself.

INCOME OF LABOR CONTRACTOR

Mr. OSMERS. How do you make your own income?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well, my income is based on tonnage. For instance, right now I am topping beets which range from 79 cents, I think, up to $2.23, according to the yield of the crop or the yield of the field, we will say.

In other words, if your tonnage dropped from 5 tons or less, you would average $2.23 a ton. If your tonnage was 20 tons or above 20 tons, it would be 79 cents a ton.

Mr. OSMERS. You have a sliding scale?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well, the Government puts it out.

Mr. OSMERS. The Government scale sets forth what a labor contractor is to make?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. That's right.

Mr. OSMERS. And it starts off with about how much; 5 tons and under?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Five tons to twenty; 5 tons or under, $2.23; 20 tons or above, 79 cents.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, is that figured on a daily basis?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well——

Mr. OSMERS (interposing). Or the total?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. That is figured on the total crop in the acreage. In other words, supposing that you had 150 acres of beets. Out of these 150 acres, you would probably have a part of the field that would average 23 or 24 tons to the acre. You would have part of the field that wouldn't average 10. Well, this is all prorated on the basis of whatever the average would be. If the average would be 15 tons, you would get paid for 15 tons.

Mr. OSMERS. The average of the 20-ton figure there is per acre?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, 5 tons per acre or 20 tons per acre?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Are you paid on each acre, or on a whole tract of 150?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Whatever it is.

Mr. OSMERS. On the average?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. If the field is 80 acres, you are paid for the average of the field.

Mr. OSMERS. For the whole operation?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, when you say you are paid these prices of $2.23 down to 79 cents, does that compensate you or is it to compensate all of your workers, too?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. That is to compensate my workers. That is the total amount.

Mr. OSMERS. That is the total amount of income you get?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. If I have men that can offset the wages, fine. If I go under that, that's my hard luck.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, you have to hire the men, pay them, and pay all of your other expenses incidental to the operation of your business, workmen's compensation, transportation, board, lodging, camp, and so forth, and make your own living?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. If there is anything left, it's mine.

Mr. OSMERS. And if not, it is out of your own pocket?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. What was your income for 1939?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. My income for 1939 was about $1,600.

Mr. OSMERS. Could you give the committee a rough idea of the size of your operations; in other words, how much money went through your hands?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Last year?

Mr. OSMERS. In that time; yes.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Last year I would say it was about $34,000 to $35,000.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, you received and paid out something around $34,000 to $35,000 and when it was all through you had about $1,600 left?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. That's right.

Mr. OSMERS. Is that over and above your living expenses?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. No; that's all told.

Mr. Osmers. That is the total. Now, describe to me, to the committee, a little bit about this unlicensed labor contractor.

Mr. Hernandez. Well, the idea of the unlicensed contractor is that they go out here and underbid us on the work. Well, they really can underbid because they have no expense whatsoever connected with it.

Mr. Osmers. Where do they recruit their labor? Do they get their labor from the same place or places as you do?

Mr. Hernandez. I don't recruit any labor, for the simple reason that this labor that works for me, they have worked for me off and on for maybe 4 or 5 years; 6 years, some of them. They know where I live. They have my address and they keep dropping in at the house.

Mr. Osmers. What kind of people are they?

Mr. Hernandez. Well, the working type. I would say most of them are Mexicans; quite a few are from Oklahoma and Arkansas, and some of them different places.

Mr. Osmers. I see. Some of them that have come in in the last few years are like the men that we have been talking to this morning?

Mr. Hernandez. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Is your business highly competitive, Mr. Hernandez?

Mr. Hernandez. Plenty.

Mr. Osmers. I mean, the contractors vie with one another to get the jobs?

Mr. Hernandez. That's right.

Mr. Osmers. Now, what do you call your fixed operating or overhead expenses?

Mr. Hernandez. Well, I have never given that much thought. If I did, I think I would have quit working. If I had given that much thought, I think I would have quit operating a long time ago.

Mr. Osmers. Well, you have your compensation insurance and——

Mr. Hernandez (interposing). If you want a good example, take a look at that agreement with Cal-Pack. There is an $1,860 loss, my own loss, if you call that "compensation."

Mr. Osmers. Well, I wouldn't say that is very good compensation. All you need is volume. You are doing all right. Now, do you ever use any of the public employment services like the California State Employment Service, to get men?

Mr. Hernandez. Very seldom. They have sent me men, yes; but at their own request. I have never asked them to.

Mr. Osmers. Why don't you use them? Do you get enough men?

Mr. Hernandez. I never had occasion to use them.

WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS

Mr. Osmers. I see. Now, the committee is very much interested in one thing, and I must warn you that we have not been very successful in finding out from labor contractors the answer to this question: What are the daily earnings of the workers that work under you?

Mr. Hernandez. Right now; an average?

Mr. Osmers. Yes.

Mr. Hernandez. Straight through? The average right now would be, for the men that I have got working, $4.50 a day.

Mr. OSMERS. What are the deductions from that?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. No deductions at all.

Mr. OSMERS. About $4.50 a day, and that is for——

Mr. HERNANDEZ (interposing). Beet topping.

Mr. OSMERS. Beet topping. I see.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. And that is an able-bodied man working 8 or 9 hours a day, figuring on a 9-hour basis.

Mr. OSMERS. On a 9-hour basis, about 50 cents an hour?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. The minimum is 50 cents an hour. That is the minimum I pay, although the Government puts out a scale whereby I could pay 45 cents for beet hoeing and 50 cents for topping.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, following that same thought through, what would, in your estimation, be the average annual income of these workers? Presuming they are making $4.50 a day—and I suppose they work 6 days a week—do they work 5, 6, or 7 days?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Six. You can't take that under consideration because a job like that will last for a month, and they will probably be out of work again for another 2 weeks or 3 weeks.

Mr. OSMERS. Do they work a half of the year, a third of the year, or three-quarters of the year?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I would say about half of the year. Although in some instances, take the men that I have working there for me, right there, some of them have been up in Montana thinning beets. They thin the beets there, do the hoeing, come down here and start on the topping; get through with the topping here and go back.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the process of topping?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Topping consists of taking the leaf off of the sugar beet. I should have brought one down. They have a knife which I would say is about 18 inches long and an inch and a half wide with a hook at one end of it so you can hook up the beet and top it off (demonstrating).

Mr. OSMERS. I see. That is when they are harvesting the beets?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Harvesting the beets; yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, the condition that you have described, with respect to wages, is rather a favorable one. Is that a general reflection of the wages being paid?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Oh, no.

Mr. OSMERS. Throughout the State?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. I don't know what the wages throughout the State are. That is my own wages, and the reason I pay that is I have men that I know will do the work. In other words, if a man can't earn 50 cents an hour for me, I would rather not have him working.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you tell us about the method of harvesting spinach?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Well, I have harvested spinach two different ways. I have cut it below the ground and I have cut it above the ground.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, which way do the canneries like to get it?

Mr. HERNANDEZ. That's pretty hard to say, because previous to this year I have cut it above and below. For some canneries, above; and for some canneries, below.

Mr. Osmers. Does that still hold?

Mr. Hernandez. Oh, yes; some canneries have used one method, and others have used another.

Mr. Osmers. Now, is most of your business with canneries?

Mr. Hernandez. Well, in spinach, and that; yes. Beets, the sugar mills; in other words, it's sugar refineries.

Mr. Osmers. Well, that would occupy the same relative position according to the industry?

Mr. Hernandez. In most cases it is through the individual grower.

Mr. Osmers. And you are helping him to carry out his contract with the sugar refinery?

Mr. Hernandez. That's right. But you take like this here spinach, why, the way they harvest that spinach, it would be pretty hard for an individual grower to harvest his own crop. The simple reason is that he would never be able to get the amount of help we can on such a short notice, and if he did get it, he could only use it for 4 or 5 days at the most. This way we use it for the period of the season, which may run from 24 to 25 days.

LABOR SUPPLY IN CALIFORNIA

Mr. Osmers. Is there a shortage of labor in California in agricultural pursuits?

Mr. Hernandez. I have never had any shortage in labor.

Mr. Osmers. Would you say there is a tremendous surplus, that there were thousands upon thousands that cannot be employed?

Mr. Hernandez. I wouldn't say there was a tremendous surplus, either, because there is a shortage of labor right now as far as some people are concerned. I haven't ever been bothered with a shortage of labor, because, for one thing, I haven't got any work for that amount of men right now. All I need is 12 men, and I have got them.

Mr. Osmers. I would like to get your impression from one who has been working in the field on the basic problem of this committee, and that is, these huge numbers of people that have moved from one productive area of the United States to the State of California and other places that they consider more productive. Do you think that it has been a bad thing for California to have these large numbers come here, or a bad thing for your labor contracting, or what?

Mr. Hernandez. No. For the labor contracting it's the contrary. It's been the best. Of course, some of them have taken advantage of it.

Mr. Osmers. It has brought a new supply of skilled agricultural labor?

Mr. Hernandez. No; not skilled, unskilled. Because 90 percent of these people who have come into this State from other States don't know this type of work at all.

Mr. Osmers. I see.

Mr. Hernandez. But for some of these contractors it has been an advantage.

Mr. Osmers. You mean some of them have abused this?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Previous to this time they weren't able to get the help, and this way they can get it. They can cut the price, and still the help has to take it.

Mr. **Osmers.** They just take advantage of the law of supply and demand. If there is an oversupply of labor, they squeeze the laborer?

Mr. **Hernandez.** That's right.

Mr. **Osmers.** Would you say that the men that do that are principally unlicensed contractors, or would that fall equally on both licensed and unlicensed contractors?

Mr. **Hernandez.** There are two men in this county, the county of Alameda, a fellow by the name of Lopez and a fellow named Yuñoz, besides myself. And I have seen these fellows here where they will take a job and they won't cut down in price at all. In fact, I know they won't. But they have gotten into the position where they have been underbid on a job and they have lost them, and if they take the jobs on less money, they are not going to pay the workers as much money.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Mr. **Osmers.** What, in general, would you say the housing conditions have been for these people that have come in from the Middle West?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Well, the housing conditions in the permanent camps, considering that they are permanent camps, are terrible in some of them. In others it has been pretty fair.

Mr. **Osmers.** Would you care to make a general statement as to what the average is, whether it is good or poor? We know that the Government has some pretty nice camps out here.

Mr. **Hernandez.** The Government camps are good—what I have seen. Although I never went through them very much, I have seen this one over at Westley. I have seen the one here back of Windsor.

Mr. **Osmers.** These are Government camps that you are speaking about?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Government camps. That's the only two that I have actually been in and looked at, and they looked pretty good.

Mr. **Osmers.** Well, these conditions that you described as "terrible," are those camps privately operated or are they on private farms, or were they established by the migrants themselves?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Established by the migrants themselves.

Mr. **Osmers.** I see.

Mr. **Hernandez.** Here's a case: If we get a permit to open up a camp to harvest any crop at all, we have to comply with the rules of the State. In other words, we have to have so many latrines for so many persons employed; we have to have so many water faucets for so many tents, and so many garbage cans, and these tents have got to be elevated above the ground so much.

Mr. **Osmers.** That is under the State law, the State of California?

Mr. **Hernandez.** Yes. And if you don't abide by it, you are just automatically subject to a fine, which I don't feel myself capable of paying. So I have to abide by it.

Mr. Osmers. Do you have any set percentage that you try to make in your business?

Mr. Hernandez. No. You don't operate on a set percentage at all.

Mr. Osmers. It's largely a matter of guesswork and hope?

Mr. Hernandez. Hope, more than anything else.

Mr. Osmers. It is like all kinds of business, then. Would you say that the State of California is in a position to absorb still more people than have come into it in the past 5 years?

Mr. Hernandez. You are getting down into politics right now, which I don't know much about.

Mr. Osmers. I am not looking at the political aspect at all. I have noticed the tremendous increase in population in this State, and I have just been wondering if the conditions remained the same in the Middle West as they have been—and there doesn't seem to be any reason to believe they are going to change—if any further large numbers come into this State, will the State be able to support them and absorb them—put them to work?

Mr. Hernandez. I am not in a position to answer that. If you are in doubt, it is better to keep your—I don't know whether the State can support them.

Mr. Osmers. I don't mean that. I mean is agriculture of the State able to support them?

Mr. Hernandez. There is enough work here; yes.

Mr. Osmers. For many people?

Mr. Hernandez. Yes. There are many crops that are going to waste right now for lack——

Mr. Osmers. Lack of agricultural help?

Mr. Hernandez. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. At fair prices?

Mr. Hernandez. There is where your contractor comes in. In a lot of cases not fair prices; no. They are not paying a fair price.

Mr. Osmers. I think that is all.

The Chairman. Thank you very much, Mr. Hernandez.

(Witness excused.)

The Chairman. The committee will take a 5-minute recess at this time.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken after which procedings were resumed as follows:)

The Chairman. The committee will please come to order.

TESTIMONY OF HON. CULBERT L. OLSON, GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

The Chairman. Governor, I want to say in behalf of the committee that we feel honored to have you here to present the facts on behalf of the State of California on this very important problem, and also to say to you that we have had many Governors appear as witnesses, but so that none of them would be overlooked we have contacted every Governor in every State of the Union so the picture in their individual States as related to this problem would be in our record. Our first witness in New York was Mayor LaGuardia, and through him we are contacting all the mayors.

Now, here is the real State of destination, the State of California. We have gone through the South and the East and the West and found out something in the States of origin, about what caused people to migrate. And I think the committee will agree with me that you can present the facts that you desire to present and any recommendations in your own way, Governor, and we would be delighted to hear from you.

Governor OLSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And let me say that California welcomes the visit here of this committee and its inquiry into this problem of interstate migration of labor and the destitution of migratory laborers.

We have long wanted Congress to take up this matter in the manner in which it appears that it has now decided to do, through the appointment of your committee to get at this serious problem for the State of California, as well as for other States. We are particularly anxious, therefore, to be of every possible aid to your committee in your efforts to get the facts, which will be the basis of your recommendations and which will serve to inform Congress with regard to the policy which it may adopt in meeting this serious problem.

As Governor I want to say that our State administration is ready to furnish you all of the results of researches and experiences in connection with our contact with this problem.

I have prepared, with the aid of our administrative officers, and with the aid of reliable research agencies and persons who have given careful study to the history of migratory labor, a statement on the migratory labor problem, particularly as affecting California, and I am hoping that statement will be helpful. Excepting certain recommendations which I have ventured to make, it is entirely factual. I am not going to take your time and mine to read it, inasmuch as it is prepared in printed form and it would facilitate your work and conserve your time for me to file this statement of mine with you instead of reading it aloud to you here.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee, Governor, will make that order at this time, that it be inserted in the record in full.

STATEMENT OF GOV. CULBERT L. OLSON OF CALIFORNIA

As Governor of California, I want to extend to the members of this committee, and through them to Congress, the appreciation of the present administration in this State to Congress for its favorable action on House Resolution No. 63, creating a committee to inquire into interstate migration of destitute citizens and to study the movement of indigent persons across State lines. It is an inquiry which, for reasons which I shall point out later, this State has long invited.

POPULATION INCREASE IN CALIFORNIA

To understand the importance which the problem of migration has come to assume in this State it is necessary to explain one or two features which have long characterized the growth of population in California. This State has been settled by waves or tides of migration. For years it has shown an astonishing net increase in population through interstate migration. For example, during the years 1920 to 1930, California received one-fourth of the total net inflow of migration across State lines. The population of the State has been increasing at an annual rate approximating 50 percent nearly every 10 years since the historic trek of 1849. In the first decade after 1849 the population trebled. The average 3-year increase between 1920 and 1930 was, in round numbers, 675,000. Somewhat more than a half million nonresidents from other States, on the average, were living in California at any given date during the period 1920–30. In the year 1930, only 34 percent of the population of this State had been born in California. Urban population in California between 1920 and 1930 increased by approximately 1,800,000. The parallel figure for rural growth was approximately 422,000. (See Newcomers and Nomads in California, by William T. Cross and Dorothy E. Cross, 1937.) According to preliminary figures released by the Bureau of the Census, the population of California increased by 1,196,437 in the decade from 1930 to 1940. In other words, the population of the State increased by about 21.1 percent in a decade and, of course, the considerable portion of this increase is to be attributed to interstate migration. (San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 13, 1940.)

Due to the peculiar circumstances under which this State was settled, and the distances which, at that time, separated it from established centers of population, it was recognized at an early date that it would be difficult to achieve an adequate population adjustment within the State, and that for this reason the development of the State's natural resources might be retarded.

In 1866 the transactions of the State agricultural society carried a report indicating that in the judgment of the society, "Nothing will contribute more to the advancement of our prosperity as a Commonwealth than the influx of a large immigration of industrious citizens." Thereafter and for a great number of years, a studied effort was made to encourage immigration to California through settlement companies, colonization enterprises, immigration societies, and other activities, which in many instances had official encouragement and support.

In large measure it can be said that California, during the years from 1850 to 1920 adhered to the public policy of encouraging immigration, and that this policy was largely responsible for the rapid growth of population in the State, the quickness with which settlement was achieved under difficult circumstances, and the remarkably rapid development of natural resources within the State. Despite the success of these endeavors, however, a proper population adjustment, particularly as between rural and urban elements within the State, was never achieved. In part the failure to achieve this adjustment may be traced to the peculiar patterns of land ownership and farm operations that had developed in California. Thus it has been pointed out that in the period 1920–30 the rural farm population per farm increased in California by less than two-tenths of 1 percent. In the statistics of agricultural settlement, therefore, there is little if any trace of the annual increase of 225,000 people to the population of the State which was going on throughout this decade. (See U. S. Bureau of the Census release, July 24, 1935.) One other factor also retarded this adjustment of population, namely the early and consistent use that was made over a period of many years of alien immigrant labor in agriculture.

The industrial commission, in a report in 1901, referred pointedly to the "unequal and unnatural battle which the white laborer on the coast has been compelled to wage against his Asiatic competitors"; a competition which to a considerable degree prevented the American agricultural worker from getting a foothold in the State. Students of population in California have long pointed to these trends and have generally been in agreement that the extensive use of alien labor frustrated the efforts that were made to achieve population adjustment within the State. (See The Poor Migrant in California, Social Forces, Mar. 13, 1937, and The Immigration Problem, by Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck.)

Problem of Indigent Transients

At an early date this unequal, and in some respects unnatural, population situation made itself felt throughout the State. For a great many years prior to the depression of 1929 the cities in California, notably San Francisco, experienced a considerable amount of difficulty with the problem of indigent single men during the winter months. Carleton H. Parker, at one time executive officer of the Division of Immigration and Housing, pointed out that in December 1913 a survey made in San Francisco of the 10- and 15-cent lodging houses and cheap hotels indicated that there were about 40,000 single men "lying in," so to speak, in the city for the winter; a similar survey, made at the same time, indicated some 25,000 indigent single men in Los Angeles; and important additions came from Stockton, Fresno, and Bakersfield. (See The Casual Laborer and Other Essays, 1920, p. 80.) Surveys made by private social agencies in Los Angeles and San Francisco in 1924, 1927, and 1929 indicated the existence of the same general situation. (See Newcomers and Nomads in California, supra, p. 28.) Farm labor, as such, became increasingly migratory and seasonal in character, and winter unemployment increased. In 1914 the Commission of Immigration and Housing, in a report filed with Gov. Hiram Johnson, on the subject of unemployment, called attention to the fact that a serious situation had even then developed within the State with respect to unemployed transient labor. In the winter of 1921 this unemployment problem in connection with transient labor became so acute that a series of mass meetings were held throughout the State. (See The Nation's Health, November 1921, for an article by Mr. Justin Miller, then executive officer of the Division of Immigration and Housing.)

An example of the early dislocations that occurred may be found in connection with the widespread importation of Mexican labor to California in the years from 1914 to 1929. The use of this labor created many of the problems in connection with health, housing, and relief, that have subsequently recurred in relation to the Dust Bowl migration. In many respects, the pattern is quite similar. But, while there were many manifestations of lack of population stability, these manifestations did not assume grave proportions until subsequent to 1929.

Even prior to 1929, a factor developed which has had an important influence upon migration. I refer, in this connection, to the ever-increasing mobility of population through the use of the automobile as a mode of transportation. Overland auto traffic started in 1912, when it was estimated that some 200 automobiles had crossed the continent. But the real tide of interstate auto traffic started in 1919; and, by 1922, it was estimated that some 22,000 cars crossed the continent. Since then, of course, the volume of interstate auto traffic has grown enormously. In the beginning, however, it was found that a considerable proportion of these new interstate migrants had to apply for one type or another of local, private, charitable assistance. A survey made of private agencies in western cities in 1925 pointed out that, even then, the burden of caring, from a welfare point of view, for this new migration was makng itself felt. (Automobile Migrants, by Adaline A. Buffington, The Family, July 1925.)

How California Has Met Crises in Migratory Problem

As the depression began to make itself felt subsequent to 1929, the migrant problem rapidly assumed serious proportions in California. In fact, during the years from 1929 to date, three serious crises have developed. The first, in 1931; the second, in 1935 and 1936, and the third, in 1937. By the autumn of 1931 it had become apparent that local and private agencies throughout the State had exhausted their resources with respect to the care of transients.

1931: LABOR-CAMP PROGRAM

In November 1931 the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, alarmed over reports then being received from private social agencies in Los Angeles, sent a committee to Sacramento to ask the Governor to call out the National Guard and station it along the State's border to keep back the horde of interstate transients then entering the State. The situation rapidly became so acute that on November 16, 1931, on the suggestion of the State unemployment commission, Governor Rolph appointed a State labor camp committee and allocated to it approximately $110,000 from the emergency funds of the State to maintain a number of labor camps, or shelters, for transient men. These camps, which were maintained during the winter of 1931 and 1932, helped to tide the State over this period. On November 24, 1931, however (San Francisco Examiner of that date), Governor Rolph announced that law-enforcement officials at the border towns had been instructed to invoke the vagrancy statutes in an effort to turn back transients who at that time were allegedly entering the State at the rate of 1,200 a day. Appropriation for the camp program was quickly exhausted, and again, early in 1933, an emergency situation had arisen. It should be remembered, in this connection, that the problem encountered in 1931 and 1933 was primarily a problem of indigent and destitute transients, for the most part single men and boys. The influx of Dust Bowl migrants, as such, had not as yet made itself noticeable, as began to be the case subsequent to 1933. In the fall of 1933 the problem again became most acute. A 1-day census of transients was taken on September 1, 1933, which indicated that at that time there were present in California approximately 101,174 destitute transients. Prior to this date a State-wide conference had been called on the transient problem, at San Francisco, by the State emergency relief commission for August 17 and 18, 1933. To indicate how serious the problem was at that time, it is sufficient to point out that the railroad having the largest mileage in California reported nearly a quarter of a million evictions of trespassers from trains within the State of California in the first 6 months of 1933. During this 7-month period, 49 trespassers had been killed and 117 others injured on this one railroad in California. The consensus at this conference was unanimous that Federal aid must be solicited, and to this end California took the initiative in urging congressional action.

The gravity of the situation in California was, of course, one of the important considerations that led to the creation of the Federal Transient Service, which went into effect in connection with the passage of the Federal Emergency Relief Act in 1933. During the period from May 12, 1933, until September 20, 1935, when the Federal Transient Service was discontinued, the rigor of the situation in California was considerably abated. How important this Service was in California is indicated by the fact that although California, according to the census of 1930, had only 4.7 percent of the total population of the Nation, it was found that the California case load of the Federal Transient Service accounted for about 13.5 percent of all transients aided by the Service. At times during this period the Federal Transient Service was caring for as many as 38,815 transients in California.

1935–36: BORDER PATROL

The abrupt cessation of this service in the fall of 1935 once again created an emergency in California. So grave did the situation become that the then chief of police of the city of Los Angeles established a border patrol at some 16 border stations at which, throughout the months of November and December 1935, and January, February, March, and April 1936, some 125 policemen in the city of Los Angeles were on duty in an effort to turn back all incoming migrants. The practice of the border patrol during the time it was in operation was outlined as follows: (1) All incoming trains, passenger and freight, were searched for persons evading payment of train fare. (2) Such persons once detected were charged with suspicion of vagrancy and evasion of payment of fare, both misdemeanors. (3) Such persons were then taken before magistrates where they were given a chance of leaving the State or serving jail terms. (4) All highway and secondary roads were carefully watched and persons having no apparent means of support were, as the phrase was, "discouraged" from entering California. (See San Francisco Examiner, February 5, 1936.) This border patrol was established, incidentally, despite the fact that on February 18, 1936, the attorney general of California had rendered an opinion to the effect that the patrol was illegal. It might be noted, in passing, that it was also ineffective, since only about 1,400 persons were actually turned back at the border.

When the border patrol was abandoned, an effort was made to get at the situation through legislative action, and in the 1935 session of the legislature, assembly bill No. 2459 was introduced—a copy of which I am filing with this statement. This bill, if enacted, would have had the effect of preventing so-called paupers, indigents, and transients from entering the State. It might also be added, in this connection, that on January 23, 1939, assembly bill No. 1356 was introduced, which, if enacted, would have had the same effect. I have cited these early approaches to the problem that were made in California as indicative of its seriousness at that time. The failure of the border patrol, waiving the question of its legality, is, of course, the best proof of the futility of all such measures.

1937: F. S. A. PROGRAM

Throughout 1937 the problem became increasingly acute, with conferences being held on the problem of transient and migrant care in San Francisco, Tulare, San Jose, and Los Angeles in the summer, and numerous applications and petitions were sent to Washington for Federal assistance throughout the year. Earlier in the year, namely, on January 29, 1937, Governor Merriam announced (San Jose Mercury Herald of that date) that he was giving consideration to the possibility of utilizing the powers of the department of public health to revive the border patrol, to check the influx of migrants into the State. On August 12, 1937, the Supervisor's Association of the San Joaquin Valley met and considered the matter, and petitioned the Federal Government for immediate assistance. By July 20, 1937, the situation was so acute in Los Angeles County (and this during a period of usually high seasonal employment) that the board of supervisors adopted a resolution which was sent to the Governors of the 48 States, warning that Los Angeles County would refuse to extend any further care of migrants.

Accompanying all of this activity was a noticeable trend, as manifested by the action of numerous county boards of supervisors throughout California, announcing that all further aid would be suspended, posting signs along the highways, warning migrants and transients to move on, and curtailing the extension of medical aid to the nonresident sick. Also accompanying this general campaign throughout the State, there was a strong drive against the squatter camps and the so-called jungle camps which had sprung up throughout the State after the suspension of the Federal Transient Service, paralleling a similar growth of so-called squatter camps and jungle camps which had been noticeable in 1931 and 1932. In addition to this activity, various State, county, and Federal agencies in California broadcast warnings throughout the Nation that migrants should not come to this State.

Yet despite all of the concerted activities, and despite the fact that, in the years intervening since 1931, thousands of migrants had been transported back to their place of origin, the influx into California continued. The emergency of 1937 was, in fact, only abated by prompt and effective action on the part of the Farm Security Administration which, in the spring of 1938, inaugurated its medical-aid program for indigent agricultural workers, and later in the same year began its program of grants-in-aid which, for the time being, at any rate, relieved the pressure upon the State and county governments in California. Had it not been for this action on the part of the Farm Security Administration and its continuance to the present time, the situation would be much graver in California than it is today. From the preceding outline, it is, I think, apparent that California has been torn by agitation over the migrant issue more or less continuously from 1931 to date, with periodic crises which have arisen from time to time and which have only been overcome in each instance by Federal intervention.

TRENDS OF MIGRATION SINCE 1933

Subsequent to 1933, the migration from the Dust Bowl or Great Plains area began to show startling proportions. Inasmuch as the details of this migration, its character and scope, will, I understand, be presented to you by other witnesses, I shall not go into the matter in great detail. A number of circumstances, however, combine to intensify the hardships experienced by this group of migrants. It has been, for the most part, a movement of families, not of single men; of people looking for permanent settlement, not for temporary employment; and has been crowded into a brief span of years. The distances traveled by the migrants have been considerable, and the migrants themselves have been, for the most part, wholly without funds or property or other means of temporary subsistence. This particular migration, moreover, coincides with a period when controlled programs of one type or another, Federal and State, had begun to be largely operative throughout California agriculture, so that by 1938 the production of most crops in the State was subject to restrictive provisions. Moreover, the Dust Bowl migrants, in their experiences prior to coming to California, had been familiar with an entirely different agricultural economy to that which they encountered in this State. Here they found high land values, heavy operating costs, and large-scale industrialized production; in short, they found it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to gain a foothold in agriculture other than as seasonal laborers in an already crowded labor market.

Not only did their presence, as such, present a serious problem to the people of California, but, by moving into an already crowded agricultural labor market, they were forced, by the desperate circumstances facing them, to offer competition to agricultural workers long resident in California. The effect of this surplus of workers in agriculture was twofold; in the first place, it resulted in decreased annual earnings in a type of employment that has never returned a living wage, on an annual basis, for most of the workers employed; and, second, it decreased the average period of employment, for those who did find work. The trends which I have mentioned were carefully considered in a report entitled "The Problems of Relief in Agriculture in California," submitted to the State relief administration in December 1937. This competition not only seriously affected the welfare of agricultural workers in general in California, but it constituted a grave threat to the small family-sized farm in this State. As indicating the nature of this competition, I quote from a statement of a representative of the Farm Bureau Federation, made on July 20, 1937 (San Francisco Chronicle of that date):

"Wherever such a large surplus is available, there are those who will chisel, using cheap labor and cutting prices. That condition is a constant threat to the independent farmers who attempt to maintain good standards of living, and who work their properties themselves with the aid of their families. The accumulation of surplus labor is a menace to agricultural stability throughout the State."

I shall not touch upon the burden that this movement of interstate migrants has caused the State of California since the inauguration of the State relief administration. State appropriations for unemployment relief have mounted to nearly $50,000,000 a year, causing huge deficits and the unbalancing of our State budget. What I have said should, however, indicate the continuing gravity of the situation insofar as this State is concerned.

But there are much larger issues involved in the problem of interstate migration than those which have to do with the administration of welfare programs as such.

Causes of Migration

The Dust Bowl migrants are for the most part casualties of change. They are not vagrants or paupers or hoboes. They are American citizens who have been thrown out of gainful employment and self-supporting occupations largely as a result of the profound dislocations which have taken place and are continuing to take place in American agriculture. These changes have to do largely with such matters as the displacement of workers through mechanization; the curtailment of crop acreage; the loss of export markets in agriculture, and numerous other factors. Most of these matters were gone into extensively at the reopening of the La Follette committee hearings in Washington, in May of this year, and I shall only allude to the testimony there presented. It has been generally estimated, for example, that with restricted demand and increased efficiency, we can now produce the normal requirement for agricultural products with approximately one and a half million fewer workers in agriculture than were needed in 1929. (Migration in the Near Future, by T. J. Woofter, Jr., given to the National Conference of Social Work, April 15, 1940.) It has likewise been estimated that in the next decade technological changes may result in the displacement of another million and a half workers. The Russell Sage Foundation on February 10 of this year, as a result of its investigation, stated that within the immediate future an outgoing migration of from 1,500,000 to 6,000,000 people might be anticipated from 4 major depressed areas in the United States.

Population has become congested in rural areas and the pressure of population upon resources has been most striking in precisely those areas where resources are most limited. Because these changes which are taking place have by no means worked themselves through to a conclusion, it is altogether reasonable to assume that more and more workers will be displaced in agriculture, and that we can anticipate a continuing, although perhaps a diminishing, influx of migrants into this State. It has long since become generally recognized in California that this is a problem which the State alone, or the State acting in concert with other States, cannot solve. It is a problem that calls for far-reaching Federal action.

Possible Effect of National Defense on Migration

On considering what type of action should be undertaken by the Federal Government, I should like to stress the importance of taking a long-range point of view of the entire problem. An entirely new factor has developed in connection with this problem since September 1939, and the resultant preoccupation of the American people with the problems of national defense. It is necessary for us to remember that in 1917 and 1918 this State faced a serious problem of labor shortage. Farms, canneries, and food-processing concerns in California at that time had to resort to every conceivable type of expedient to recruit sufficient labor to meet the expansion which wartime necessity placed upon the agricultural resources of this State. This same situation, or a similar situation, is likely to recur in the immediate future. Consequently, while there is still a surplus, and a sizable surplus of agricultural workers in this State, this surplus can be reduced swiftly as a result of conscription and other measures now being undertaken by the Federal Government.

The full and efficient operation of our considerable agricultural resources is a matter of vital concern from the point of view of national defense. And it is not altogether unlikely that the migrants who have entered this State since 1933 from the Great Plains area may be the saving factor in a highly difficult situation. Likewise the development of wartime industries, or industries vital to national defense, many of which are rapidly expanding in California today, will unquestionably have the effect of drawing off a certain amount of the existing surplus of agricultural workers.

Migrants coming to California, in the years subsequent to 1929, have not found those employment and work opportunities that were associated with the pioneer West. Moving into California and the Northwest, in a period of general economic stagnation, with work opportunities, industrial and rural, seriously restricted, they have faced an extremely difficult position. Frontier conditions no longer obtain ; settlement is no longer axiomatic.

Possibilities of Expansion in West

While this general situation is only too obvious, nevertheless we still have frontiers in the West, new frontiers which are being opened up largely by reason of the enterprise and initiative of Government itself. We have by no means exhausted the possibilities of a further extension of the rich natural resources as yet undeveloped in the West. Most of the States on the Pacific coast are fully capable of sustaining a much larger population than they at present have, but this assumption, of course, presupposes governmental intervention and large-scale long-range planning.

Here, in California, to mention but two major projects, we have in the Central Valley water project, and the future development of the East Mesa District of Imperial Valley, two frontiers of the kind that I have mentioned. Here are illustrations of the opportunities that still exist and that, if fully utilized, can be made to sustain a portion of the population that we have received. But these are opportunities which, if not realized, will certainly not be regained. They are, in effect, the last opportunities of the sort that remain.

It is, therefore, a matter of grave concern that the land to be brought into production, in connection with these projects, should be carefully considered with respect to the type of settlement made available, to the end that the most democratic utilization of this land can be effected. Are the lands that will be watered by these projects to be developed on the basis of existing patterns of large-scale commercial corporate farming? If this type of development is to be used, then it seems to me that by legislative action and through the joint efforts of State and Federal Governments, precautions should be taken to see to it that those workers who are to secure employment on large-scale commercial farms should be afforded a standard of living with respect to housing, social security and wages that would at least approximate the generally accepted concepts of an American standard of living. The workers on these farms should have at least the same measure of security that they would have if they were operating their own single family farms. If this precaution is not taken, then we are indirectly substituting rural slums for our traditional concept of American life.

On the other hand, this need not be the pattern which the development of these projects will follow. Demonstration units of the type that have already been established by the Farm Security Administration might well be used to determine whether or not, with adequate Government supervision and financing, large-scale cooperative farming can be made to provide these workers with adequate housing, security, social services, medical care, and the other items that necessarily enter into our concept of decent standards of American life.

NECESSITY OF STIMULATING INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

There is one other aspect of this matter which I should like to stress. The problem of the migrant is not just a specialized social problem as such. If the inequalities and discriminatory phases of all welfare programs as they relate to migrants could be eliminated tomorrow, it would not solve the migrant problem, although it would unquestionably improve the immediate plight of these people. The migrant problem is part and parcel of the general economic problem in the Nation today. It can only be approached, from the point of view of a solution, by a general recognition of the necessity of stimulating general industrial expansion. Work opportunities in agriculture are likely to decline, not to increase. Agriculture cannot sustain the present rural population. And from what sources is it reasonable to anticipate a general stimulation of industrial production? It seems to me that it is becoming increasingly apparent that the Government must, more and more, assume the role of the enterpriser in the sense that it can stimulate and initiate activities resulting in mass employment. How this can be done has been variously illustrated. For example, it has been pointed out that if all the forests of the West were owned by the Federal Government, all the migrants that have migrated into the Pacific Coast States could be employed in highly valuable and socially desirable work in these forests in the direction of fire prevention, soil conservation, reforestation, and related activities. Whether activities of this type be regarded as work programs, as such, or as rehabilitation projects, is immaterial. Here is a field in which, at great social benefit, work can be made available. But private initiative cannot stimulate or launch projects of this kind; they can only be undertaken, on the scale demanded, by the Federal Government.

GOVERNMENT RELIEF AID ESSENTIAL

In moving into this field, Government is, in no sense competing with private initiative. On the contrary, it is initiating production and creating valuable services, providing mass employment on the scale demanded, and, in so doing, is merely exercising its inherent power to provide for the general welfare. The field that might well lend itself to providing employment is the extension of badly needed social services in rural areas. Speaking at the National Conference of Social Work at Grand Rapids, Mich., the director of women's activities for the American Farm Bureau Federation stated that medical clinics at the present time are available to only 2 percent of the rural population, although approximately half of the births take place annually in this group.

As late as 1938, 1,338 of 3,072 rural counties had no hospitals. At the height of prosperity, four-fifths of the rural areas lacked adequate medical care. I mention this merely to indicate that here is a field in which a sponsorship of social service through Government assistance and support could not only meet an important and immediate need, but would also stimulate employment. It would also seem that the sponsorship requirement for Work Projects Administration projects might well be relaxed in rural areas or placed upon such a basis as to encourage the inauguration of services such as I have mentioned.

To indicate some of the problems and difficulties which have arisen in the absence of more direct Federal assistance on the migrant question, I should like to point out that special-interest pressure groups in this State have seized upon the migrant problem as a means of lowering all relief standards in this State.

Through cleverly timed publicity campaigns, usually launched on the eve of a session of the legislature, they have endeavored, by all the resources at their disposal, to identify, in the public mind, the migrant problem and the problem of unemployment. A studied attempt has been made in this State to convince the public that the migrant problem is somehow synonymous with unemployment in general. No attempt has been made by these groups to differentiate between the two problems, and so successful has this propaganda been in its effect, that the legislature has constantly lowered general relief standards and allotments in this State, which is severely felt by our destitute unemployed citizens. Acting in response to these pressures, and with a view to discouraging an influx of indigents to receive unemployment relief aid in California, the legislature has increased the eligibility requirements for relief from 1 year to 3 years. While, without my approval, the 3-year requirement was restricted in effect to those who enter California subsequent to February 18, 1940, nevertheless the result of this legislation has been to increase the hardships of migrants and to cast an additional burden on such agencies as the Farm Security Administration.

In the absence of adequate Federal assistance, it has become extremely difficult to secure an equitable administration of welfare programs in this State. It is in part for this reason that your committee can discharge such an important public service by calling attention to the Nation-wide aspects of this matter and by pointing the way to Federal intervention.

The migrant problem in California has lent itself readily to unfair exploitation for partisan political purposes. Taxpayers naturally want to see their burdens lightened, and when they are made to believe that hordes of migrants are flooding the State, draining its resources and undermining its standards, they frequently react in a manner that works an injury not only to migrants but to long-time residents in this State.

In making this statement I do not attempt to minimize the seriousness of the migrant problem as it affects California, but I do feel that all of the facts, not a few selected facts, should be presented if a clear understanding of the issues involved is to be had. Frankly, we are looking to this committee for such a presentation. One difficulty that we have experienced has been that which I have indicated, namely, a distorted presentation of the facts for their propagandistic effects by pressure groups. These groups, for example, appeared in Sacramento and bitterly opposed all assistance to migrants, contending that the problem is one for the exclusive consideration of the Federal Government. At the same time, these same groups appear in Washington, and with equal vehemence oppose the Farm Security Administration for its intervention in California. These same interests never point out, for example, that this State has profited handsomely from the interstate migrations. It has been estimated, for example, that in 1939 out-of-State tourists spent $193,000,000 in California, and that over $10,000,000 in taxes annually reach the State treasury from travelers and tourists. (See statement of the Traveler's Aid Society of Los Angeles released August 29, 1940.)

Furthermore, the connection between migration and unemployment does not have the importance which has been attributed to it. The registration figures kept by the Federal Transient Service, for example, indicate that on December 31, 1934, the registration of transients for assistance was equal to only 56 persons per 10,000 of general population, and it is generally recognized that the highest case loads and the largest rates of unemployment in relief to the total population are to be found in those distressed areas which were losing population prior to 1929 (Population, and Economic Recovery, by Howard Brown, published by the University of Southern California Press, May 1937). This general observation, however, should not blind us to the fact that under present conditions an enormous aggregate of new population in a particular area, with its inevitable fringe of indigents and near-indigents does constitute an extraordinary problem for any settled community, and this is, of course, particularly true where the conditions of settlement have themselves changed.

Under these circumstances, a State which has been receiving a large net increase in population through interstate migration, such as California, necessarily requires Federal assistance, not only to provide temporary relief and assistance, but to finance resettlement projects themselves, and also through an established Nation-wide policy on migration, to check and also to guide and direct the flow of migration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. From the point of view of the administration of welfare programs, it seems to me to be highly desirable that there be uniform provisions among the several States with respect to residence requirements, not only as to when residence, or legal settlement is acquired, but it is also desirable when it is lost by absence or nonresidence, that some degree of uniformity be established with respect to relief standards; that an effort be made, in other words, to equalize standards in relation to living costs. This is, I know, a difficult problem, involving, as it does, a consideration of the average per capita distribution of wealth and income in a particular State, and other variable factors. But the principle itself is, it seems to me, sound.

Uniformity of this type can be achieved in one of two ways. A special category might be added to the Social Security Act, to provide for transients. This is the basis of the proposal advanced by Congressman Jerry Voorhis, and embodied in H. R. 2974 and H. R. 2775. I have previously endorsed these measures as being at least a step in the right direction. But it is apparent that, perhaps, a better and sounder approach to the entire problem, is for the Federal Government to concern itself directly with the administration of relief, by providing grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act, to a single welfare department in each State, to be administered under proper supervision, so as to insure uniformity of regulations and requirements, and also to insure adherence to the highest personnel practices and standards. There would be, under this proposal, but a single welfare agency in each State, which would get around one difficulty of the moment.

For example, at present the Farm Security Administration, by making grants-in-aid, parallels, to some extent, the State relief administration. It would also get away from any further break-down of welfare programs into specialized categories. Quite apart from how the end is achieved, it seems clear that the present settlement laws of the various States are chaotic and conflicting.

I am, however, of the opinion that the proper approach to the unemployment problem in general is not through a dole system, however administered, but through a sound works program, jointly undertaken by the States and the Federal Government aimed at providing rehabilitation through productive employment.

2. A paramount consideration with respect to migration is a recognition of the necessity for the formulation of a comprehensive national policy. Population movement has been guided, in the past, through the simple expedient of allowing settlers to move into unoccupied areas or through opening up new regions for homesteading. This policy—that of tolerance—no longer squares with existing realities. Today there is a great necessity for planned resettlement; a policy that will embrace, in addition to guidance with respect to available areas, organized assistance to migrants during the period when they are endeavoring to gain a foothold. No single aspect of the dust-bowl migration to California has been more deplorable than the absence of this kind of guidance, planning, and direction. As a result, many migrant settlements have grown up in the State located in the most unlikely areas with respect to soil considerations, work opportunities, and future development. We must stimulate our planning programs, down to the level of rural county planning, if this mistake is to be corrected in a measure, and if we are to plan for those who may still migrate to this State. And, above the level of county and State planning, some agency such as the National Resources Planning Board should continue to study this problem and to work out general regional plans for development and settlement. Planning alone, however, is not enough.

One major difficulty with the migrant settlements in California, in addition to the fact that in many instances they are improperly located, is the fact that no effort has been made to provide at least the minimum social facilities. If a framework had been provided for these communities, in the sense of adequate roads, proper sanitation, water and sewer facilities, then even if the housing was makeshift and improvised, the community might still have shown definite development and improvement over a period of years.

Because this precaution has not been taken, it is apparent that we have permitted several potential rural slum areas to come into existence in California. To correct this situation requires, in the judgment of this administration, the creation of a State Housing Authority to cooperate with the United States Housing Authority in planning a comprehensive program for rural housing in California. In the meantime, however, what guidance has been supplied, and the ameliorating steps that have been taken from the point of view at least of shelter if not housing, have been taken by the Farm Security Administration. In their mobile camps, migratory labor camps, and farm laborers' homes, they have worked out, on a demonstration basis, the general pattern which might be followed, on a broader plan, by a State Housing Authority. For this reason, I feel, of course, that the Farm Security Administration deserves the strongest possible support in the furtherance of its camp, housing, grants-in-aid, and medical programs.

It is also quite possible that, before the United States Housing Authority can be effectively used in rural areas, some amendments may be necessary to the act, in order to provide a more flexible mode of operation, and to take into consideration some of the factors encountered in rural housing. Planning along the lines that I have indicated should be premised upon the assumption that organized assistance is a prerequisite to successful resettlement under modern conditions.

3. There is obviously a field in which much can be accomplished through interstate cooperation on a regional basis. The solicitation of out-of-State cotton pickers for employment in Arizona is a matter of direct concern to the State of California, as experience has shown that migrants, having reached Arizona, are likely to enter this State. Not only is regional cooperation necessary in connection with matters of this type, but it is also extremely important generally with respect to planned resettlement and the integrated functioning of employment services. The groundwork for this type of cooperation has already been laid through the Conference of Governors of the 11 Western States, and it is certainly to be hoped that those States which have been seriously affected by migration can unite and cooperate in working out a unified legislative program.

4. There are certain fields in which Federal action can be quite effective other than those which I have mentioned. For example, the operations of labor contractors and private employment services, including those recruiting agencies which do not charge a fee for their services, might well be investigated, with the thought in mind of placing their activities under some type of Federal legislation, particularly inasmuch as members of these labor-contractor and employment services operate throughout the Pacific coast and Southwestern States.

Certain of their operations have long given rise to grave abuses and they are one of the factors at present which militate against a proper functioning of the employment services. Likewise, the Federal Government could do much that would be extremely helpful in the form of maintaining adequate and effective border counts on the movement of population in the West. If some such agency as the Department of Agriculture would maintain a series of such border stations, keeping a constant check on the westward and eastward movement of migrants, it would perform an important function.

5. It is also apparent that the time is rapidly approaching when we must give serious consideration to the advisability of including agricultural labor within the protection of most modern social legislation. By this I refer in particular to such legislation as wages and hours, social security, and the National Labor Relations Act. The application of such legislation to agricultural labor presents many difficult problems, but there is nothing inherently difficult about the extension of such legislation, and the administrative details are capable of being satisfactorily worked out. The extension of legislation of this character to agricultural workers will become essential if we are to prevent the creation of an American peasantry. If for no other reason than considerations affecting national security and national defense, it is imperative that the living and working conditions of this large segment of American population be protected by adequate safeguards.

In closing this statement I should like to quote again a passage from the report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, which I quoted before the La Follette committee. The committee said that it observed with deep concern "an increasing tendency for the rungs of the agricultural ladder to become bars, forcing imprisonment in a fixed social status from which it is increasingly difficult to escape * * * should the rungs of the agricultural ladder become rigid between classes, an American ideal would be lost. In a community of rigid groups normal democratic processes are unable to function."

TESTIMONY OF GOV. CULBERT L. OLSON—Resumed

Governor OLSON. Now, if there are any particular questions—and I understand there may be—that you want to ask me, I shall try to answer them as best I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Governor, I think that is a very fair, and I know it is a very valuable, statement.

There are some questions probably that the Congressmen will desire to ask you. One of the things that I wonder if you will agree with me on, and with Mayor LaGuardia of New York, and the other Governors, is that this mass migration of destitute citizens from State to State is a national problem.

Governor OLSON. I certainly will agree to that, and I have consistently taken that position in the past.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. And, Governor, we have a school of thought, prevalent in California and other States, which says, "Why don't they stay at home?"

Well, now, to my way of thinking, speaking for myself only, that is a partial solution only. The Farm Security Administration has taken care of 500,000 families, that is, loaned them money to buy seed, a horse, a mule, a cow, to keep them; but there are 800,000 uncared for. And there comes a time, when, on account of worn-out soil, mechanization, unemployment, that the American people will move rather than to sit and starve.

Governor OLSON. Unquestionably.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I will say that I think your recommendations are along the lines that have been discussed in our other hearings. We opened in New York. We went from New York to Alabama, Chicago, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and here.

The reason the committee decided on going into New York and New Jersey first was to show that this was not a problem peculiar to California alone, although we are the State of destination for the greatest numbers of migrants. And we found that New York State spent $3,000,000 last year for the care of these destitute people. We found 5,000 deportations from the State of New York.

Governor OLSON. You mean only $3,000,000 for the care of migrants in New York?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Governor OLSON. You mean that was outside of and in addition to their usual State, city, and county relief load?

The CHAIRMAN. Absolutely; yes.

Governor OLSON. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, another thing that we found is that there are several States in the Union that make it a misdemeanor to transport a migrant citizen across the State line. And we also found out that in South Dakota there is a statute that it makes it a felony, a penitentiary offense, to transport a destitute migrant citizen across the State line.

Governor OLSON. Have those laws ever been held up as constitutional?

The CHAIRMAN. They have never reached the Supreme Court.

Governor OLSON. I will predict when they do they will be nullified.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Now, the approach to the solution has been mentioned many places, namely, to help them remain home as far as possible. And there has been another problem that has been developed in the hearings, and that is transportation by trucks across State lines. In Florida they charge them $17 a head and then collect up there in New Jersey and New York. Certainly this committee can make some recommendations about that, can they not, where they cross State lines?

Governor OLSON. Well, I would, of course, say that this committee could make recommendations about that as well as anything. Were you going to question the soundness of the recommendations that might be made on that subject, or where you asking me about that?

The CHAIRMAN. No. I am just getting into the proposition to make you acquainted with some of the problems that we have found, you see.

Governor OLSON. That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we also find out that private employment agencies are taking the last dollar of these migrants and promising them jobs over the State line. Certainly we as a committee can make recommendations concerning that, because that is interstate commerce.

Governor OLSON. I have ventured to make a recommendation on that subject because that, I believe, has been a phase of the problem that needs attention and needs regulation and planning.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Now, Governor, I am just thinking out loud with you because you have studied this problem and you are the Governor of the State. And as we talk to these migrant witnesses in the various hearings we find out that they received a lot of misinformation regarding employment in the States of destination.

FEDERAL INFORMATION SERVICE

Do you not think, Governor, that probably a recommendation along the line of some Federal agency or local agency to give correct information would be helpful?

Governor OLSON. I do. And I believe instances of misinformation about opportunities for employment are quite easily ascertained in your inquiry.

There has been a drive against that, I might say, by our own State Immigration and Housing Authority. We have endeavored to correct such misinformation so far as our State agency has been able to do it here, with reference to misinformation given to migratory laborers from other States as to opportunities in California for employment when there was really a surplus, a tremendous surplus of agricultural laborers and laborers of all sorts in California. And to the extent possible, we have done what we could. But I do believe that, along with the entire principle, this is a Federal problem; it should be handled also through Federal agencies.

SETTLEMENT LAWS

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Governor, what bothers me—speaking for myself personally again—is that the figures indicate, so far as we have been able to get them, that about four million of the so-called migrant citizens are moving from State to State. I haven't read your report, but I don't doubt that you hit on the subject of these various so-called "settlement laws"—1 year in one State, 5 years in another State; people have lost their residence in the State of origin; they haven't gained any residence in the State of destination. One of the peculiar things I learned before I left Washington, Governor, was simply this: That the Census Bureau's final report is being held up because they cannot find the States——

Governor Olson (interposing). Of residence.

The Chairman (continuing). Of residence of hundreds of thousands of our citizens, and that's a fine thing for us, isn't it?

Governor Olson. Yes. Well, it is a pathetic situation. You mean conflicts in the various State relief eligibility rules?

The Chairman. That's it.

Governor Olson. I have covered that in my statement and made recommendations for uniformity.

The Chairman. How would you go about that, Governor?

Governor Olson. Well, if the migratory labor problem is handled through the Social Security Administration, part of it, so as to give grants-in-aid, then those grants-in-aid can require uniformity, and the standard can be set for the various States as it has been set in other grants-in-aid measures.

Now, that has been a very cruel thing in California to migrants who find themselves here, ineligible for any State relief. And because of the tremendous burden of State relief on the tax resources of this State there has been a determined purpose to increase restrictions with reference to residence requirement, and also other restrictions which leave the migratory people in absolute distress and want, resorting to private charity but no public aid.

We had in our State relief eligibility law a residence requirement of 1 year until during the past year the legislature—and at a time when our relief load was at an all-time high after the W. P. A. had curtailed to the extent of some 30,000 cases or more that came back onto the relief administration, and it was amounting to more than $50,000,000 a year for unemployment-dole relief—the legislature began writing in restrictions to the relief appropriations allowances, both as to the "ceiling" for families, and particularly as to residence requirements. And the present law requires a 3-year residence in the State before an applicant for relief is eligible for it.

So that emphasizes, I believe, Mr. Tolan, the situation in which those who come here seeking employment for one reason or another are driven here in the hope of an opportunity to find a way of living for themselves. Under the law there is a provision for assisting them to return to their own previous places of residence, but there is a large portion unable to obtain relief through any State relief support, and therefore they should be considered by the Federal Government.

The Chairman. You see, Governor, the weakness in many cases of this "return home" is that there is nothing for them to do when they get home.

Governor Olson. I realize that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, take Nebraska, where Congressman Curtis' district is. His district has decreased in population about half—his congressional district. Is that right, Carl?

Mr. CURTIS. Not quite. It has borne half of the loss of the entire State, and the State's loss is about third highest in the Union. So my district perhaps has lost a greater percent of population than any congressional district in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the point of it is this, Governor: They have had a 7-year drought there, and it has been absolutely impossible to make a living. And you say, "Send them back home." In the meantime, when they have moved they have lost their residence and they can't get it back there.

One million people in the last 10 years have left the Great Plains States. One million people! Speaking again for myself, only, it keeps recurring to me—and I may be wrong—that there should be some sort of a national status for these hundreds of thousands of migrants who are forced from their homes under circumstances over which they have no control.

In other words, Governor, we absolutely take care of iron and coal and steel and other commodities which move across State lines. They have free flow between the States. But we have not done much for human interstate commerce; have we?

Governor OLSON. No. Of course, I think it is entirely a false premise to say that we should, even if provision were made, consider it a sound permanent policy to return people to places where they cannot find a basis of subsistence. And the way I look at it here in California is this: These people that are driven by physical conditions from their homes, the foundation for their work, however industrious they may be, taken from under them, naturally, as you stated, are going to go some place, find some place under the sun where they may get their feet on the ground and establish themselves and raise their families and, by their own industry, support them.

They have come to California in droves because they felt the natural resources and climatic conditions of this great State might offer them that opportunity, and it does. But they cannot be assimilated immediately. It takes time. There is where this Federal aid should come. Instead of throwing them onto our State tax resources when we are carrying a heavy burden for those who are eligible under restrictions of our laws as to residence qualifications, there should be that Federal aid given until they can become assimilated, until our own State planning and our own industries can be expanded to absorb them.

Now, the great central valleys of this State are going to be supplied with water and power for extensive development, as you know, Mr. Tolan. We have resources sufficient to support a population of millions of people more than we have. And so in other parts of the State our resources, potential means of production, are sufficient to support many times the population of California, in the long-range view of it.

Now, I feel that every State in the Union and its resources, California's included, should not be denied access to by the man who wants to work, to sustain himself, build a strong citizenship, a home, any more than it should be denied to the adventures of capital.

We want to consider the problem here in this State from that viewpoint, asking that the Federal Government realize that during the time that these developments occur, during the time that we are working out these things through every State policy and agency that we are able to formulate and act through, that the migrant is the Federal Government's problem. And they should help us.

And in the course of time, through an extension of the work of the Farm Security Administration and coordination of its work with our State agencies, we can go forward to make these people permanent residents, good citizens, building our population, enjoying the benefits of our great resources, so that our resources will serve mankind instead of being narrowly considered merely for us who happen to be here now with an attitude and a complex of exclusion of everyone else that has not happened to come here with money. That is my attitude, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it is not a good thing for the Nation's life to be kicking around about 4,000,000 people, Stateless and homeless and voteless?

Governor OLSON. And they can be placed under sensible planning, with a knowledge of where the resources are and where they can be helped to get a start. I think that is an important consideration for Congress.

POPULATION INCREASE OF A MILLION AND A HALF SINCE 1930

Mr. OSMERS. Governor Olson, what has been the increase in population in the State of California in the last 10 years?

Governor OLSON. Well, the increase in the last 10 years has been a million and a half, I should say. I have it in my statement. I can check that.

Mr. OSMERS. The actual figures are not important. What I have in mind is this, Governor: The majority of these migrants have come in in the last 5 years, have they, from the Dust Bowl area, the Great Plains area?

Governor OLSON. Well, yes. Of course, the Dust Bowl migration has added acutely to the situation. However, as I point out in this statement, we can look back in the history of this State almost to its earliest days and see the migrant problem.

Mr. OSMERS. Of course, everyone in California is a migrant?

Governor OLSON. Has been so considered. Of course, the problem has been contributed to by numerous factors.

I think there have been times when the desire on the part of those engaged in the developing of the resources through their capital investments have sought labor as cheaply as it could be obtained. I believe there have been times when contract labor has been brought in from Mexico, and there have been other more or less alien labor elements entering in here to perform labor cheaply, and that has tended to displace the normal opportunities for native American citizens to labor in the development of California.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, I had this in mind when I asked you about the increase in the population in the last 5 years and in the last 10 years: From the studies that the committee made so far it is apparent that migration to California from these underproductive areas will continue over the next few years. In other words, if in Mr. Curtis' area they haven't made a crop in 7 years, and a third of the people moved out, if they don't make crops for the next 2 or 3 years a lot more will move out, and probably come to California.

GREATER RELIEF PROBLEM

Now, compared with 5 years ago, does the State of California have any greater proportioned relief problem than they had then?

Governor **Olson**. You mean during the past 5 years?

Mr. **Osmers**. I am trying to find out the effect of immigration.

Governor **Olson**. Oh, yes; it increased our relief problem immensely.

Mr. **Osmers**. In other words, with more of them still coming, the chances are that the situation, from the California tax standpoint, will become more aggravated rather than less aggravated?

Governor **Olson**. Well, necessarily so, that is, assuming that private employment is not expanded through some temporary preparedness expenditure, or anything of that sort. But even then, if that continued, I feel certain that it would continue to load our relief agencies.

Mr. **Osmers**. Yes; I mean if you had skilled defense labor, why——

Governor **Olson** (interposing). And especially if there were no restrictions as to residence requirement. But there is the pathetic thing. They come here, and if they are not eligible to any State aid in the first place for 3 years they must rely upon some charity, private social charity somewhere, for their subsistence.

Mr. **Osmers**. Of course, if they don't, you will have violence.

Governor **Olson**. To avoid starvation. On the other hand, if there were no restriction as to residence, you might well see that, especially because California's budget allowance, although it may be still below a decent subsistence standard, is higher than that of most other States.

Mr. **Osmers**. Yes; I know that.

Governor **Olson**. And it would be an invitation to come here for relief, purely, if not for anything else, if that were not so. So you see it emphasizes the need for Federal attention and immediate attention, I think.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Curtis**. Governor, who takes care of the people who arrive here who cannot qualify for relief under State laws if they are hungry?

Governor **Olson**. I might say no one, except for such little aid as is given through our division of immigration and housing to try to get them placed through the F. S. A., with its limited funds, and through local voluntary charities.

It is entirely inadequate, of course. They are unable to draw from the money appropriated by the legislature for unemployment relief under existing law.

I might read section 10 of our Unemployment Relief Act—I don't believe I have it in this statement—that is operating now, which appropriated $24,347,091 to the relief administrator for unemployment relief doles, from the date of the act which was on May 21, 1940, until March 31, 1941. Section 10 of that act reads as follows:

> * * * None of the appropriation made by this act shall be expended for the relief of any person who:
>
> (1) Has not either (i) lived continuously in this State for five years, if he began to live in the State of California after June 1, 1940, or (ii) lived continuously in the State of California for three years, if he began to live in the State of California on or before June 1, 1940; or
>
> (2) Has lost his residence by remaining away from this State for an uninterrupted period of one year.
>
> Within the meaning of this subdivision (a), time spent in a public institution or on parole therefrom is to be disregarded in determining the period of residence in this State. Absence from the State for labor or other special or temporary purposes does not occasion loss of residence.
>
> (b) Notwithstanding the provisions of subdivision (a), the appropriation made by this act may be expended for the relief of any person who:
>
> (1) On February 18, 1940 (i) is receiving or has received relief from the Relief Administrator and the Relief Commission or (ii) is certified or has been certified to the Work Projects Administration or its predecessor by the Relief Administrator and the Relief Commission, and
>
> (2) Has not left the State with intent to reside elsewhere, and
>
> (3) Has not remained away from the State for a period of one year.
>
> (c) Notwithstanding the provisions of subdivision (a), the appropriation shall be available for relief pending transportation, but not to exceed thirty days, and for the costs of transportation of a nonresident to any State in which he resides. Every nonresident, who has once received assistance under this subdivision (c), or subdivision (c) of section 9 of Chapter 12 of the Statutes of 1940, shall not be granted further assistance from the appropriation made by this act.

I think that should be in your record as showing as completing my statement to you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Governor, there are one or two things I want to ask you about with reference to that section 10.

I see a thing in there that we have run into practically every place we have been. It seems to me that it is producing a great deal of trouble. For instance, under that section you require a person to reside in this State for 5 years before he is eligible for local relief, whereas a person going out of the State loses it within 1 year.

Now, if every State had that same provision, a person migrating would lose 4 years somewhere?

Governor OLSON. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. So it seems to me that that within itself is an argument for uniformity in our settlement laws.

Governor OLSON. Absolutely. I don't think there is any question about that. It is perfectly obvious that there must be uniformity in the settlement laws that have to do with eligibility for Federal or State aid because it is nothing but chaos and confusion as it stands.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, Governor, I have not seen your recommendations and, of course, I do not care about asking you to go over them in detail. But I am just wondering what your reaction is as to where the major emphasis should be placed; if it should be placed in an effort to stem the tide back at its point of origin, in other words, to tie the people down where they are?

REHABILITATION AT POINT OF ORIGIN

Governor OLSON. I wouldn't think it would be sensible to try to hold people at the point of origin of the migration, unless the conditions at the point of origin are such as to give them an opportunity to live and grow decently. I think that it would be a very narrow, inhuman, and ridiculous thing to contemplate as a general public policy.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, in asking you the question I really meant that a program should be formulated——

Governor OLSON (interposing). I haven't quite finished.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Pardon me.

Governor OLSON. If I may, Mr. Congressman. I do feel, however, that at the point of initial residence, and before migration starts, in fact, there the opportunity, lack of opportunity, unemployment conditions, need for assistance should be considered with reference to the resources of that particular place. And if proper aid is granted. they can be established there instead of pulling up stakes and going elsewhere to be established. They should be established there, and as many returned there as a place for can be found.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, we are in agreement on that. I certainly contended that the conditions must be subject to rehabilitation or to improvement through this program back home.

Now, you mentioned the question of grants-in-aid to the various States. I wonder on what basis your idea would be for those grants to be made—on the present plan of matching or on the present basis of need.

Governor OLSON. I think on the basis of need.

May I have that statement? I will try to give you my recommendation as I have written it on that matter as well as the recommendations in brief, and it might serve to emphasize your questions if I simply read it [reading]:

> From the point of view of the administration of welfare programs, it seems to me to be highly desirable, that there be uniform provisions among the several States with respect to residence requirements, not only as to when residence, or legal settlement, is acquired, but when it is lost by absence or nonresidence. It is also desirable that some degree of uniformity be established with respect to relief standards; that an effort be made, in other words, to equalize standards in relation to living costs. This is, I know, a difficult problem, involving, as it does, a consideration of the average per capita distribution of wealth and income in a particular State, and other variable factors. But the principle itself is, it seems to me, sound.
>
> Uniformity of this type can be achieved in one of two ways. A special category might be added to the Social Security Act, to provide for transients. This is the basis of the proposal advanced by Congressman Jerry Voorhis, and embodied in House Resolution 2974 and House Resolution 2775.[1] I have previously endorsed these measures as being at least a step in the right direction. But it is apparent that, perhaps, a better and sounder approach to the entire problems is for the Federal Government to concern itself directly with the administration of relief, by providing grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act, to a single welfare department in each State, to be administered under proper supervision, so as to insure uniformity of regulations and requirements, and also to insure adherence to the highest personnel practices and standards. There would be, under this proposal, but a single welfare agency in each State, which would get around one difficulty of the moment. For example, at present the Farm Security Administration, by making grants-in-aid, parallels, to some extent, the State relief administration. It would also get away from any further break-down of welfare programs

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[1] See statement of Congressman Voorhis, Washington, D. C., hearings, Dec. 11, 1940.

into specialized categories. Quite apart from how the end is achieved, it seems clear that the present settlement laws of the various States are chaotic and conflicting.

STATE-FEDERAL WORKS PROGRAM

With reference to the whole question of sound economy and the economic question involved in this whole unemployment relief problem, I am, however, of the opinion that the proper approach to the unemployment problem in general is not through a dole system, however administered, but through a sound works program, jointly undertaken by the State and the Federal Government aimed at providing rehabilitation through productive employment.

We have been treating relief with doles as a temporary problem, looking forward to absorption in the various business cycles of reemployment in private industry, and undoubtedly the expenditure of the billions now provided for in preparedness activities and the circulation of that money will provide employment for vast numbers now on relief and greatly reduce the relief loads in all States and help solve the migrant problem temporarily.

But permanently considered upon the principle that it is the social responsibility and duty of government to provide opportunities for employment at a decent standard of living to American citizens who are displaced from and cannot find employment in private enterprise, we should treat relief as, in the long range, a permanent problem and adopt that fundamental policy to follow. Dole is demoralizing; children come into the world in families on relief; health standards are low. Their morale is destroyed and it contributes to social disease and inferior citizenship. [Reading:]

A paramount consideration with respect to migration is a recognition of the necessity for the formulation of a comprehensive national policy. Population movement has been guided, in the past, through the simple expedient of allowing settlers to move into unoccupied areas or through opening up new regions for homesteading. This policy—that of tolerance—no longer squares with existing realities. Today there is a great necessity for planned resettlement; a policy that will embrace, in addition to guidance with respect to available areas, organized assistance to migrants during the period when they are endeavoring to gain a foothold. No single aspect of the Dust Bowl migration to California has been more deplorable than the absence of this kind of guidance, planning, and direction. As a result, many migrant settlements have grown up in the State located in the most unlikely areas with respect to soil considerations, work opportunities, and future development. We must stimulate our planning programs, down to the level of rural county planning, if this mistake is to be corrected in a measure, and if we are to plan for those who may still migrate to this State. And, above the level of county and State planning, some agency, such as the National Resources Planning Board, should continue to study this problem and to work out general regional plans for development and settlement. Planning alone, however, is not enough. One major difficulty with the migrant settlements in California, in addition to the fact that in many instances they are improperly located, is the fact that no effort has been made to provide at least the minimum social facilities. If a framework had been provided for these communities, in the sense of adequate roads, proper sanitation, water and sewer facilities, then, even if the housing was makeshift and improvised, the community might still have shown definite development and improvement over a period of years. Because this precaution has not been taken, it is apparent that we have permitted several potential rural slum areas to come into existence in California. To correct this situation requires, in the judgment of this administration, the creation of a State housing authority to cooperate with the United States Housing Authority in planning a comprehensive program for rural housing in California.

That I have tried heretofore to get, but I haven't had a legislature that would agree with me in the adoption of that measure. [Continues reading:]

EXTENSION OF FEDERAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION AND UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY

In the meantime, however, what guidance has been supplied, and the ameliorating steps that have been taken from the point of view at least of shelter, if not housing, have been taken by the Farm Security Administration. In their mobile camps, migratory labor camps, and farm laborers' homes, they have worked out, on a demonstration basis, the general pattern which might be followed, on a broader plan, by a State Housing Authority. For this reason, I feel, of course, that the Farm Security Administration deserves the strongest possible support in the furtherance of its camp, housing, grants-in-aid, and medical programs. It is also quite possible that before the United States Housing Authority can be effectively used in rural areas that some amendments may be necessary to the act, in order to provide a more flexible mode of operation, and to take into consideration some of the factors encountered in rural housing. Planning along the lines that I have indicated should be premised upon the assumption that organized assistance is a prerequisite to successful resettlement under modern conditions.

There is obviously a field in which much can be accomplished through interstate cooperation on a regional basis. The solicitation of out-of-State cotton pickers for employment in Arizona is a matter of direct concern to the State of California, as experience has shown that migrants, having reached Arizona, are likely to enter this State. Not only is regional cooperation necessary in connection with matters of this type, but it is also extremely important generally with respect to planned resettlement and with respect to the integrated functioning of employment services. The ground work for this type of cooperation has already been laid through the conference of the Governors of the 11 Western States, and it is certainly to be hoped that those States which have been seriously affected by migration can unite and cooperate in working out a unified legislative program.

Well, that would be for the States regionally considered, or otherwise, to cooperate with the State legislative policies and administration, with a planned arrangement for eliminating confusion that may come out of Federal action and administration. [Continues reading:]

LABOR CONTRACTORS

There are certain fields in which Federal action can be quite effective other than those which I have mentioned. For example, the operations of labor contractors and private employment services, including those recruiting agencies which do not charge a fee for their services, might well be investigated, with the thought in mind of placing their activities under some type of Federal legislation, particularly inasmuch as a member of these labor contractors and employment services operate throughout the Pacific coast and Southwestern States.

Of course, they employ people for transfer from one State to another. [Continues reading:]

Certain of their operations have long given rise to grave abuses, and they are one of the factors at present which militate against a proper functioning of the employment services. Likewise, the Federal Government could do much that would be extremely helpful in the form of maintaining adequate and effective border counts on the movement of population in the West. If some such agency as the Department of Agriculture would maintain a series of such border stations, keeping a constant check on the westward and eastward movement of migrants, it would perform an important function.

INCLUDE AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN SOCIAL LEGISLATION

It is also apparent that the time is rapidly approaching when we must give serious consideration to the advisability of including agricultural labor within the protection of most modern social legislation. By this I refer in particular to such legislation as wages and hours, social security, and the National Labor Relations Act. The application of such legislation to agricultural labor presents many difficult problems, but there is nothing inherently difficult about the extension of such legislation, and the administrative details are capable of being satisfactorily worked out. The extension of legislation of this character to agricultural workers will become essential if we are to prevent the creation of an American peasantry. If for no other reason than considerations affecting national security and national defense, it is imperative that the living and working conditions of this large segment of American population be protected by adequate safeguards.

In closing this statement I should like to quote again a passage from the report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, which I quoted to the La Follette committee. The committee said that it observed with deep concern "an increasing tendency for the rungs of the agricultural ladder to become bars, forcing imprisonment in a fixed social status from which it is increasingly difficult to escape * * *. Should the rungs of the agricultural ladder become rigid between classes, an American ideal would be lost. In a community of rigid groups, normal democratic processes are unable to function."

I don't know whether those recommendations have covered any further questions or not, but I thought I would read them again to see if they might elicit any questions.

The Chairman. I want to say to you, Governor, this: That you certainly have made a very valuable contribution to the work of this committee, and undoubtedly it will find high place in the final consideration that this committee gives to it. And we appreciate very much that you took the time to come here and give us your views and recommendations. Thank you.

Governor Olson. Thank you. And, Mr. Chairman, let me say this before leaving: That if there is anything further we can do to facilitate your work in this State or in your movements to any part of the State, we would like to do for this committee what we have done for any and all investigating committees that have come from the Congress to California, furnish you every possible aid and assistance, and if there is anything that is not contained in our report to you that our State agencies can furnish, do not hesitate to call upon us.

The Chairman. Thank you, Governor. Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

The Chairman. We will call Mr. Fuller.

TESTIMONY OF VARDEN FULLER, ACTING LEADER, DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL WELFARE, PACIFIC AREA, UNITED STATES BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, BERKELEY, CALIF.

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. Fuller, give your full name and official title to the reporter.

Mr. Fuller. Varden Fuller; V-a-r-d-e-n F-u-l-l-e-r, associate agricultural economist, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Mr. Sparkman. At Berkeley?

Mr. Fuller. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. The statement of your summary, conclusions, and recommendations will go into the record at this point.

(The statement submitted by Mr. Fuller is as follows:)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY VARDEN FULLER, ASSOCIATE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMIST, UNITED STATES BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, BERKELEY, CALIF.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In 1938, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Farm Security Administration, in cooperation with the several State agricultural colleges undertook a broad investigation of recent migration to the Pacific coast. This investigation was directed toward determining the size and characteristics of the recent inward movement of population and toward an appraisal of some of the principal types of resettlement as they occurred within agriculture. As a means of investigating total in movement, questionnaires were obtained from pupils in the public schools whose parents or guardians had moved into the particular State after the 1st of January 1930. California, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Arizona were all covered on a state-wide basis in the investigation. These questionnaires supplied information concerning occupations, places of origin, and other similar data. In order to secure the more detailed information required to appraise the various types of resettlement within agriculture, field studies were conducted in sample areas. Field studies were made of farm settlement in the cut-over areas of Northern Idaho and Western Washington, on newly irrigated land in Eastern Oregon, and of settlement as farm laborers in California and the Yakima Valley of Washington. In addition, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has been collaborating with the Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission in the development of an inventory of land-development possibilities in the Pacific Northwest.

INVESTIGATION NOT LIMITED TO THE DESTITUTE

Although a considerable proportion of the population brought under this analysis might well be classified as destitute at the time of their migration, no attempt has here been made to identify it. Justification for not endeavoring to identify and segregate the destitute lies partly in the essential imprecision of the meaning of destitution. Destitution can be only a matter of degree and no major migration ever carries with it a majority of people capable, by reason of financial reserves, to exist long without recourse to their own productivity in the new economic environment. Ultimately, the characteristic of destitution must attach even more significantly to the economic resources of the environment in which the migration occurs than to the people involved in the migration.

SIZE AND NATURE OF THE MIGRATION TO PACIFIC AREAS, 1930–39

Total population movement into the Pacific States during 1930–39 has been found to be smaller than that of the preceding decade. California received slightly more than one-half as many people as during the preceding decade, while Washington, Oregon, and Idaho received approximately the same numbers in both decades.

Although the principal movement of population in the Pacific States has been inward, there has nevertheless been some out-movement. When those leaving are set off against the new arrivals, it is found that net migration during 1930–39 had added population to the various States approximately as follows: California, 19.4 percent; Washington, 7.8 percent; Oregon, 11.4 percent; Idaho, 6.6 percent; Arizona, 7.1 percent.

People moving to the Pacific coast during the 1930's have come from all areas of the United States. They have come from all occupations and from all social and economic groups. Although the popular impression appears to have been that it was principally displaced farm people who were moving, findings of this survey indicate that those formerly engaged in agriculture constituted only a fraction of the total. Of all people moving into California, only one-fifth had been farmers or farm laborers prior to migration. For the Pacific Northwest and for Arizona the comparable proportion was approximately one-third. The skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers of nonagricultural industry and those formerly occupied in the trades and professions have all formed important sectors of the migrating population.

Actually nonagricultural groups from all States except Oklahoma were overproportionally drawn upon in the migration to California. That is to say that, with the exception of Oklahoma, farmers and farm laborers tended to remain behind, while many nonagricultural groups tended to move in greater proportions than they represented in the 1930 population of the various States.

On the whole, the movement was purposive. The people generally appeared to have a fairly definite idea of their destination; they moved directly and without any considerable aimless wandering. The great majority of migrating families proceeded immediately to a particular county and have remained there continuously.

There was a marked tendency for migrating people to move directly westward—those arriving in the Northwest came principally from the North Plains States; those arriving in California and Arizona came principally from the South Plains. This tendency to move along parallels was much more marked in the case of the people formerly engaged in agriculture and much less true of the nonagricultural group. The latter came largely from the principal population centers and those arriving in each particular State came from all parts of the Nation.

When all five States—Oregon, Washington, Idaho, California, and Arizona—are considered together, the role of the South Plains States as the principal area of origin becomes sharply defined. This is one respect in which the migration of the 1930's appears to differ from that of earlier decades, for prior to 1930 migration to the Pacific coast appears to have been principally from the North Plains, the Midwest, and the Atlantic coast.

The arrival of migrants was not evenly spaced over the decade. During the latter half of the decade the rate of arrival was two to three times the rate of 1930–40. Severe droughts and prolonged depression were probably the two factors encouraging an increased rate in the latter half of the decade.

ASPECTS OF NORMALITY AND ABNORMALITY

To sum up the characteristics of the migration, it can be said that this phenomenon was not abnormal in the following respects: (1) It was not unprecedentedly large; (2) it was not selected from any particular occupational, social, or economic group or any single area; (3) the movement was not an aimless wandering but rather the purposive endeavor of seeking reestablishment in a new economic environment. The respects in which the migration, as summarized thus far, could be said to be somewhat abnormal are these: (1) The South Plains States contributed a larger proportion of the people than heretofore; (2) the movement was concentrated in the latter half of the decade; and (3) uneven distribution of newcomers resulted in large additions to some communities and negligible additions to others.

The most significant aspect of abnormality not yet summarized relates to the nature of the economic environment in which the migration took place. Prior to 1930, people seeking new homes in the Pacific area moved into a generally hospitable environment of undeveloped farm land and expanding industry. In contrast, neither the opportunity to develop farms nor the chance of securing nonagricultural employment were generally as attractive as compared with earlier years. Nevertheless, people have continued to come, largely because of the expulsive force of contracting economic opportunity elsewhere.

There appears little doubt but that it has been the inhospitality of the economic environment which, more clearly than any other characteristic, distinguishes the migration of the 1930's from that of any other recent period. While the process of migration and adjustment may always have involved some immediate hardship, the promise of ultimate return, for the majority of people migrating prior to 1930, was much more favorable.

In the absence of a favorable structure of economic opportunity, offering abundant cheap land for the development of farms or employment in nonagricultural industries, recent migrants to the Pacific States have had to fit themselves into certain available openings which offered very small returns. This is especially true of those who have arrived without either capital accumulation or occupational training which was in demand.

As regards agriculture, the principal opportunities to acquire cheap lands were in the cut-over areas of the Northwest and in certain reclamation projects. The other opportunity in agriculture was to work as hired laborers on farms in the areas of intensive cultivation where seasonal labor demand was relatively great. Some migrants have, of course, come with sufficient capital to purchase or rent existing farms or new farms created by the subdivision of already developed farm land.

EXPERIENCE OF SETTLERS ON NEWLY IRRIGATED LANDS

Among the more important reclamation developments of the past decade are the Vale and Owyhee irrigation projects of Malheur County, Oreg., where more than 1,000 new farms have been established since 1930. More than 700 of these were started in the 3 years 1936, 1937, and 1938.

Family farm income in 1938 for labor and interest on investment averaged only $130 for settlers studied who had been on their farms one crop year but income increased rapidly with length of settlement to about $1,300 for farms in operation more than 5 years. Irrigation construction charges, when assessed, will be a deduction from this income. More crop acres, larger livestock numbers, increased intensity of production, and improved production facilities are factors accounting for this increase in income with added length of settlement.

Most settlers are making substantial financial progress, although living conditions often have been poor and most settlers have been hard pressed for cash. Financial progress has been largely in terms of improvements to land, buildings, and equipment. Cash and liquid assets at the end of 1938 were much less than at the time of settlement. Net worth at time of settlement was $1,565 for those settlers who because of a shortage of capital became Farm Security Administration clients, and $3,188 for other settlers. Financial progress was slow during early years of settlement but for those farm studies that were settled 5 years or more, net worths of operators had increased $5,800 through farm incomes, development of land and buildings, and some off-farm income.

Cash or credit requirements for farm investment and family living were large the first few years. About one-half of all settlers borrowed from the Farm Security Administration, the average loan being over $1,000. Most of this loan was needed the first year of settlement. Not until the farms had been operating 5 years or more have most settlers been able to make substantial repayment of loans.

Credit extended to new settlers should be in sufficient amounts to provide an adequate productive unit as soon as possible after settlement; should be made available when needed, largely the first year of settlement; and repayment should be based on probable income year by year, which means little if any repayment the first 5 years after settlement.

Proper type sizes of farms to be developed on new reclamation areas are important considerations in providing adequate incomes to settlers. A 40-acre farm of good quality soil and level land operated intensively is probably the smallest size farm that will support a family on new reclamation areas. With general crop and livestock systems that are likely to prevail in newly irrigated areas the average size farm should probably be 70 or 80 acres in order to provide an adequate income to farm families.

Land and water policies should be designed to discourage speculation in land and to encourage subdivision and use of land in a manner that will provide for adequate incomes to settlers and maintain their resources.

Special assistance to new settlers in the form of extension education in irrigation and management practices on new lands should be provided. Organization of the new farm and lay-out of irrigation systems is beyond the experience and ability of many settlers, particularly those from nonirrigated sections of the country.

While delivery of water to arid lands, with construction costs repaid over a long period of years at no interest, has provided opportunities to settlers, present conditions appear to warrant expansion of assistance, particularly during the early years of settlement. Extension of development credit to needy settlers, prevention of speculation and improper land and water use, and closer supervision of the development process, should protect both the settlers' and the Government's investment in reclamation developments, and insure greater opportunities for misplaced agricultural population.

EXPERIENCE OF SETTLERS ON CUT-OVER LANDS

Settlement of cut-over lands in northern Idaho and western Washington has been extensive since 1929, with most settlers obtaining practically undeveloped tracts of land. Progress in land clearing and development has been very slow. The average rate of clearing of those settlers studied was 1.7 acres per farm annually in northern Idaho and about one-half acre per farm in western Washington. In 1939 the settlers had only 16 acres of cleared land per farm in northern Idaho and 9 acres per farm in western Washington.

Income from the farm was closely associated with the number of acres cleared and the number of farm livestock. Where the settler was able to purchase or clear an appreciable acreage of cultivable land and stock the farm with livestock, he has been able to make sufficient income from the farm to be less dependent on outside sources of income than the settlers with only a few acres of cleared land and few livestock. The majority of settlers, however, receive insufficient income from their farms to support their families and are therefore dependent on off-farm sources of income. About one-fifth of the settlers in northern Idaho and half of those in western Washington received varying amounts of relief and other forms of public assistance. There was a close relationship between amount of farm development and dependence upon relief assistance. Only a few operators of farms developed sufficiently to provide 100 or more days of productive farm work to the operator had received public assistance.

On the whole, the settlers have improved their financial position during their period of settlement. The average annual increase per family in net worth has been in the neighborhood of $200, represented chiefly by equity in their farms and the improvements that they had made. While making this financial advancement, however, the settlers in both areas have been able to afford only a very meager scale of living, going without many things generally regarded as part of the accepted standard of living in the area.

Opportunities for off-farm employment in both western Washington and northern Idaho will probably decrease rather than increase in the future because of the decline in the lumber industry. This emphasizes the need for public assistance in land clearing by financing of newly developed low-cost clearing with power machinery in order that the settlers may increase their acreages of cleared land to the point where their farms will produce at least a minimum living. This effort should permit of substitution of farm income for income now received from public relief assistance.

Alternatives that might be used for advancing assistance in land clearing are the following: (1) cooperative clearing associations with the cost of the equipment advanced in whole or in part by public credit agencies such as the Farm Security Administration, supplemented by loans to individuals for cash costs of clearing on individual farms; (2) publicly owned clearing machinery with individual clearing jobs done on a contract or hourly rate basis and public loans to individuals for cash clearing costs; (3) clearing of large blocks of land by a public agency with sale to settlers on a long-term contract at low interest rates, similar to the plan followed in developing irrigation reclamation projects.

Much of the settlement on cut-over land has been on soils that are unsuited to cultivation and it is therefore doomed to failure. Public guidance and assistance in selection of land for clearing should be provided and control should be exercised to prevent settlement and clearing of unsuitable land.

POTENTIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR LAND SETTLEMENT

Potential opportunities for land settlement in the western States are limited to: (1) existing farms; (2) new farms created by subdivision of existing farms; and (3) new farms made possible by development of new cultivable land through irrigation, drainage, or clearing.

Considerable subdivision of farms has taken place in recent years. In some areas this has resulted in the creation of a large number of farms too small to support an average family at a reasonably adequate standard of living. It appears that public policy should be directed toward the accomplishment of all feasible development of new land to provide farms of adequate size before encouraging further subdivision of farms with its attendant danger of lowered planes of living. There are, however, a limited number of very large farms that could be subdivided to provide a larger number of family-sized farms.

From the national standpoint, such limited data as there are indicate that development of all land potentially suitable for cultivation may fail to keep pace with the increase in population and the erosion and the depletion of present cultivated lands.

A preliminary and necessarily incomplete summary of potential land development opportunities in the Pacific Northwest from studies that are now in progress indicates that something over three and one-half million acres of land not now in cultivation would be suitable for cultivation following development by irrigation, drainage, or clearing. It is estimated, however, that perhaps three million acres should be retired from present cultivation because it is not suitable for sustained cultivation even under the best soil conserving practices. This leaves an ultimate net gain of from one-half to one million acres in land suitable for continued cultivation in the three Pacific Northwest States. Desirability of early development of all suitable agricultural land is indicated in order that submarginal lands may be retired from cultivation before they are entirely destroyed by erosion, and to provide farms for as many as possible of the migrants to the region who have been forced to abandon farms in other parts of the country.

SITUATION OF THOSE EMPLOYED ON FARMS

The opportunity for the greatest number of people to get into agricultural work without capital or even much experience has been in the capacity of hired laborers in the casual and seasonal work of the intensive farming areas. The Salt River Valley of Arizona, the Sacramento, San Joaquin, Imperial, and Salinas Valleys of California, the Willamette Valley of Oregon, the Yakima Valley of Washington, and the Snake River Valley of Idaho have all drawn large numbers of migrants into agricultural labor.

Studies of the situation of migrants relocated as agricultural laborers have been made in California and in Yakima, Wash. Prior to 1930, seasonal labor demands in both these areas were met largely by migratory workers. The newly arrived workers, however, indicate a marked propensity to establish permanent homes. In the absence of available housing within their means, they have bought cheap building lots and have improvised housing on them. The result is the numerous and rapidly growing shacktowns which are to be found in all important intensive farming areas. While these new shacktowns signify a commendable determination to settle down and establish homes, they are nevertheless leading toward a serious rural slum problem.

Approximately one-fifth of the newly arrived agricultural laborers have been able to obtain permanent jobs. The great majority, however, are dependent upon temporary jobs in the harvest season and other casual work. Such work—in the production and harvest of fruits, vegetables, sugar beets, cotton, potatoes, etc.—requires little skill or experience. Hence, women and children are frequently employed along with the mature males of the family. Because of short seasons, all members of the family are generally not able to work enough to achieve the equivalent of one fully employed worker. As may be expected, employment, and hence earnings, are highly seasonal, with the busy season coming through the summer and fall. Unfortunately, agricultural laborers appear not to be able to obtain much nonagricultural employment during the slack agricultural season.

Average earnings per day for all workers vary from area to area, but are usually within the range of $1.75 to $2.50. Since most agricultural laborer families have, in recent years, obtained a total of 200 to 250 man-days of employment, it is evident that their annual earnings usually range between $400 and $600. With so low an annual earning and with a long slack season, it is to be expected that the majority of families would be forced to seek public assistance.

Public assistance has been found to be an important factor in the economic life of recent agricultural laborer families. In both the Yakima and the California studies, it was found that approximately two-thirds of the families received public aid but that only about one-eighth of farm laborer families' income was from this source.

Cash earnings are further augmented by subsistence production and through the receipt of perquisites from employers. The latter is generally of little consequence, but in a few areas home production contributes substantially to family living. Lack of water, poor soil, and insufficient space stand in the way of home production becoming more generalized.

Migrants employed as farm laborers have made but little financial progress since resettlement. The majority had practically nothing upon arrival; what little they have gained is now tied up almost entirely in equities in cheap lots and shackhouses.

Optimism regarding the economic future of migrants resettled as agricultural laborers could easily be overextended. It is true that the economic status of the casual farm laborer could be materially improved if there should occur a sufficient economic expansion to draw away the great surplus in farm labor supply. This would enable the remaining farm laborers to receive a greater number of annual man-days employment and possibly also an improvement in wage rates. Although the majority of migrants now engaged in farm labor indicate considerable tendency toward maintaining stability, there is little question but that a material change in alternative employment opportunities would attract many away.

However, the present pattern of agriculture in most intensive farming areas on the Pacific coast is such that the majority of laborers could not be fully employed even though all surplus of labor supply were removed. Moreover, agricultural labor has traditionally occupied the residual category in the national occupational structure. Hence, those who are regularly occupied as agricultural laborers (particularly at casual and seasonal jobs) are constantly vulnerable to competition from the unemployed of all industries.

This being the structure of economic opportunity for agricultural laborers, it would appear unquestionable that all programs, such as social security, should be examined as regards their applicability to agricultural laborers. Likewise the administration of public assistance should be carefully examined with regard to a more definite relationship to agricultural employment. In addition, it would appear desirable that educational assistance, with a view to training eligible members of agricultural laborer families for an occupational skill more in demand, should be thoroughly examined.

Some endeavor is now being directed toward improvements in housing and toward the provision of free medical assistance. It seems clear that a further extension of these programs is consistent with total national welfare.

RELATIONSHIP OF MIGRATION TO CHANGES IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURES

The fact that destitute migrants have, in many cases, been forced to resort to some form of public assistance in order to supplement their meager and wholly inadequate incomes has led to a tendency on the part of some citizens to look upon these newcomers as a distinct group and to see in their arrival a major explanation of the recent increases in the expenditures of local government.

The population of Yuba County increased from 11,331 in 1930 to 16,998 in 1940, an increase of 50 percent. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics has estimated that migration into the county from outside of California between 1930 and 1939 amounted to 3,700 persons, and 68 percent arrived during the last 6 years. There is, of course, some basis for the presumption that many of this latter group were in need of, and became objects of, public assistance.

While total public expenditures in 1939–40 were slightly higher than in 1929–30, the curve of annual total expenditures shows the typical sharp decline and subsequent rise that we expect to find during a period of business depression, and much of the increase since 1933–34 is, therefore, simply a return to normal spending and has little or no relationship to distressed migration. This is particularly true of such Budget items as "general government," "highway and bridges," "health," "protection to persons and property," and "miscellaneous."

Certain special items of expenditure, however, did not simply shrink during the depth of the depression and increase with recovery but, rather, expanded steadily throughout the entire decade and are still growing rapidly. This is particularly characteristic of the welfare expenditures. Much of the increase in welfare costs must be attributed to the circumstances that prevail during a period of general unemployment and to a growing consciousness that care of the helpless and destitute is a public responsibility. An extremely important factor has been the stimulation of Federal grants-in-aid under the social-security program.

The item of county hospital and physician shows a substantial increase, and closer examination reveals that this is due to a complete change in the function of the county hospital from a home for destitute elderly men to an agency providing complete medical service to needy individuals. This change has been hastened by the depression, which has increased the number of destitute people, long-time county residents as well as distressed newcomers.

A very substantial increase in the use of the facilities of the county hospital by persons who had been in the county but a few years was definitely established. This, and the fact that the county hospital is supported entirely by local funds, lead to the conclusions that in this item of expenditures we have one of the clearest examples of the effects of the arrival in the county of distressed migrants on local public finances and welfare facilities.

Aid to needy children has increased greatly, due almost entirely to the stimulation of grants from the Federal Government. The absolute contribution of local funds remains very small. The item of county welfare, involving the care of unemployables, has increased considerably in relative terms, but the absolute increase in the local contribution is not large enough to warrant detailed examination.

Costs for aid to the needy aged show the most spectacular increase of all county functions. The 5-year residence requirement has, however, prevented recent distressed migrants from having any appreciable effect on this item of expense.

Expenditures and case load in unemployment relief have gone up steadily in Yuba County since the program was first organized, but especially in the last few years of the period under study. There is reason to believe that the increase has been influenced by distressed migration, although it would be virtually impossible to isolate the effect of this factor from the many other more important ones. However, in California this burden is borne almost entirely by the State and Federal Governments so that local governments have not had to face this problem and have been affected only indirectly.

Throughout the decade expenditures for maintenance and operation of Yuba County's educational system have remained very uniform. There has been a sharp increase in capital outlay in the last 2 years due primarily to—

(*a*) Catching up with capital outlay neglected during the depression, particularly in the case of the high schools.

(*b*) The building of a new junior college.

(*c*) Extraordinary capital outlay in two elementary districts in which migration has been heavy. (Linda and Ella.)

Only this last-mentioned factor can be directly associated with recent migration.

As a result of additional capital outlay for schools necessitated by migration, owners of agricultural land in the Linda and Ella school districts have had to carry an added burden in the form of a higher tax rate unaccompanied by any manifest benefits. On the other hand, the migrants who have settled in these areas have themselves become substantial taxpayers, not only in the form of sales taxes, but also by virtue of their ownership of land purchased at excessive prices in the subdivided districts south of Marysville.

In conclusion, local government costs in Yuba County have increased sharply in recent years due primarily to a return to normal spending following a business depression and to the acceptance of certain new responsibilities by all levels of government.

In many cases, distressed migrants, as victims of the business depression, have temporarily become objects of public assistance but in no case can they be said to have caused a serious problem in local government finance because (a) they are themselves important contributors of State and local taxes, and (b) all welfare activities, with the important exception of the county hospital, are financed largely by the State and Federal Governments.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR NATIONAL MIGRATION POLICY

Migration to the far West during the thirties cannot be evaluated apart from the interests of national welfare; it is therefore essential to consider three aspects: (1) The effect of migration on the migrants themselves, (2) the effect of the migration on the economy of the far West, and (3) the effect on the welfare of the Nation as a whole.

There is evidence that the far West has continued throughout the thirties to offer greater income opportunities than were available in the areas from which the majority of the migrants have come. Since the majority of the newcomers show every indication of remaining in the far West, the implication clearly is that a more hospitable economic environment has been found.

Although the migration of 1930–39 took place in a decade of depression and unemployment, when there were few opportunities either for employment or to develop new farms, the reduced level of opportunity in the far West was nevertheless superior to that in the principal place of origin. Therefore, for the migrating population and for the national welfare, the migration can be regarded as generally beneficial.

The relative economic position of the far West, with respect to the Nation, has kept pace with the expansion of population. The per capita income position has been maintained in its advantaged position, relative to the rest of the United States, throughout the decade 1930–39. This may well suggest that the continued economic development of the far West may be partly dependent on additional migration to this area.

Evidence from the migration survey points to the fact that there is no general migrant problem. Certain localities have experienced extraordinary population increases and concurrent unexpected strains on community facilities. At the same time, other localities—those of contracting opportunity—face burdens they can ill afford because of the reluctance of people to move. It is, however, the problems of the migrants themselves which demand national and State attention. Migration unguided or unaided by any national or State policy, even to an area of relative advantage, has resulted in the creation of new slums; in resettlement in some areas offering little prospects for the future; in the creation of new farms far from markets, and, in some cases, on land which national efforts toward soil conservation and flood control would condemn as undesirable. For some, migration has been followed by a nomadic life in the West as families continuously follow crop harvests over vast areas.

Some of these maladjustments in resettlement will surely involve heavy social costs sometime in the future. Ultimately, there is little question but that the costs of correcting maladjustments will greatly exceed the present cost of dealing with the problems of the migrants as they appear or as they can be anticipated.

TESTIMONY OF VARDEN FULLER—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Fuller, I have read your presentation with much interest, and it seems to me to be packed with valuable information. The entire paper is a part of our record, and I shall not ask you to go over the entire paper. But I do have a few questions noted here which I would like to ask you. How does the westward migration to the west coast in the thirties compare with migration during earlier years?

Mr. FULLER. Well, the westward migration to the coast in the past decade through the thirties has been relatively smaller than in some of the previous decades, particularly as compared with the migration during the twenties.

For instance, we had coming into California during the twenties approximately 2,000,000 people, whereas during the thirties we estimate approximately 1,200,000 people moving into California.

OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED BY MIGRANTS INTO CALIFORNIA

Mr. SPARKMAN. What occupations are represented among those coming into California?

Mr. Fuller. All occupations are represented. The occupational structure of the people coming west corresponds very closely to the occupations that are represented in the entire population and within the particular States from which the people are coming. They are also represented in about the same proportion.

Mr. Sparkman. There is one thing that I noticed from your statement which was of much interest to me. A great many people think that the vast majority of these people coming out here are agricultural workers, either farm owners or farm tenants or farm laborers. I believe your statement shows that that is not true?

Mr. Fuller. Yes; that is not true. Approximately 22 percent of the people moving into California having been formerly engaged in agriculture.

Mr. Sparkman. Less than one-fourth?

Mr. Fuller. Less than one-fourth; that's right.

Mr. Curtis. May I ask a question at that point?

Mr. Fuller. Surely.

Mr. Curtis. You are confining that to actual farmers, either as owners, farm hands, or tenants, are you?

Mr. Fuller. And sharecroppers.

Mr. Curtis. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. He said "and farm laborers."

Mr. Curtis. What percent come from farming communities where the whole source of original income for that community is agriculture?

Mr. Fuller. Well, a much larger proportion, of course, than 22 percent, or less than one-quarter of the figure we just mentioned.

Mr. Curtis. Approximately?

Mr. Fuller. I am sorry I can't give a very accurate statement of that. It is large, and it probably runs up to 30 or 40 percent in many areas. I might call your attention to the map[1] which I have here, indicating a very large proportion of the people coming to California from Oklahoma and from neighboring Great Plains States.

Now, then, many of those people coming from there—this map here indicates the former locations, that is, the residences in 1930 of the people who were engaged in agriculture before coming to California. And you will notice a very extreme concentration here in Oklahoma and in Arkansas and other Great Plains States [indicating]. Whereas, the others are scattered over a pretty wide area.

Mr. Tolan. Wait a minute, Mr. Fuller. Is that map not identified in any way?

I suggest, Mr. Reporter, that you mark it as an exhibit.

Mr. Fuller. Congressman Tolan, may I interrupt? The Bureau has been asked to present documentary testimony, and if I could I would rather not submit this for the record because the other will be explained.

Mr. Tolan. Go right ahead.

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[1] See supplemental report by staff of Bureau of Agricultural Economics, p. 2282.

Mr. FULLER. In answer to that question, I think the best I can do at this moment is to show that the former farmers and farm laborers, those people engaged in agriculture, were pretty well concentrated in essentially farm communities.

Mr. TOLAN. Name the States.

Mr. FULLER. Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota.

Mr. TOLAN. Are those the Great Plains States?

Mr. FULLER. Yes. These States through here [indicating] would be identified as the southern Great Plains States. These States extending over through Montana and Wyoming would ordinarily be identified as the northern Great Plains State [indicating].

Mr. CURTIS. To make my question a little more clear—we don't want this record to give a wrong impression—in the northern Great Plains, particularly, there is little manufacturing, and there is absence of many lines of occupation, no commerce to speak of. When we say that we have an influx of so many barbers, and so many plasterers, and so many paperhangers, and so many doctors that means that we have barbers, and paperhangers, and plasterers, and doctors who have been caring for the needs of farmers back in their former homes?

Mr. FULLER. That's right.

Mr. CURTIS. And you still think that that would only raise it up to about 30 percent?

Mr. FULLER. It probably would not raise it very far above 30 percent.

Let me indicate what I have on the second map here which will show the nonagricultural people, those people formerly engaged in industry other than agriculture, who move to California, come from other areas, or other farming communities.

We have them concentrated around the manufacturing and population centers of the Eastern States as well as down in Oklahoma and the southern Plains States, where the agricultural population is also concerned.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have that map broken down as to retired people and people who are bringing wealth into the State?

Mr. FULLER. I am sorry, I do not. However, that proportion of retired people is not very large. We do have in our studies a complete break-down of those folks. However, we don't know anything about their financial set-up when they come into the State, whether they are prepared to retire or not.

But you will notice there has been very heavy migration into California from population centers where agriculture has not been the sole economic means of support.

Mr. CURTIS. Have those people arrived in California as destitute people?

Mr. FULLER. No; these people are all people representative of all people moving to California and are not necessarily destitute. It is very difficult as a research technique to be able to identify those people who are destitute.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, you have a lot of people coming from the Lower Great Lakes area?

Mr. FULLER. Yes [indicating map]. (See p. 2283.)

Mr. CURTIS. Have those people been any great burden upon relief loads in California?

Mr. FULLER. As a whole, I would say that they have not been. Many of them have come to California and been able to be absorbed in the nonagricultural industries of California in full time, in fairly well-paying jobs, and I think are just filling out or continuing the normal process of migration which has been taking place to the Pacific Coast States through their entire history.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, now, this committee is confining its study entirely to interstate migration of destitute persons. It is perhaps true, then, that the migration of destitute persons into California has not followed the same pattern as your general immigration; has it?

Mr. FULLER. On the whole, the people who might be termed "destitute," that is, those people who find it difficult to become absorbed in California, have probably come from these areas, and are probably agricultural people.

Mr. CURTIS. By "these areas" you mean what?

Mr. FULLER. These southern Great Plains areas.

Mr. CURTIS. And northern?

Mr. FULLER. And northern.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Among these people coming out, Mr. Fuller, are there any skilled workers?

Mr. FULLER. Yes; they are skilled workers. For instance, from the southern Great Plains we have lots of former oil workers. We have people who have developed skills in manufacturing industry coming around from the Great Plains area and in from Ohio and Iowa.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is a great defense program being carried on in California, particularly in the aviation industry. Are many of them absorbed in that, or are many of them capable of being absorbed?

Mr. FULLER. I think many of them are being absorbed and many more of them are capable of being absorbed. One indication of that is a very large proportion of the recent migrants into California have located in the vicinity of Los Angeles and been absorbed there in manufacturing industries which have been expanding.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you made a study—I know you have, because it is included in your report here—as to how long these people moving into California remain migrants?

Mr. FULLER. On the whole, they remain migrants a very short time. Our studies indicate that the people move, spend a very short time in transit, and the majority of them proceed directly to a county, or a community within a county, and remain there continuously.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do most of them start out with a definite place in mind?

Mr. FULLER. On the whole, I would say that they do; that is, the majority of them probably have a fairly definite destination in mind, based on information which they have been able to get from their friends, from what reading they are able to pick up on that subject, principally from friends and relatives who have been formerly established here in California or in other Western States.

Mr. Sparkman. I was just going to ask you: Your studies have not been limited to California? You have covered the entire State of California and the Northwest, also?

Mr. Fuller. Yes. We covered Oregon, Washington, Idaho, California and Arizona. You might be interested in——

MIGRATION TO CUT-OVER AREA

Mr. Sparkman (interposing). Do the cut-over lands attract many of the families?

Mr. Fuller. Yes. They attract quite a number of migrant families—those, incidentally, are more destitute in the sense that they don't have a large financial reserve and who have no particular skills and who would like to remain on farm units with part-time employment. Many of them are attracted into cut-over lands in northern Idaho, western Washington, and other areas up through Montana, although we do not have these studies up in that area.

Mr. Sparkman. How rapidly can a family develop a cut-over farm?

Mr. Fuller. Well, families of the type who go in there—and, incidentally, I should say that there are other people than migrants who go in there, unemployed from the metropolitan industries along the coast—the type of families who go in there ordinarily are rather destitute in the sense that they have not much property to start a farm, and they have not much of a financial reserve. They are dependent upon rather crude methods to remove stumps from that cut-over land, and hence, not being able to command a better technique, and those techniques available, they do not clear very rapidly, ordinarily less than two acres a year. In Washington, for instance, less than 1 acre a year, and most of the land is completely uncleared at the time they purchase it. So that it takes them on the average more than 10 years, and apparently it is going to take them longer to bring in more cleared land on the basis of which to achieve significant production.

FARM FAMILIES IN CALIFORNIA

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. Fuller, do these people coming into California and the Northwest, generally speaking, follow the same line of work when they get out here? In other words, do the agricultural workers continue to be agricultural workers and industrial workers continue to be industrial workers?

Mr. Fuller. That is probably true. Most of the people are able to locate—that is, taking all operations in all industries, most people are able to locate in approximately the same or closely related industries as they worked in before. However, there is one instance, and that is of farmers. Now, the majority of farmers who come west are not able to get on farms. That is particularly true in Arizona and California.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, now, you mean they cannot get on farms to operate themselves. But do they become agricultural laborers?

Mr. FULLER. They do become agricultural laborers, and there is also quite a marked tendency for people who have nonagricultural skills and experience to locate in metropolitan centers, such as Los Angeles, Spokane, Portland, and over along the coast.

Mr. SPARKMAN. To what extent do the women and children of those farm families work?

Mr. FULLER. Well, of the people who are now employed as agricultural laborers, a fairly large proportion of them, some additional members other than the head of the family work at some time during the year.

AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME FROM AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT

Mr. SPARKMAN. What would be the average family income?

Mr. FULLER. Well, the average family income from agricultural employment is around $550 to $600. A great number of them receive additional earnings from other industries and small amounts from public assistance.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How would that compare with the family income of a family taking over a cut-over farm?

Mr. FULLER. Well, as compared with those on cut-over farms, it is a little bit higher. That is, the gross cash amount, the amount which is available for the family living, is probably comparable in both instances, because in the case of those located as agricultural laborers in California or Arizona, it is necessary for them to maintain an automobile in order to provide transportation for themselves back and forth from short-term jobs in the vicinity in which they are located. So that that reduces their earnings, and they are approximately comparable in both instances, not much more than $500 on the average available for a living in either instance.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If the income is practically the same, however, the family that is developing the stump farm is earning a little more being rooted to the soil, is it not?

Mr. FULLER. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And probably its future security is a little greater?

Mr. FULLER. Oh, yes. I think that is unquestionably true; that is, the security may be a low one, indeed. But at least they are pretty well fastened down there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. To what extent are the agricultural workers dependent upon relief?

Mr. FULLER. We have made studies of agricultural workers living in some of the new shack towns established through the Sacramento and San Joaquin and Salinas Valleys.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Let me ask you: You say "new shack towns." Are those the migrant camps built by the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. FULLER. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What are those?

Mr. FULLER. By "shack towns" I mean small communities adjacent to older established communities, or sometimes right out in the open country, such as you see depicted in the pictures done by Miss Dorothea Lange. Those are new communities with improvised housing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are they privately owned and rented to these people?

Mr. FULLER. For the most part they are owned by the new settlers themselves; that is, they are being purchased by them. Other units within such a community are owned and rented.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, now, they make that just kind of an operating base; do they? Do they work out from there?

Mr. FULLER. I think the most general technique in recent years is to establish that as a base and work within a radius of some 10 or 20 miles rather than migrate over the whole State or over the Western States. They will stay in this community and move out 4 or 5 or 10 miles, as it is required.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Fuller, I take it that you and I are in agreement to the effect that a certain amount of migration is necessary and desirable?

Mr. FULLER. Well, we have always experienced it. It is the means by which people are able to move to localities where their economic opportunities are better than they were elsewhere.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, has there been an overmigration to this part of the country; in other words, have they come in faster than could be conveniently absorbed?

Mr. FULLER. Well, I should say not, although the Western States during the past decade have not been able to absorb them as rapidly as might be desired. The other alternative is for them to stay where they were, and they would be a problem there, too, because their incomes there would be just as low if not lower than they are when they come to the Western States.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, it has simply shifted the scene of the problem?

Mr. FULLER. Shifted the scene of the problem which we can safely say would exist in the same proportions or even greater proportions, probably greater proportions, if they stayed where they were.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And it is the mere fact of that shifting from State to State that makes it a Federal problem?

Mr. FULLER. Well, of course, we are all citizens of the Nation. We are all Federal assets as well as Federal problems. These people happened to have attention focused upon them. They do constitute people who lack opportunities of employment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Fuller, from your study do you believe that we may expect any slowing up of this migration, or will it be accelerated or maintained about as it is?

Mr. FULLER. I would say that that depends pretty largely upon what the economic situation is in the next 2 or 3 years. If we don't get into a war boom, we probably will experience westward migration in approximately the same proportion that we have in the past 3 or 4 years. However, it may not be achieved within the next few years. It may never achieve the same level as through the drought years, 1936 to 1938; that is, out of the drought areas.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your statement is primarily a factual one. I wonder if you have any recommendations or expressions of opinion that you would like to make?

Mr. FULLER. Well, I prefer not to. I think Governor Olson has represented the interests of California pretty well, and as a Federal worker I would not care to make any recommendations at this time.

However, I would like to say this: That we would like permission to—we have been asked by the staff of the committee to present a much longer and more detailed report, and I would like to say that there will be in that report some recommendations which have been considered by other members of the staff.[1]

(The report referred to is as follows:)

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORTS SUBMITTED BY THE STAFF OF THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, PACIFIC AREA

OUTLINE

(*a*) Summary, conclusions, and recommendations. (See p. 2255 this volume.)
(*b*) Volume and Characteristics of Recent Migration to the Far West, by Seymour J. Janow.
(*c*) Experience of Settlers on Cut-over Lands in the Pacific Northwest, by Carl P. Heisig and H. E. Selby.
(*d*) Experience, Situation, and Prospects of Migrants Resettled on Newly Irrigated Lands, by Carl P. Heisig and Marion Clawson.
(*e*) Potential Opportunities for Land Settlement, by H. E. Selby and Gilbert G. Stamm.
(*f*) Employment of Migrants as Hired Laborers in Western Agriculture, by Varden Fuller.
(*g*) Recent Distressed Migration to California and the Trend of Public Expenditures, Yuba County, Calif., by Frederick Arpke and Harry J. Voth. (Held in committee files, not printed.)

VOLUME AND CHARACTERISTICS OF RECENT MIGRATION TO THE FAR WEST

By SEYMOUR J. JANOW, Assistant Agricultural Economist, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics

FOREWORD

A study of the general aspects of the migration to California, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho during the decade 1930–39, was conducted by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture, collaborating with the Farm Security Administration, region XI, of the United States Department of Agriculture, and the University of Arizona, with the cooperation of the departments of education of the five States.

In all five States the project was under the direction of Davis McEntire, leader, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Pacific region, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

In Oregon, Washington, and Idaho the survey was conducted by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, collaborating with the Farm Security Administration, region XI, George B. Herington, labor relations adviser, in general charge for the Farm Security Administration, and with the Oregon, Washington, and Idaho State Departments of Education cooperating. The migration survey conducted through the public-school systems of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho was supervised by Willard W. Troxell, Division of Land Economics, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and W. Paul O'Day, of the Farm Security Administration. This report draws heavily from an unpublished manuscript, Migration Into the States of the Pacific Northwest, 1930–38, by Willard W. Troxell and W. Paul O'Day.

The school survey in California was under the supervision of Seymour J. Janow, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, with the cooperation of the California State Department of Education.

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[1] See also testimony of H. R. Tolley, Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in Washington, D. C., hearings.

In Arizona the school survey was under the supervision of Varden Fuller, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in collaboration with E. D. Tetreau, of the University of Arizona, the Arizona State Department of Education cooperating. This exhibit has drawn extensively from an unpublished manuscript, Volume and Characteristics of Recent Migration to Arizona, by Varden Fuller and E. D. Tetreau.

Acknowledgment is made to Elizabeth Fine, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics staff, who supervised the statistical work, and to Howard Finn, Work Projects Administration project supervisor and statistician, for their outstanding services.

Assistance in the preparation of these materials was furnished by the personnel of Work Projects Administration, Official Project No. 65-2-08-366.

SECTION 1. THE MIGRATION SURVEYS

The need for adequate information concerning the migration of the 1930's on which broad national and State policies for dealing with migrants could be formulated, led several State and Federal agencies under the leadership of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics to undertake a comprehensive study of migration. As a part of the larger study, a survey was made to provide measures of the size, origins, the general social and economic characteristics and resettlement patterns of the interstate migrants to the Pacific region during the past decade.

Data for these purposes were obtained through the public school systems of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Arizona by means of a simple questionnaire filled out by school children belonging to families that had moved into the particular State since 1929.

The returned questionnaires were matched into family groups and data on the family have been used as the unit in the tabulation and analysis. This sample provides information on 116,000 families in California, 45,000 families in the three Pacific Northwest States[1] and 13,000 families in Arizona.

The sole criterion used in this selection of families was entrance into the State since 1929. The survey was conducted in all grades of the public-school systems of the five States, and only a small proportion of the schools did not participate in the study. Included in the survey were families from all sections of the Nation representing all economic and social classes. The school surveys were designed to secure general information from questions which school pupils could easily comprehend. Necessarily, these surveys do not provide detailed analyses from which it is possible to estimate income, to evaluate economic progress, or to appraise the special and complex problems incident to resettlement. Specific studies, limited in large part to the problems of the agricultural population seeking resettlement in the West, have been made in selected areas.[2] Summaries of the field studies are presented in other exhibits prepared for the committee by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

SECTION 2. PREVIOUS MIGRATIONS TO THE FAR WEST

One of the earliest findings of the survey was that the migration of "drought refugees" (distressed agricultural population) to the far West during the decade of the 1930's was only a fractional part of the large-scale population movement to this area. The "distressed migrant" of recent years cannot properly be understood apart from an analysis of the entire migration of the decade. Moreover, westward migration of population in the decade 1930–39 represents only the latest stage of a continuous movement of population to this area which has been going on since the days of the pioneers.

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[1] Pacific Northwest States as here used means the States of Oregon, Idaho, and Washington.

[2] Detailed field surveys were made in California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. These surveys were limited to represent the more important situations under which migrant families were attempting to resettle in agriculture. Hence, about 20 communities were studied in the Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Salinas Valleys of California where large numbers of recent migrants are engaged in seasonal agricultural labor. The Yakima Valley in Washington was surveyed as presenting a similar situation. A study in the Vale-Owyhee reclamation project in eastern Oregon dealt with settlers on newly irrigated lands. Other surveys were concerned with the situation of new settlers on the cut-over lands of northern Idaho and western Washington. Detailed records were secured from nearly 2,000 settlers in all of these areas covering employment, income, financial progress, dependency, farm organization (where relevant), levels of living, social participation, and other factors pertinent to an evaluation of the settlers' economic and social situation. These data were supplemented by interviews with local officials and others familiar with the local situation, and by recourse to whatever secondary sources of information were available.

Historically, the result of westward migration has been a continuous and rapid increase in the population and in the economic development of the far West. Most of the people who cleared the farms of the Pacific Northwest, who brought water to the land in California and Arizona, and who developed the commerce and industry of this region were "migrants" to the West.

In 1930 only one-third of the population in California had been born in California; and only 40 percent of the population in Oregon, 36 percent of the population in Washington, and 38 percent of the population in Arizona were native to these respective States.

From 380,000 persons in 1860 the population in California increased to 5,677,000 in 1930—a growth of 1500 percent in 70 years. This rate of growth was nearly 4 times as rapid as the growth of the national population during the same period. Only a small part of this rapid increase in population was due to the natural growth of the population—the excess of births over deaths. While exact measures of earlier migrations do not exist, it is estimated from census data that not less than nine-tenths of the increase in the population of California within the 8 decades from 1860 to 1940 has been due to migration.[3]

The largest migration to California, both in number and relative to the population already in the State, took place during the decade 1920–29 when more than 2,000,000 persons entered the State. The number of persons moving to California in the 1920's constituted a larger numerical addition than has been made to the population of any State by internal migration within any 10-year period in American history.[4] "Migrants" to California in the 1920's made an addition of more than 60 percent to the population in the State at the beginning of the decade.

Between 1870 and 1910 a continuous stream of migration doubled the population of the Pacific Northwest, on the average, every 10 years. The rate of growth in the Northwest was much slower between 1910 and 1930, averaging but 18 percent per decade (fig. 2).

In the last 50 years the population of Arizona has been rapidly increased by migration from other States. During each of the decades from 1900 to 1919 the population in the State increased by two-thirds, and during the 2 decades from 1920 to 1939 population growth, while greatly diminished from this rate, still grew at twice the rate of the national population.

While the population of most regions of the country has at some time during the past century been increased through the net effects of internal migration, the States of the far West for a century have consistently attracted and held population from other States. "By 1930 all the States west of the Mississippi River except the three Pacific Coast States (Oregon, Washington, California), Arizona, and Nevada were losing more people than they were gaining through migration." [5]

While commerce and industry were expanding, when fertile lands remained unoccupied and additional agricultural population was needed, migration was regarded, in the West, as an adjunct to the general prosperity and as necessary to the expansion of economic activities. In previous decades there was a fair chance that every migrant would find employment and even a welcome in the economic and social life of his new community.

The movement of population to the Pacific region, which has continued since 1930, has been distinguished from previous westward migrations by occurring during a decade of industrial and agricultural depression and widespread unemployment. In the 1930's newcomers had become conspicuous proportions of the depression problems of the State such as relief, unemployment, health costs, housing, and many others. The word "migrant" has been used in this decade, not as a term of honor describing a latter-day pioneer; rather, it has become synonymous with "indigent," with "drought refugees," with habitual "migratory workers," with the "Joads" of the Grapes of Wrath.

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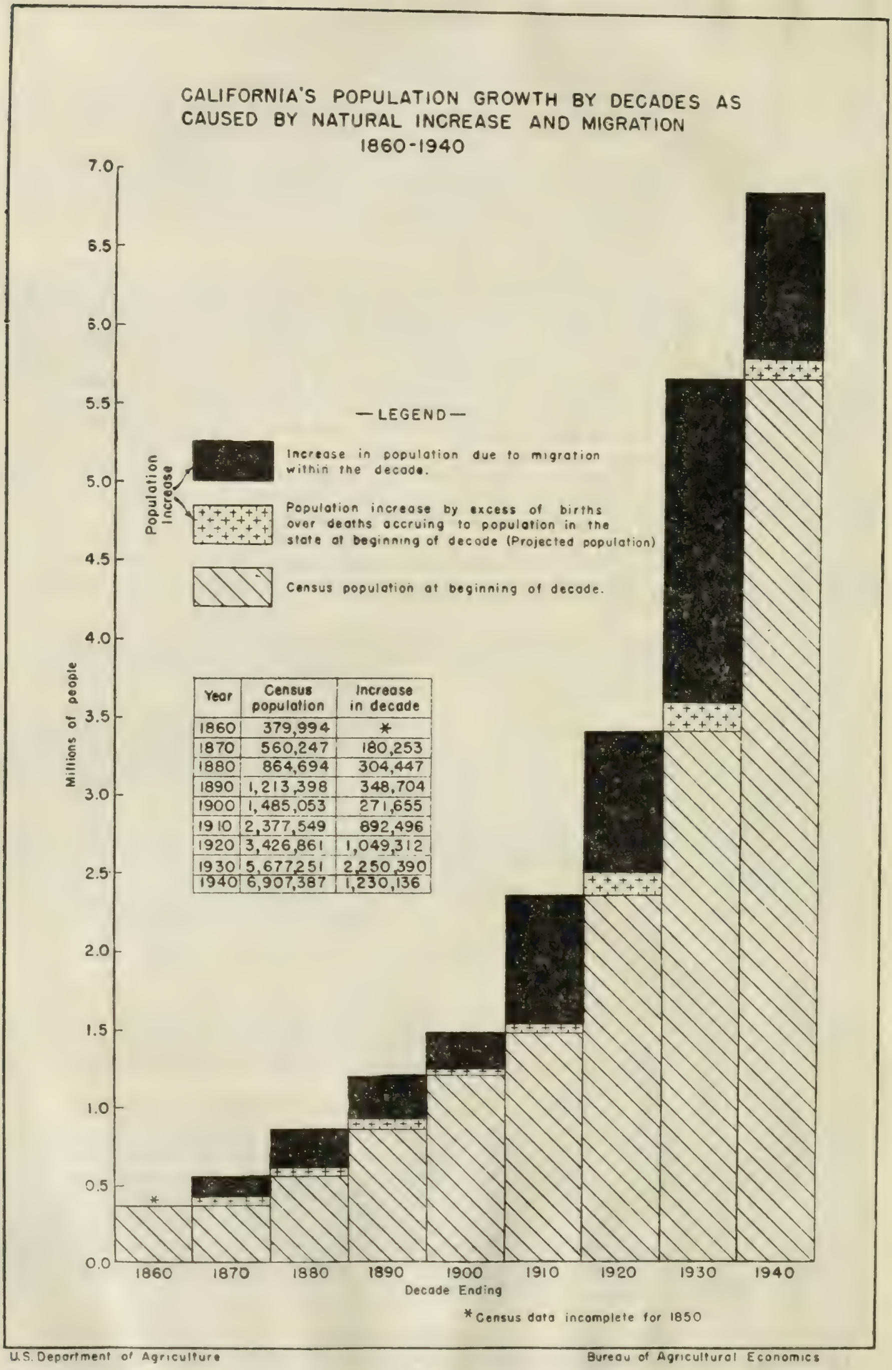
[3] See appendix V for the method of making this estimate.

[4] National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, 1938, p. 91.

[5] Ibid., p. 91.



CALIFORNIA'S POPULATION GROWTH BY DECADES AS CAUSED BY NATURAL INCREASE AND MIGRATION 1860-1940

Year	Census population	Increase in decade
1860	379,994	*
1870	560,247	180,253
1880	864,694	304,447
1890	1,213,398	348,704
1900	1,485,053	271,655
1910	2,377,549	892,496
1920	3,426,861	1,049,312
1930	5,677,251	2,250,390
1940	6,907,387	1,230,136

*Census data incomplete for 1850

U.S. Department of Agriculture Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Figure 1

In sharp contrast with previous decades, popular attitude toward newcomers have been actively hostile in many sections of the Pacific region and unfriendly almost everywhere. A widely known example of this attitude was the "bum blockade" maintained by the Los Angeles city police force during the fall of 1935 at the southeastern border of California. Police stationed at the border turned back or arrested "migrants" who were without means of support and were presumably bound for Los Angeles.

Another example was the organization in 1938 of the California Citizens Association which calls upon the people of the State to "use every effort to discourage this migration both at its sources and its destination, or be overwhelmed by economic chaos and financial ruin."

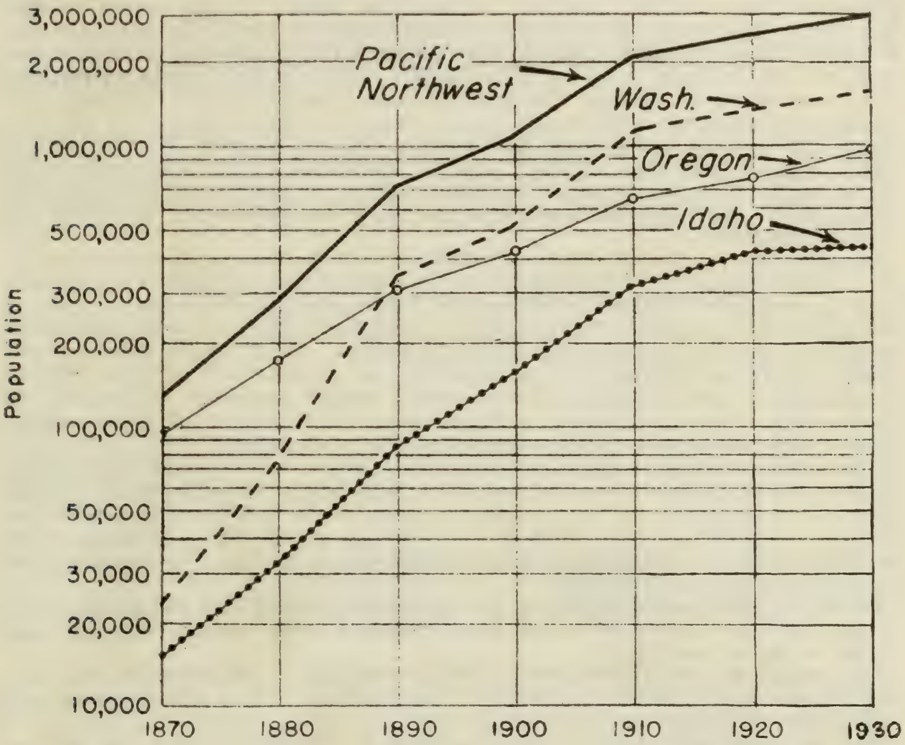


FIGURE 2.

In a recent circular the association states, "In the 2 years during which this organization has been in operation for the sole purpose of discouraging the migration of unemployed to California, we have had the hearty cooperation of the press." Migrants are described by the association as follows: "Great numbers of them do not read. What limited information they get on public affairs is by means of radio and word of mouth. Generally speaking, they have neither the income, the education, the skill, nor the desire to attain to California's normal standard of living."

To discourage migration, Oregon in 1935 and California in 1940 raised the continuous residence requirement from 1 year to 3 years before a "migrant" would be accepted as the relief responsibility of the State.

SECTION 3. THE VOLUME OF MIGRATION 1920–29 AND 1930–39

Public comment on the "migrant problem" of the 1930's has created the impression that the westward migration during this decade has been of a magnitude unprecedented in the West's history.

The number of persons who migrated to the far West during the 1930's can be approximated from the 1940 census, and data from the migration survey made through the agency of the public schools provide a basis for a rough estimate of the number of migrants. This survey enumerated more than 187,000 school children, members of 116,000 families who had entered California since 1929. It is estimated that the survey enumerated 84 percent of all the families with children in the public schools who were eligible for inclusion. Hence, it is probable that there were in California, in the spring of 1939, approximately 139,000 families who had entered the State after 1929 and these families had 239,000 children in public schools at the time of the survey.[6] This survey did not enumerate unattached persons or families without school children. Assuming that the proportion of school children in the total population migrating to California is about the same as in the general population of the principal areas from which these migrants came, it is estimated that a total of approximately 1,100,000 persons moved to California after 1929 and were still in the State in the spring of 1939.[7] This number is only an estimate of inward migration during this period, since departure from California and the balance of births and deaths in the State for the decade have not been taken into account. Moreover, this estimate is not complete for the 10-year period between 1930 and January 1940 as the school survey was made in the spring of 1939. An estimate of the total number of "migrants" entering California after 1930 who were still in the State in 1940 would doubtless not exceed 1,200,000.

If none of the people in California in 1930 had left the State in the next 10 years. the natural increase in the population (excess of births over deaths) would have been approximately 130,000. Adding the 130,000 additional people by natural increase to the 1,200,000 estimated persons entering California during the decade would have given a population increase of 1,330,000. Final reports from the 1940 census indicate for California a population increase since 1930 of 1,230,000. Hence, it seems likely that during this decade about 100,000 people left California. In other words, for every 12 persons who came to California in the 1930's and remained, 1 person already in the State left during this decade.

The estimated migration to California in the period of 9½ years from 1930 to June of 1939 of 1,200,000 persons is almost a million less than that number which migrated to California in the preceding decade of the 1920's. The number migrating to California from 1920–29 was 64 percent of the population of the State in 1920; the migration of the 1930's has been but 22 percent of the population in the State in 1930.

In table 1 the number of persons moving into California and the States of the Pacific Northwest in the 1930's has been compared to the number entering these States in the decade 1920–29.

It is estimated that 277,000 persons entered Washington, 231,000 entered Oregon, and 112,000 entered Idaho in the 9-year period from 1930 to the spring of 1939 (when the survey was made).[8]

The estimated migration into the States of the Pacific Northwest during the 1930's, 620,000 persons, is somewhat less than the 680,000 estimated as moving into the area in the decade 1920–29. Expressed in relation to the population of the State, the migration of the 1930's was substantially smaller (table 1).

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[6] See appendix I and appendix II.

[7] For each child enrolled in public schools in the States which contributed most heavily to the California migration, there were approximately 4.6 persons in the population. Therefore, an estimate of the total number migrating to California would be based on the estimated children from "migrant" families in California schools, 239,000 times 4.6, or 1,100,000 persons. See appendix III.

[8] The school survey in the Northwest (Washington, Oregon, Idaho) enumerated 45,211 families. It is estimated that because some schools did not cooperate and in others some of the eligible pupils failed to respond, the enumerated families represented approximately 63 percent of all that were eligible for inclusion; hence, it is likely that there were in the Northwest, in the spring of 1939, some 22,000 families that had entered their States after 1929 and who had children in the public schools at the time of the survey. On this basis, it is calculated that approximately 620,000 persons had come into the States of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho after 1930. Of these, about 465,000 had come from outside the Northwest, the others having moved from State to State within the area, or perhaps reentered the State in which they had lived previously. See appendixes I, II, and III.

TABLE 1.—*Estimated number of persons who moved into the States of the Pacific region, 1920–29 and 1930–39*

	California	Washington	Oregon	Idaho
1920 census population	3, 427, 000	1, 357, 000	783, 000	432, 000
Total in-migration 1920–29 [1]	2, 196, 000	328, 500	251, 000	100, 500
Ratio: In-migration 1920–29 divided by 1920 census population	0. 64	0. 24	0. 32	0. 23
1930 census population	5, 677, 000	1, 563, 000	954, 000	445, 000
In-migration 1930–39 (Survey [2])	1, 200, 000	277, 000	231, 000	112, 000
Ratio: In-migration 1930–39 divided by 1930 census population	0. 22	0. 18	0. 24	0. 25

[1] Inward migration as used here means the number of persons who moved into the State during the decade and who were living in the State at the end of the decade. See Appendix IV.

[2] Estimates are for 9-year period for the Northwest and 10-year period for California.

During the decade 1920–29, many of the people living in the States of the Pacific Northwest in 1920 left these States. Estimates indicate that the excess of the migrants entering this region over the persons leaving the region, made a net addition to the population of about 196,000. In Idaho, the net result of migration during 1920–29 was the loss of approximately 39,000 persons (table 1a).

TABLE 1a.—*The net effects of immigration and emigration on the population of the States of the Pacific region, 1920–29 and 1930–39* [1]

	California	Washington	Oregon	Idaho	Arizona
Population 1920	3, 427, 000	1, 357, 000	783, 000	432, 000	334, 162
Net addition by 1920–29 migration	2, 074, 000	113, 500	122, 000	−39, 500	78, 000
Percent added to 1920 population	60. 5	8. 4	15. 6	−9. 2	23. 3
Population 1930	5, 677, 000	1, 563, 000	954, 000	445, 000	435, 600
Net effects of migration 1930–39	1, 101, 000	122, 000	109, 000	29, 300	31, 100
Percent added to 1930 population	19. 4	7. 8	11. 4	6. 6	7. 1

[1] Estimates of net effects of migration are made by adding to the population in the area at the beginning of a decade the births that would occur in the decade and deducting losses from deaths. The calculated population for the State compared with the census enumeration at the end of the decade indicates the net effects of migration into and out of the area during the decade. Methods of estimating out-migration are described in appendix 1.

The net effects of the migrations of 1920–29 and 1930–39 on the size of population in the States of the far West has been shown in table 1a. To the States of the Pacific Northwest in the 1920's, migration made an addition of 196,000 persons; the net addition by migration for the decade 1930–39 was 242,000. Relative to the population in the State at the beginning of the decade, the net effects of migration in the 1930's was less in both Washington and Oregon than in the decade 1920–29. However, in Idaho, where the net effects of migration during the 1920's had resulted in a substantial loss in population, during the decade 1930–39, the net effects of migration added 7 percent to the population of the State.

The population of California had been increased 60 percent from its 1920 level by the net effects of migration during the 10 years from 1920 to 1929. The net effects of the migration of the 1930's has been an addition of but 19 percent to the population in California at the beginning of the decade. Considered in absolute magnitude, the influx of migrants into California during the 1930's has been but three-fifths of the immigration to this State during the previous decade; the net effects of migration on the size of California's population has been but one-third of the addition made by the migration of the 1920's.

While the net effects of migration on population in Arizona from 1900 to 1919 had been additions of more than 60 percent in each decade, and the net addition in the 1920's was 23 percent in the decade 1930–39, but 7 percent was added to the population. These figures are the net results of immigration to and emigration from Arizona. They do not necessarily provide an index to the volume of persons entering or leaving the State. It is estimated from the migration survey that in the decade from 1930–39, 134,000 persons entered Arizona and were still there in January 1940. This inward migration amounts to 31 percent of the 1930 population of the State. Relative to the 1930 population in the State, immigration to Arizona was a greater influx than occurred to California, Oregon, Washington, or Idaho. Yet the net effects of migration to Arizona—the balance of people moving in against the number moving out—made a smaller addition than was made to any of the other far Western States. Dr. Fuller and Dr. Tetreau suggest that Arizona in recent years has played an important role as a place of transitional residence, and that many people who are migrating westward stop over in this State for one or two harvest seasons while en route. Others make Arizona a temporary stopping point in a fairly well-established migratory pattern.[9]

SECTION 4. SOURCES OF THE MIGRATION

Migrants to the States of the far West during the 1930's were drawn from virtually all occupations, from servants and unskilled laborers to the most highly trained professional persons. Questionnaires were returned by children from families of nationally known motion-picture stars as well as from migratory agricultural workers. Agricultural people were an important element in the migrating population, but, contrary to popular impressions, they were by no means predominant. Less than one-fourth of all families enumerated in the migration survey in California had been engaged in agriculture either as farmers or farm laborers prior to migration. Pupils from one-third of the families enumerated in the States of the Pacific Northwest and in Arizona indicated that their fathers had been engaged in agriculture either as farmers or farm laborers before migrating.[10]

A graphic presentation of the State and county of residence in 1930 (preceding migration) of all the families enumerated in the migration surveys in California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Arizona is shown in figure 3. This figure does not include "migrants" who in 1930 were living in any of the States of the far West or in foreign countries. It will be observed that population has been drawn from every State in the Union, and in important proportions from as far away as the large industrial centers of the Atlantic seaboard. An adequate life history on a representative sample of the "migrants" of the 1930's to the Pacific region would tell us a great deal about industrial New England, about the tri-State mining area of Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Missouri, particularly about drought and changes in farming methods in the Great Plains, the opening of Oklahoma Territory, the Alaska fisheries, etc.

Residence data from the survey in the Pacific Northwest indicated a large migration from the States of the Northern Great Plains, especially Nebraska, North Dakota, Montana, South Dakota, and Kansas. The Northern Great Plains contributed most heavily to the movement of population to this region[11] during the last half century and, in this respect, the migration of the 1930's seems to be an extension of an historical migration from the same areas.

The States of residence in 1930 of agricultural families moving to the Pacific Northwest in this decade are concentrated largely in the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas (fig. 4). Nonagricultural families show striking concentrations in and around the large cities of the same general region. Clusters of dots mark the Salt Lake area, Denver, Omaha, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, Duluth, Chicago, and Detroit (fig. 5).

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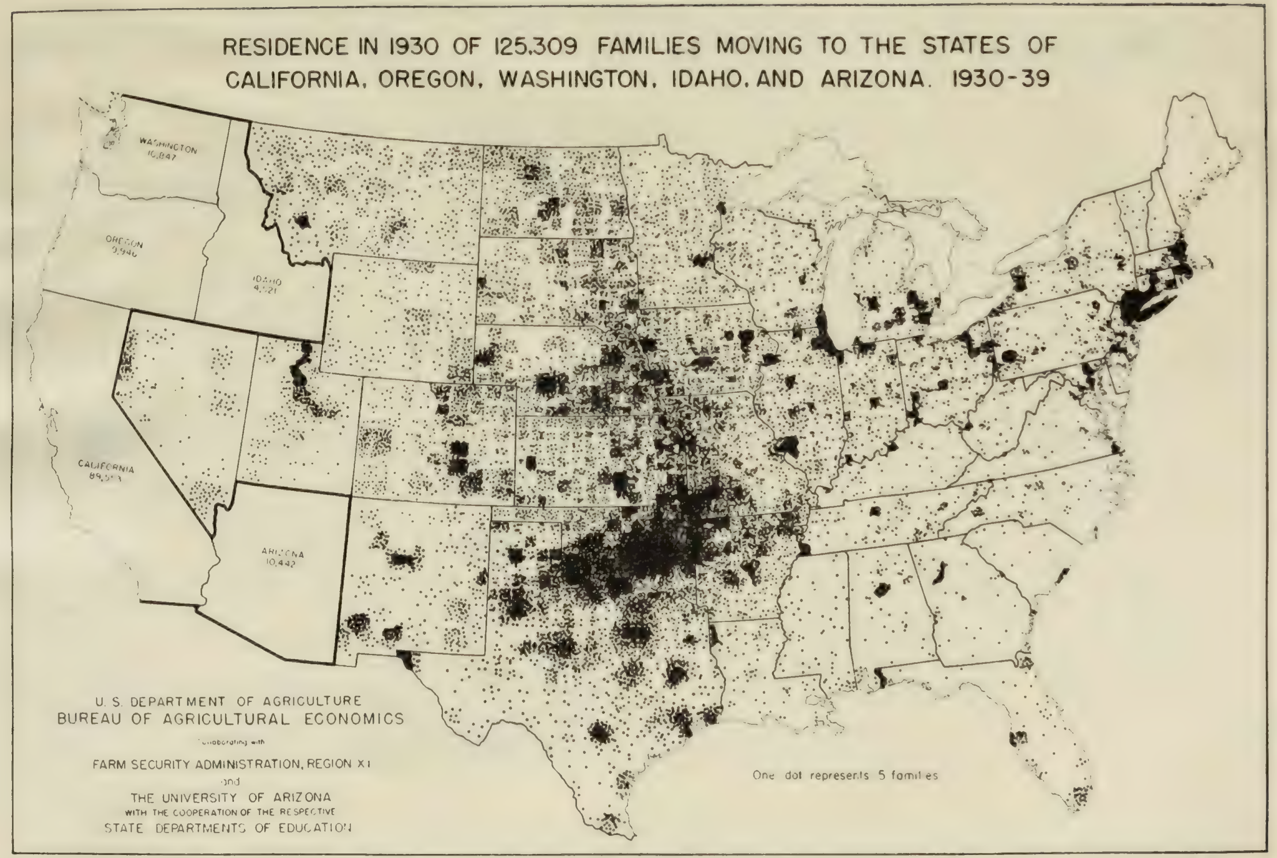
[9] Fuller, Varden, and Tetreau, E. D., "Volume and Characteristics of Recent Migration to Arizona," unpublished manuscript.

[10] Occupations of migrant family heads, both before migration and at the time of the survey, were determined from pupils' replies to questions regarding parents' occupations and the kind of company or industry for which they worked. Occupations and industries were classified according to the U. S. Census Alphabetical Index of Occupations, 1930. Occupational group classifications were based on Alba M. Edwards' A Social Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States, 1930. Questionnaires were checked in several areas against field investigations. As a result of this check, the distinction between farmers and farm laborers will not be made in the surveys in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Questions regarding occupation and industry were asked in a different manner in the California and Arizona schools and this made possible a reliable distinction between farmers and farm laborers. In this connection, the average age of pupils returning questionnaires in California was 13 years and the standard deviation from this average was 2 years. In most cases more than one questionnaire was received per family and data were coded for a given family head after considering all replies. See appendix I.

[11] See C. W. Thornthwaite, Internal Migration in United States. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934.



RESIDENCE IN 1930 OF 125.309 FAMILIES MOVING TO THE STATES OF CALIFORNIA, OREGON, WASHINGTON, IDAHO, AND ARIZONA. 1930-39

WASHINGTON
10,847
OREGON
9,946
IDAHO
4,521
CALIFORNIA
89,553
ARIZONA
10,442
One dot represents 5 families

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
collaborating with
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, REGION XI
and
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE RESPECTIVE
STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

FIGURE 3.

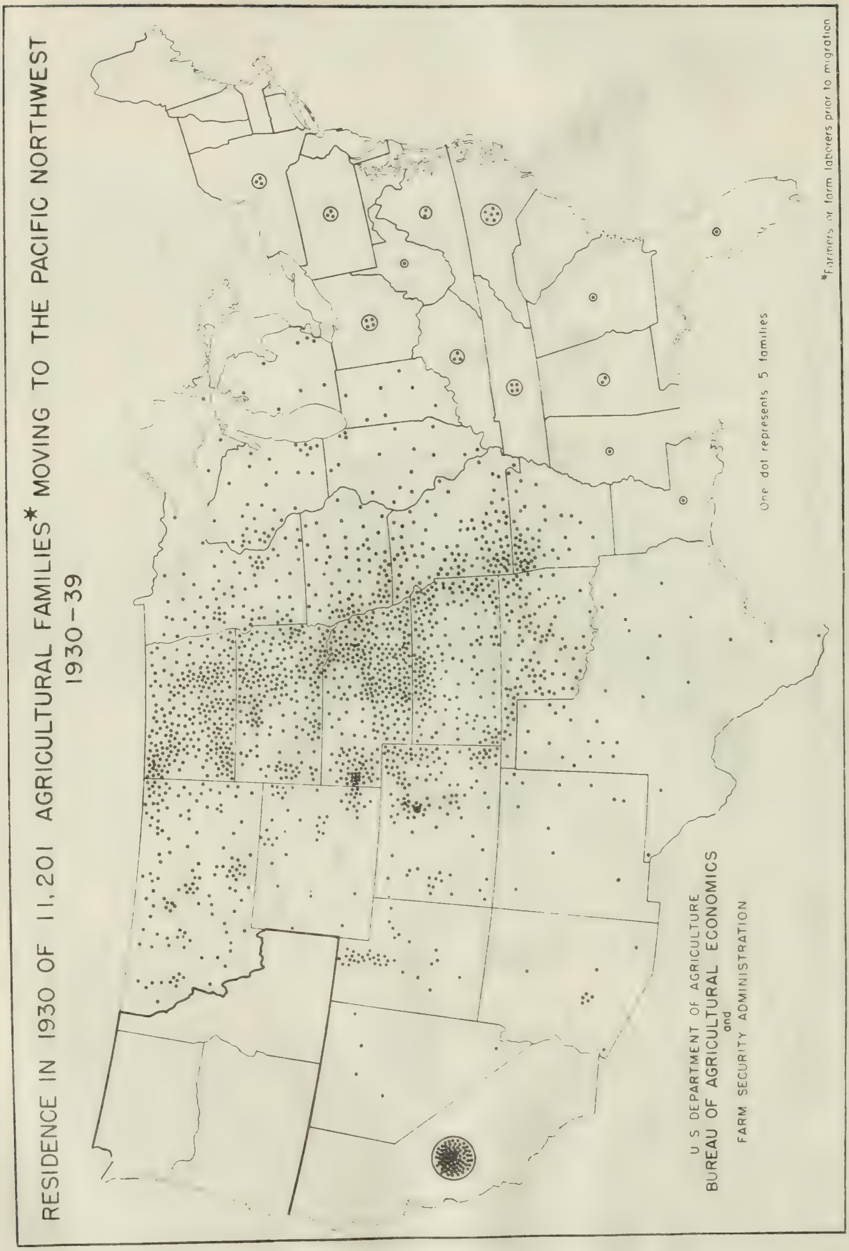

RESIDENCE IN 1930 OF 11,201 AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES* MOVING TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST
1930-39
U S DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
and
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
One dot represents 5 families
*Farmers or farm laborers prior to migration

FIGURE 4.

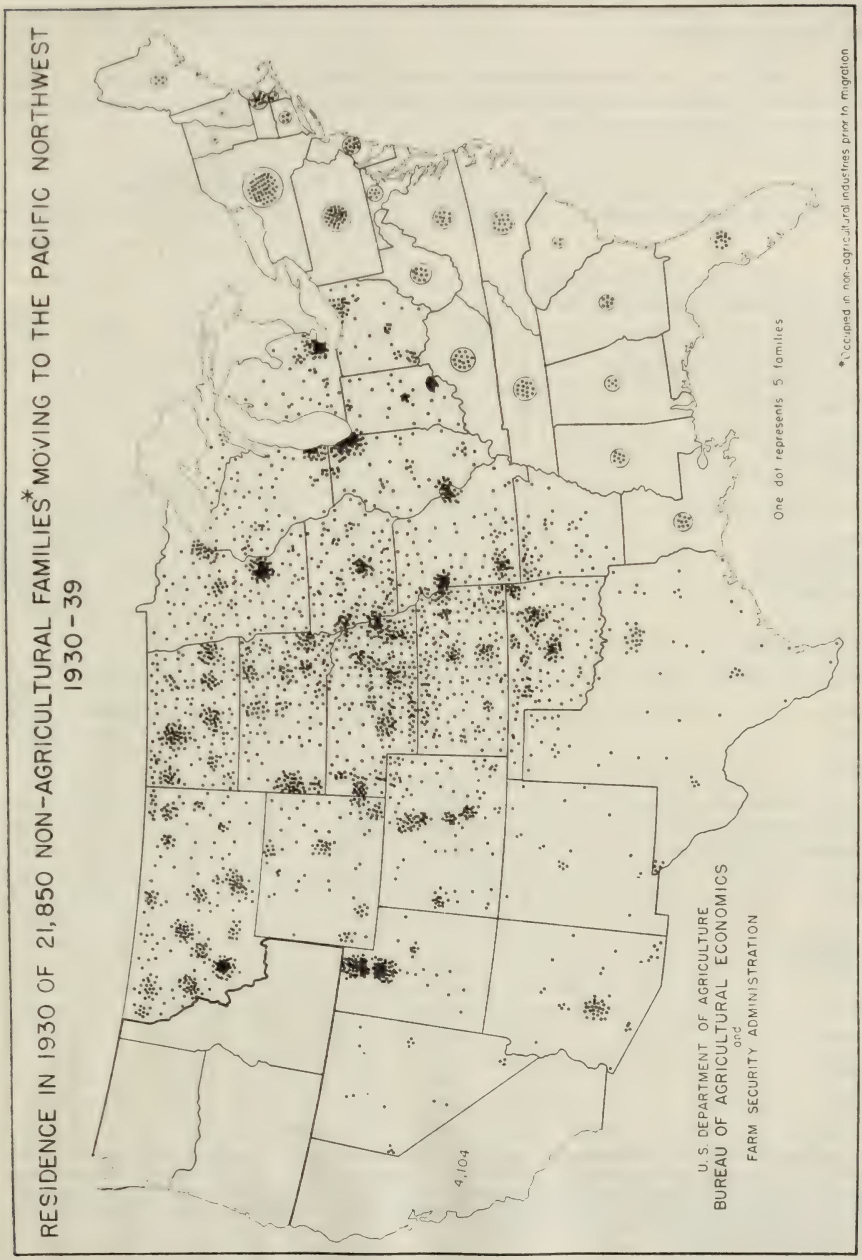

RESIDENCE IN 1930 OF 21,850 NON-AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES* MOVING TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST
1930-39
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
and
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
One dot represents 5 families
*Occupied in non-agricultural industries prior to migration
4,104

FIGURE 5.

A large movement from State to State within the Northwest is indicated. One-fourth of the families enumerated in the Pacific Northwest were living in the Northwest in 1930 and subsequently moved to other States in this region or out and back again (table 2). More of the families studied came from California than from any other State in the Nation. In general, the Northwest States drew larger numbers from nearby areas than from more distant ones. To some degree the migration can be envisaged as a movement along lines of latitude.

TABLE 2.—*Families enumerated in California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Arizona migration surveys: Classified by their States of residence in 1939 and by region of residence in 1930*

Region of residence in 1930	Total region	State of residence in 1939				
		California	Washington [1]	Oregon [1]	Arizona	Idaho [1]
Total reporting region of residence in 1930:						
Number	167,543	112,515	18,304	17,178	12,979	6,567
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Middle Atlantic and New England	6.6	8.8	1.8	1.5	3.8	.6
East North Central	10.4	12.5	6.4	5.4	8.5	2.7
Illinois	4.2	5.3	1.9	1.6	3.1	1.1
Michigan	2.0	2.4	1.4	1.1	1.4	.6
Ohio	1.9	2.4	.7	.6	1.9	.3
West North Central	22.7	20.9	30.9	32.1	10.4	32.4
Missouri	4.8	5.6	2.9	2.5	3.6	4.3
North Dakota	2.1	1.0	7.4	4.8	.3	3.5
South Dakota	2.3	1.4	5.2	5.4	.4	4.2
Nebraska	4.3	3.7	4.9	7.9	1.2	10.7
South Atlantic	1.9	2.2	1.3	.7	1.6	.7
East South Central	1.5	1.7	.7	.6	2.1	.4
West South Central	20.0	22.9	5.1	6.6	41.3	5.8
Oklahoma	9.8	11.1	2.8	3.9	20.0	3.0
Texas	6.8	7.7	1.1	1.6	16.0	1.2
Mountain	17.5	15.8	21.7	17.8	18.3	32.1
Idaho	2.6	1.3	8.2	5.9	.6	5.2
Arizona	3.1	3.8	.5	.9	4.9	.8
Colorado	3.9	4.0	3.2	4.2	3.5	4.9
Montana	2.1	1.0	7.1	3.3	.4	6.7
Utah	2.5	3.7	.9	1.2	1.0	10.0
Pacific	16.0	11.5	27.4	33.0	12.5	23.9
California	6.6	4.5	9.7	13.7	11.2	5.4
Washington	5.1	3.8	4.2	15.9	.6	11.8
Oregon	4.3	3.2	13.5	3.4	.7	6.7
Foreign	3.4	3.7	4.7	2.3	1.5	1.4
Canada	1.0	.7	3.0	1.2	.1	.9
Europe	.9	1.2	.4	.2	.1	.1
China	.3	.3	.1	.2	.1	(2)
Japan	.1	.1	.1	.1	(2)	(2)
Other	1.1	1.4	1.1	.6	1.2	.4

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[1] For families enumerated in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho in which the oldest responding child was born after 1930, the actual place of residence in 1930 could not be determined. In such cases the 1930 residence was taken to be the birthplace of the oldest responding child. The initial questionnaire which was used in some of the Oregon counties did not ask for years of residence in the various States; hence, in many cases the location of 1930 residence could not be determined.

[2] Less than 1/10 of 1 percent.

The most important sources for Washington were Oregon, California, Idaho, North Dakota, and Montana in the order named; for Oregon, they were Washington, California, Nebraska, Idaho, and Kansas; and for Idaho, they were Washington, Nebraska, Utah, Oregon, and Montana. Less than one-tenth of the families came from east of the Mississippi River (table 2).

The States of origin of the migration to California in the 1930's were significantly different from those losing population to the Pacific Northwest, and in this decade the movement of population to California was from different areas than those which contributed most heavily to California in previous decades.

The migration of the 1930's to California was from four sections of the Nation. One-fourth of the enumerated families came from three States of the west south-central region—Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas; one-fourth of the families came from the Great Plains States of the west north-central region—Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. Another principal source was the Mountain States of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah; and the fourth important source was the industrial centers in the Great Lakes States, in the New England States, in New York, and in Pennsylvania.

Previous migrations to California were in much larger proportion from the Great Lakes States of the east north-central region and the Great Plains States of the west north-central region, and in much smaller proportions from Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah.[12] (See table 3.)

TABLE 3.—*Origin of migration from other States to California, 1900–39*

Region of origin	Percentage of migration			
	1900–09 [1]	1910–19 [1]	1920–29 [1]	1930–39 [2]
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Middle Atlantic and New England	18.1	11.0	10.1	9.6
East North Central	31.9	34.2	22.6	13.6
West North Central	38.5	35.1	32.8	22.7
South Atlantic	(3)	(3)	(3)	2.4
East South Central	3.7	(3)	3.0	1.9
West South Central	4.1	9.0	12.3	25.0
Mountain	3.7	5.1	13.3	17.2
Pacific	(3)	5.6	5.9	7.6

[1] Based on net decennial changes in the birth-residence remainders of the several pairs of States: Thornthwaite, C. Warren, Internal Migration in the United States, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 18–19. 1934.

[2] Origin of migration from other States to California based on California migration survey.

[3] Less than 1/10 of 1 percent.

The majority of the agricultural people migrating to California in the 1930's came from the South Plains States (fig. 6). Approximately one-fourth of all enumerated families who were engaged in agriculture prior to migration were living in Oklahoma in 1930. Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri were the States of residence in 1930 of more than half of the agricultural families enumerated. Most of the other agricultural families came from the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Iowa, and South Dakota, in the order named.

In contrast with the concentration of agricultural families in the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri, less than 20 percent of all families who were employed in nonagricultural industries reported these States as their residence in 1930 (fig. 7). Eleven percent of the nonagricultural families were in the New England and Middle Atlantic States, 15 percent were in the East North Central States, 20 percent in the West North Central States, and 24 percent in the Mountain and Pacific States in 1930.

Striking concentrations are observed in the cities of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Missouri, and around the large urban centers of New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Omaha, Wichita, Denver, Salt Lake City, Spokane,

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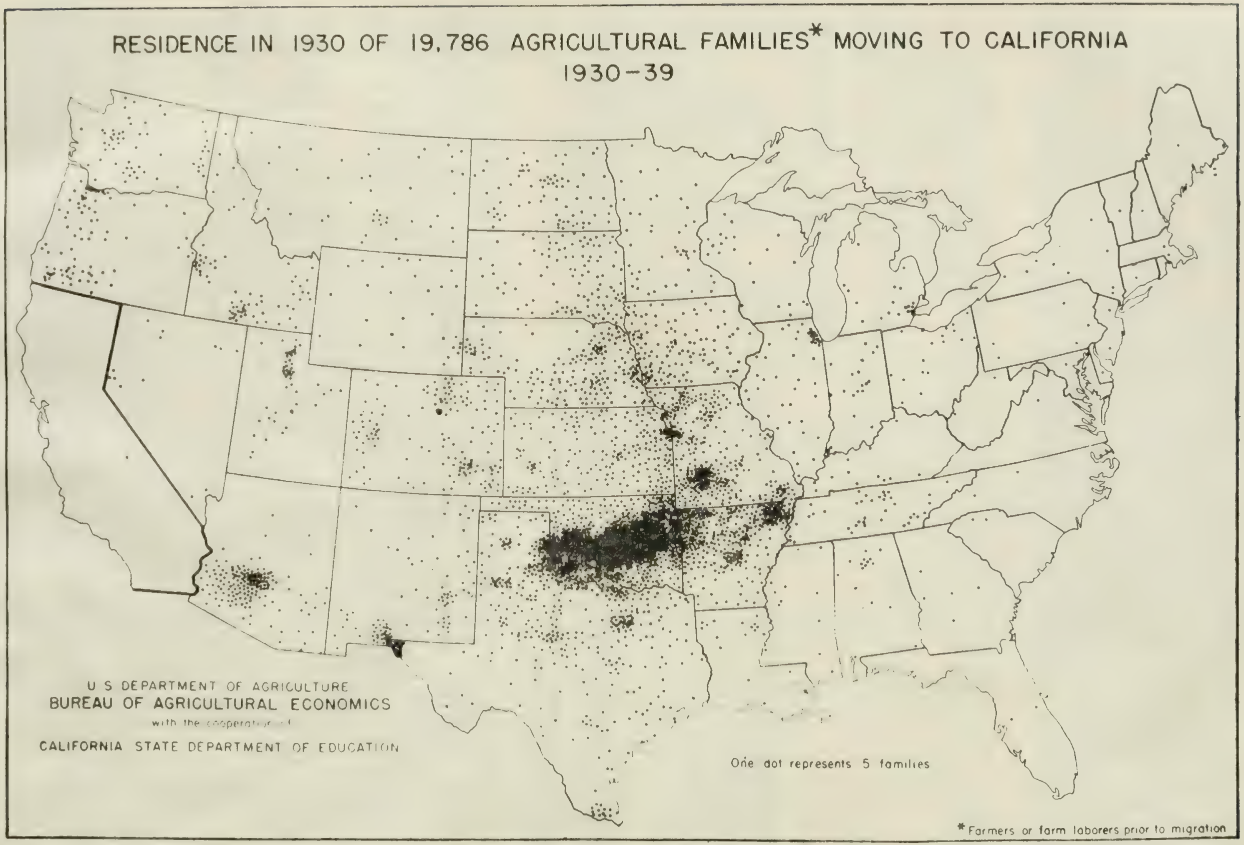
[12] The census, until 1940, did not report migration data that are strictly comparable with the origin data collected through the migration survey; however, it is possible to make estimates of the States of origin of migrants from birth and State of residence data which have been reported by the census. Such estimates do not specifically indicate where the migrants of the decade came from, but rather where they were born; however, it is believed that the State of birth and the State of origin are in a sufficient number of cases the same to warrant at least a proportional comparison between the birth-residence data of the census for previous decades and the State-of-1930 residence data from the migration survey.



RESIDENCE IN 1930 OF 19,786 AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES* MOVING TO CALIFORNIA
1930–39

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with the cooperation of
CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

One dot represents 5 families

*Farmers or farm laborers prior to migration

FIGURE 6.

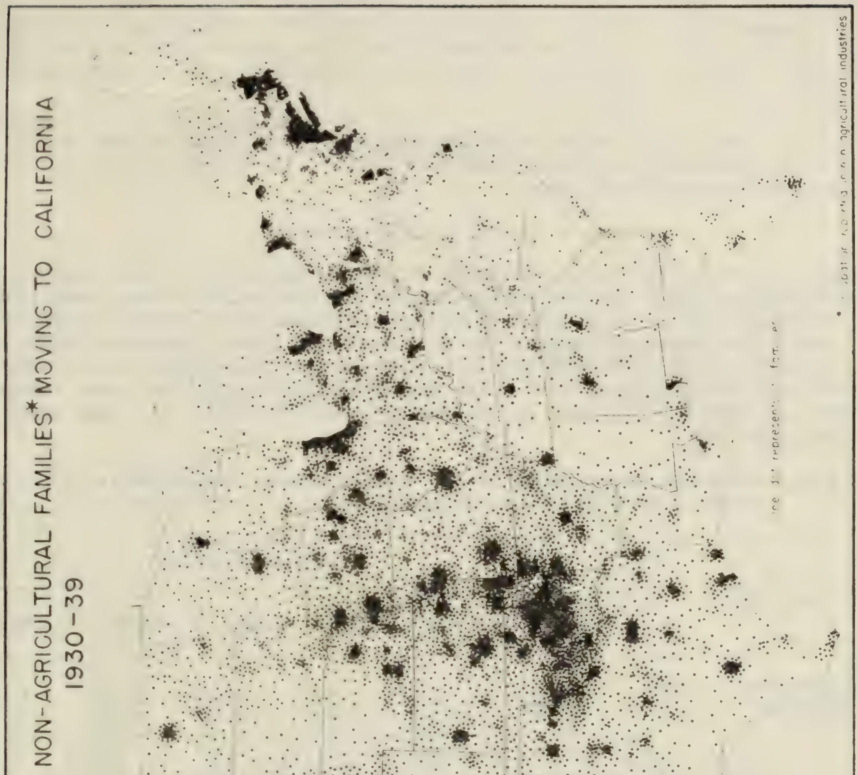

RESIDENCE IN 1930 OF 69,896 NON-AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES* MOVING TO CALIFORNIA
1930-39
One dot represents [illegible] families
* [illegible] agricultural industries
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
with the cooperation of
CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

FIGURE 7.

Seattle, and Portland. Four percent of the families were in California in 1930 but left the State and returned in subsequent years (table 2).

The people moving to Arizona in the decade 1930–39 were largely concentrated in the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and New Mexico prior to migration (table 2). One-fifth of all families and one-third of the agricultural families moving to Arizona had been living in Oklahoma in 1930.

Agricultural families were drawn to Arizona almost entirely from the South Plains States (fig. 8). Most of the families who were employed in nonagricultural industries prior to migration came from urban centers, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Chicago, Detroit, New York, and cities in the South Plains States (fig. 9).

The Arizona survey indicated that a large number of families who had been in Arizona in 1930 left the State but returned before 1940. Arizona was the fifth State in importance as a place of residence in 1930. California was third, ranking next to Oklahoma and Texas.

SEC. 5. TIMING OF THE MIGRATION

Migration of the thirties to California and to the Pacific Northwest reached a peak in 1936 and 1937; however, the peak year for arrivals in Arizona was 1939. More of the families enumerated in Washington arrived in 1937 than in any other year, while for Oregon and Idaho the peak year was 1936. Arrivals of agricultural families in the Northwest and in California were more highly concentrated in 1936 and 1937 than was true of the nonagricultural migrants; large volume in 1936 and 1937 was followed by a sharp reduction in 1938. (See figs. 10 and 10a and table 3a.)

TABLE 3a.—*Families enumerated in the Pacific region migration survey, distributed by year of arrival in the States of 1939 residence*

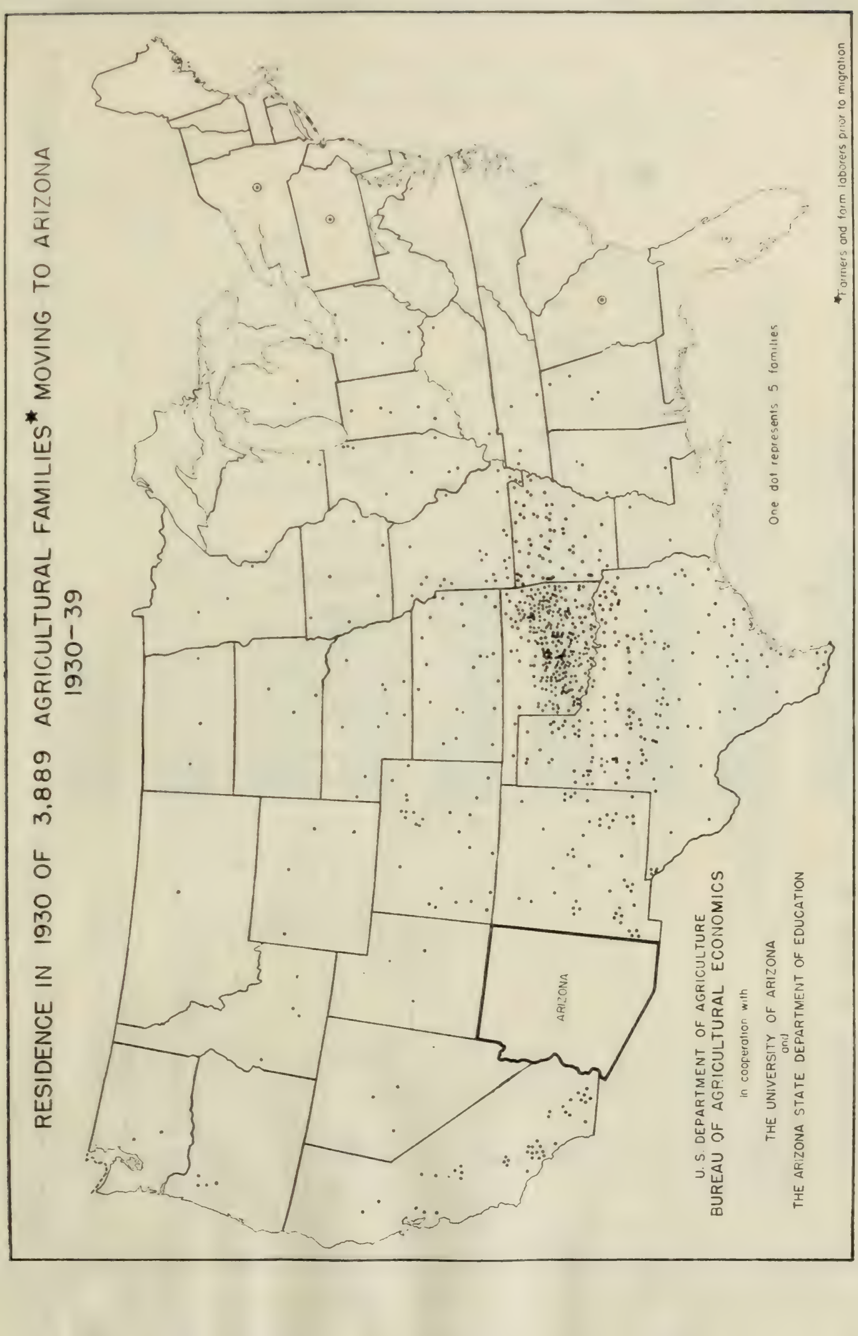
Year of arrival	Total	State of residence in 1939				
		California	Washington	Oregon	Arizona	Idaho
Total reporting year of arrival:						
Number	168, 808	111, 526	18, 773	19, 153	12, 666	6, 690
Percent	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0
1930	6. 6	7. 2	5. 7	4. 7	5. 6	5. 5
1931	6. 5	6. 8	6. 5	6. 1	4. 7	6. 8
1932	6. 3	6. 4	6. 5	6. 5	4. 6	6. 8
1933	6. 5	6. 5	7. 0	6. 7	4. 3	6. 7
1934	9. 2	9. 1	9. 7	9. 7	7. 0	10. 4
1935	11. 9	12. 1	11. 4	12. 2	10. 3	12. 9
1936	18. 1	18. 4	17. 3	18. 9	15. 6	18. 3
1937	17. 0	16. 8	18. 9	18. 4	14. 6	16. 3
1938	13. 4	13. 2	14. 3	14. 7	11. 5	13. 6
1939	4. 5	[1] 3. 5	[1] 2. 7	[1] 2. 1	[2] 21. 8	[1] 2. 7

[1] Survey conducted in spring of 1939.

[2] Survey conducted in January 1940.

These figures of the year of arrival of the enumerated families probably tend to exaggerate the relative inflow of the later years since the families included in the survey were only those who were still in the Western States in 1939 and there is no enumeration of those who moved into those States and out of them before the survey was made. This residual of the immigration is probably somewhat less for the arrivals of earlier years because of the greater period available to earlier arrivals for removal. It is also not unlikely that there has been an underenumeration of families arriving earlier in the decade as many of their younger children, born in the State in which they were living at the time of the survey, might not for this reason respond to the questionnaire.

The survey in Arizona indicated more arrivals in 1936 than in 1937 or 1938. This agrees closely with the findings of the survey in the other four States but the Arizona survey differed sharply by reporting its peak in 1939. It seems likely from what has already been indicated regarding the large in- and out-



RESIDENCE IN 1930 OF 3,889 AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES* MOVING TO ARIZONA
1930–39

ARIZONA
One dot represents 5 families
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
In cooperation with
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
and
THE ARIZONA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
*Farmers and farm laborers prior to migration

FIGURE 8.

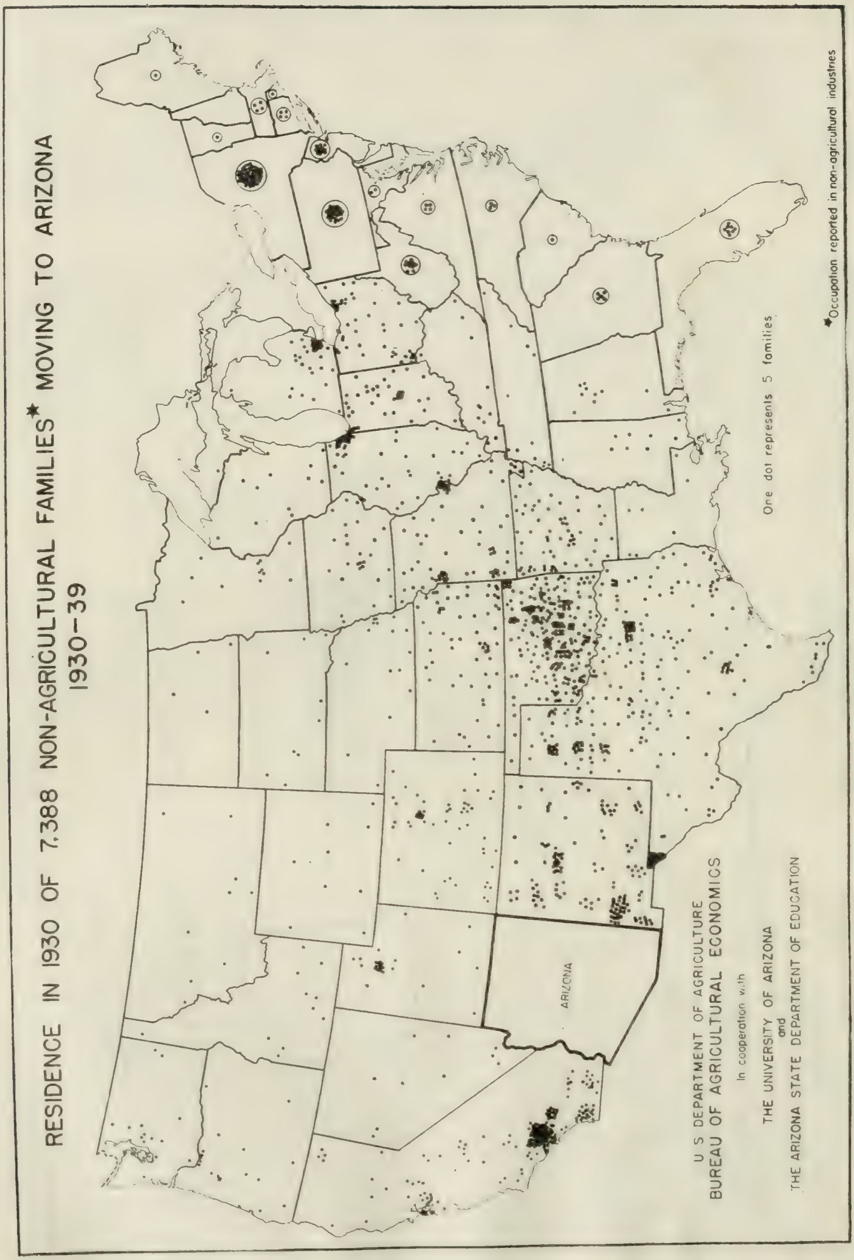
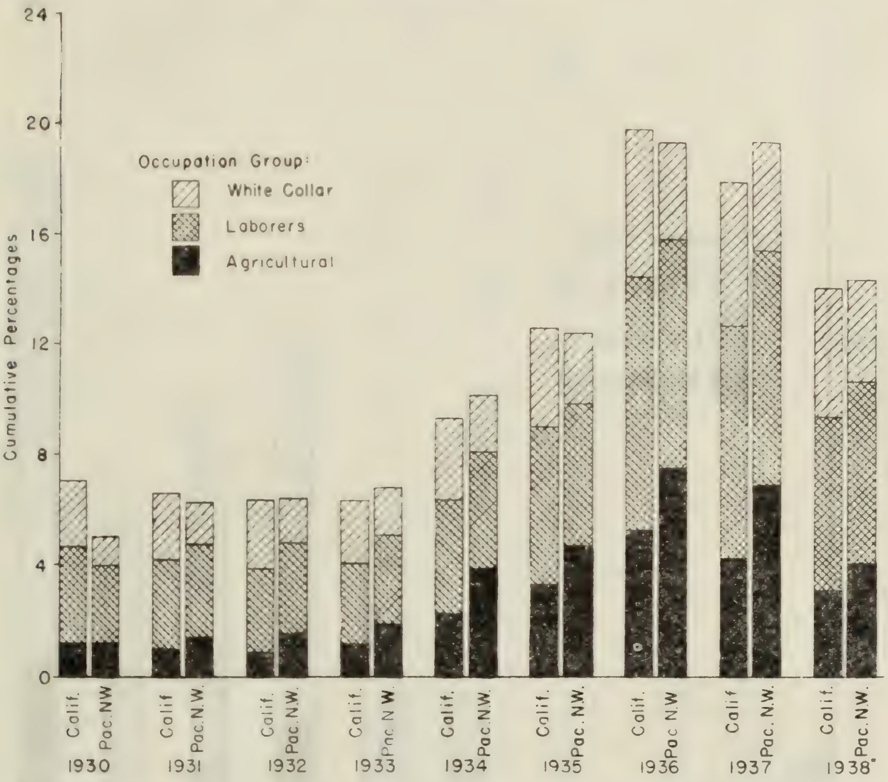

RESIDENCE IN 1930 OF 7,388 NON-AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES* MOVING TO ARIZONA
1930-39
ARIZONA
One dot represents 5 families
*Occupation reported in non-agricultural industries
U S DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
In cooperation with
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
and
THE ARIZONA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

FIGURE 9.

movement of population during this decade, that the explanation of this peak would be found in a migration pattern of two elements—one group of migrants to Arizona remain in the State for several years or perhaps permanently; the other group of migrants who have recently arrived are really in transit and most of them will move on after a short stay.

Marked differences in timing were apparent as between various regions of origin. Nearly half of the migrants from the Southwest came to California during the 2 years 1936 and 1937. In the Pacific Northwest the years from 1934 to



Year of arrival in California and the Pacific Northwest by major occupational groups.

Migration surveys made in California and Pacific Northwest in the spring of 1939.

Figure 10

1937 were characterized by a rapidly increasing movement from the northern Plains States, bringing in relatively large numbers of farm people. The severe droughts in 1934 and 1936 probably account for the high concentration of the migration from the Southwest and the Great Plains in 1936 and 1937. Persons employed in providing goods and services to the agricultural population necessarily experienced the full impacts of drought and the migration of families employed in nonagricultural pursuits was simultaneous with the migration of agricultural families from the Great Plains region.

There was a marked difference in the timing of the migration to the Pacific Northwest as between the migrants from the Pacific region and other sources. The inflow from the Pacific States was nearly constant from year to year, in contrast with the sharp rise from 1933 to 1936 in the migration from other areas, particularly the Great Plains.

Arrivals in California from the Great Lakes States and the Atlantic seaboard were more evenly distributed over the 9-year period with approximately

30 percent arriving in 1936 and 1937. The inflow from Oregon and Washington was practically constant during the entire period.

The arrivals of all occupational groups into Arizona had their peak in 1939; however, 1936 and 1937 were next in importance as the years of migration for families coming from the southern Great Plains.

Seventy percent of the families migrating to the States of the Pacific Northwest moved directly from their States of 1930 residence to the States where they were living at the time of the survey. There was some tendency for a higher proportion of families coming from States more distant from the Northwest to have lived for 6 months and more in intermediate States before moving into their State of 1939 residence. However, the great majority of the families from even the most distant regions moved directly to the Pacific Northwest.

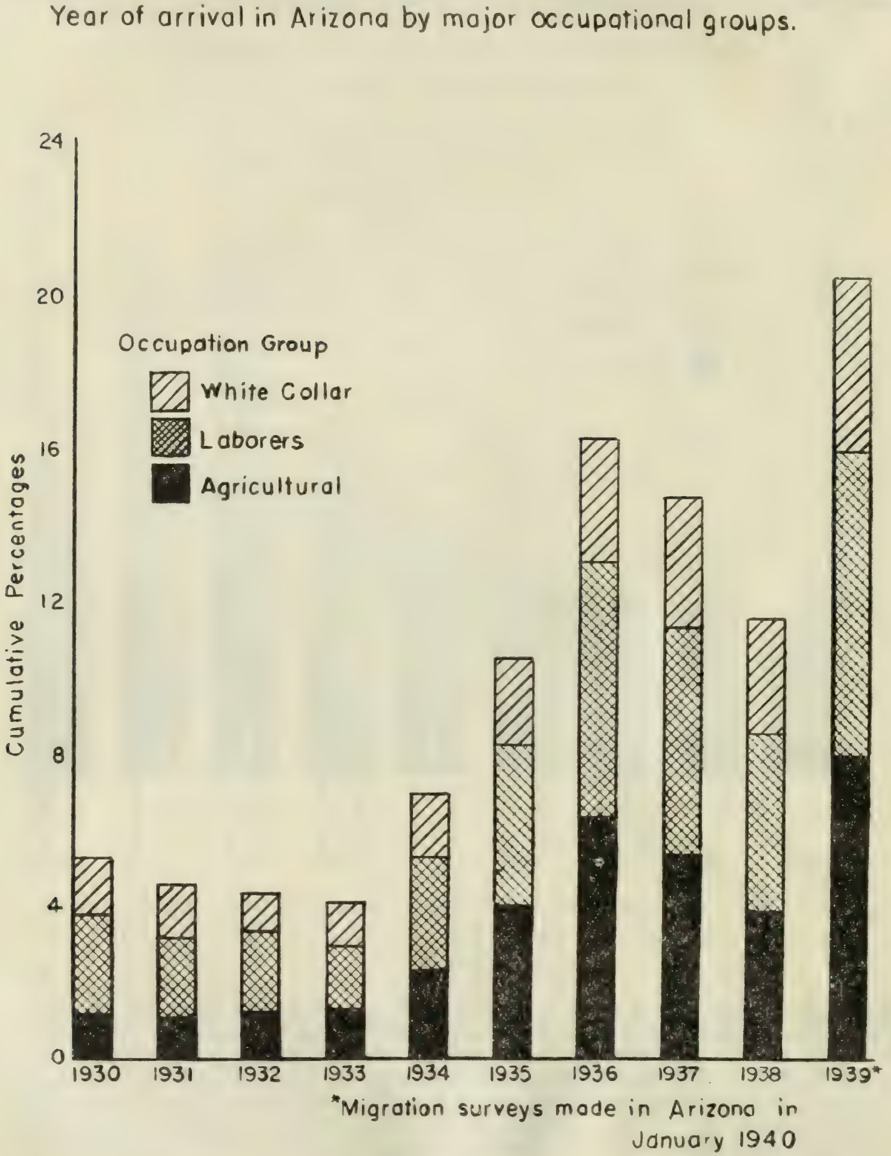


FIGURE 10a.

A few families moved into California before going to the Northwest, but there is no evidence that the migration into the Northwest has been in any substantial amounts an overflow of a heavy California-bound movement.

A more elaborate analysis of the interstate migrations of the families enumerated in the California survey has been made. It indicates that nearly three-fourths of the families moved to California directly from their States of residence in 1930, and that this was as true of agricultural population as of families whose heads were white-collar workers or skilled and unskilled laborers (table 4).

TABLE 4.—*Families enumerated in California school survey: Classified by region of residence in 1930, by occupation groups, and by number of States lived in since 1930* [1]

Region of residence in 1930	Total reporting residence in the United States in 1930		Number of States lived in since 1930 [2]			
	Number	Percent	No intervening States, percent	1 intervening State, percent	2 intervening States, percent	3 or more intervening States, percent
Total families	102, 805	100. 0	72. 4	15. 8	7. 5	4. 3
White collar	26, 986	100. 0	70. 8	16. 5	7. 8	4. 9
Agricultural	19, 732	100. 0	71. 7	16. 3	7. 9	4. 1
Laborers	40. 915	100. 0	72. 4	15. 8	7. 5	4. 3
Oklahoma	12, 447	100. 0	65. 5	19. 6	9. 3	5. 6
White collar	1, 325	100. 0	70. 4	17. 3	7. 5	4. 8
Agricultural	5, 281	100. 0	63. 8	20. 5	9. 9	5. 8
Laborers	4, 468	100. 0	64. 6	20. 0	9. 6	5. 8
West South Central	13, 241	100. 0	71. 5	15. 8	8. 3	4. 4
White collar	2, 163	100. 0	69. 1	16. 0	8. 9	6. 0
Agricultural	4, 067	100. 0	69. 9	16. 7	9. 0	4. 4
Laborers	5, 027	100. 0	70. 9	16. 3	8. 4	4. 4
Middle Atlantic and New England	9, 876	100. 0	71. 5	15. 5	7. 5	5. 5
White collar	4, 221	100. 0	69. 5	16. 9	8. 0	5. 6
Agricultural	164	100. 0	75. 6	11. 0	7. 3	6. 1
Laborers	3, 955	100. 0	72. 9	14. 7	7. 0	5. 4
East North Central	13, 968	100. 0	73. 9	15. 5	6. 5	4. 1
White collar	5, 353	100. 0	70. 9	16. 9	7. 3	4. 9
Agricultural	602	100. 0	76. 1	14. 5	5. 3	4. 1
Laborers	5, 788	100. 0	75. 7	14. 8	6. 1	3. 4
West North Central	23, 315	100. 0	75. 4	15. 0	6. 4	3. 2
White collar	5, 880	100. 0	73. 7	15. 8	7. 0	3. 5
Agricultural	5, 412	100. 0	78. 8	13. 4	5. 2	2. 6
Laborers	8, 960	100. 0	74. 1	15. 6	6. 7	3. 5
South Atlantic	2, 509	100. 0	50. 1	23. 3	13. 8	12. 8
White collar	902	100. 0	40. 4	25. 4	17. 2	17. 0
Agricutural	115	100. 0	72. 2	19. 1	6. 1	2. 6
Laborers	1, 077	100. 0	51. 2	23. 4	12. 7	12. 7
East South Central	1, 944	100. 0	66. 9	18. 6	9. 0	5. 5
White collar	427	100. 0	59. 2	20. 4	10. 3	10. 1
Agricultural	393	100. 0	74. 8	15. 5	6. 6	3. 1
Laborers	785	100. 0	67. 3	18. 6	9. 0	5. 1
Mountain States	17, 681	100. 0	75. 0	14. 0	7. 4	3. 6
White collar	4, 151	100. 0	74. 0	15. 2	7. 1	3. 7
Agricultural	3, 023	100. 0	72. 2	14. 5	9. 2	4. 1
Laborers	7, 558	100. 0	75. 1	13. 8	7. 5	3. 6
Pacific Northwest	7, 824	100. 0	77. 1	13. 5	6. 6	2. 8
White collar	2, 564	100. 0	75. 6	14. 4	6. 8	3. 2
Agricultural	675	100. 0	78. 1	13. 5	6. 2	2. 2
Laborers	3, 297	100. 0	76. 6	13. 7	6. 8	2. 9

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[1] States lived in for 1 month or longer since 1930.

[2] Does not include States of residence in 1930 or California.

While the survey in the Pacific Northwest did not count an intermediate State of residence unless such residence was for 6 months or more, the survey in California and Arizona instructed pupils to indicate States where they had lived for a month or more. Notwithstanding this short-time definition of intervening residence, three-fourths of the migrants to California came directly, and the directness of migration was common to all occupational classes and to all regions of origin. The only regions of origin from which migrants deviated from the high proportions of direct moves were the South Atlantic and the East South Central regions, but even from these distant areas, the great majority of the families came directly to California.

Nearly 60 percent of the families enumerated in the Arizona survey had migrated directly to Arizona from the States in which they had been living prior to 1930. Approximately one-fourth had lived temporarily in one intermediate State and one-tenth in two intermediate States. Even among the group who had formerly been farm laborers, more than half migrated directly to Arizona.

Frequently the agricultural migrants to California, Arizona, and the States of the Pacific Northwest have been described as chronic itinerants, as habitually nomadic, as a group without a background of a settled home or a continuous occupation. Findings to the contrary are the result of a field study of 1,000 agricultural families who migrated to California in the 1930's. It was found that 11.3 years was the average length of residence in the State of origin—in this case defined as the last State in which the family lived continuously for 1 year or more before departure for California.[13]

Part of the general conception of the agricultural migration to the far West during the 1930's has been the impression that such migrants have drifted westward, stopping to work in several States and finally arriving in the far West after a period of more or less haphazard wandering. The findings of the migration surveys do not support this conception.[14] Migration in most cases was direct, and there is strong evidence that specific and local destinations in the Western States were chosen in advance of migration.

SECTION 6. AREAS OF RESETTLEMENT

The evidence is clear that, for the majority of families, migration was a direct and purposeful move to counties and cities of the Pacific region, probably selected in advance as relatively promising in opportunities for employment because of the family's former occupational experience.

The survey in the Northwest found that about four-fifths of all the enumerated families had lived in the same county ever since entering the State and 86 percent settled in the county the same year they entered the State. More than 80 percent of the survey families in California had lived continuously in the same county since the year in which they had entered the State. In all five States the proportion that moved into the county where they were enumerated in 1939 in the same year they arrived in the State was smaller for the earlier arrivals, since the original group entering a county in any year was depleted each subsequent year through removals to other counties. The data show that a very large majority of all families cease to be migrants within a very short time after entering the State.

Even in Arizona, which has been, more than any of the other Western States in this decade a place of transitional residence, more than three-fourths of the enumerated families arriving in 1930–32 lived continuously in the same county since their arrival in the State.

Even among those families who reported themselves as agricultural laborers in California and Arizona in 1939, three-fourths of them had lived continuously in the same counties since the year they entered the State. This purposeful migration and immediate relocation of agricultural migrants is at variance with the popular impression of the 1930's "drought refugee" migration to the West. The trek of the migratory agricultural laborer moving by seasons to crop harvests in various parts of California as well as to the harvests of the Northwest and Arizona has been so widely known and so forcefully portrayed in John Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath that this agricultural migrant has become identified with the interstate migration of the decade. The evidence is unmistakable that of the interstate migrants to California in the 1930's, even of those formerly engaged in agriculture, only a small fraction had become "migratory" agricultural workers in the far West.

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[13] Fuller, Varden, and Seymour, J. Janow, "Jobs on Farms in California." Art. IV of The Migrants, Land Policy Review, March–April 1940.

[14] Ibid.

In general, the former occupational experience of the migrant families seems largely to have guided their selection of places to settle in California. More than half of the families settling in California's richest agricultural valley had been engaged in agriculture prior to migration. Few of the clerical class, or of the professional workers, settled here (table 5).

TABLE 5.—*Families enumerated in California migration survey, 1939, by percentage distribution of occupational groups prior to migration by counties of residence in California in 1939*

Occupational group prior to migration	State total	California counties of residence in 1939					
		San Joaquin Valley [1]	Sacramento Valley [2]	Southern California [3]	Coast counties [4]	Mountain counties [5]	Metropolitan counties [6]
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
All groups	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional	6.6	2.7	4.8	4.8	7.4	3.7	8.2
Farmers	14.4	30.8	20.2	21.8	16.8	15.6	8.0
Proprietors	11.4	4.6	8.1	8.1	11.9	6.8	14.2
Clerks	13.6	5.0	7.9	9.3	13.2	6.3	17.6
Skilled workers	17.0	11.9	17.4	16.2	15.4	18.9	18.5
Semiskilled workers	17.3	10.8	14.8	14.1	14.6	16.5	20.2
Farm laborers	7.5	21.4	11.5	12.3	9.1	6.8	2.7
Other laborers	9.1	11.2	12.5	11.2	9.0	23.5	6.8
Servants	3.1	1.6	2.8	2.2	2.6	1.9	3.8

[1] San Joaquin Valley counties: Fresno, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tulare.

[2] Sacramento Valley counties: Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Sacramento, Solano, Sutter, Tehama, Yolo, Yuba.

[3] Southern California counties: Imperial, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, Ventura.

[4] Coast counties: Lake, Marin, Monterey, Napa, San Benito, San Luis Obispo, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Sonoma.

[5] Mountain counties: Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, Del Norte, El Dorado, Humboldt, Inyo, Lassen, Mariposa, Mendocino, Modoc, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Trinity, Tuolumne.

[6] Metropolitan counties: Alameda, Contra Costa, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco.

To the counties in California where the large urban centers are located and where the commerce, industry, and trade of the State are concentrated, migrated families whose former occupations were largely in professional, managerial, clerical, skilled labor, and other labor groups. Only 11 percent of the families enumerated in the metropolitan counties had been engaged in agriculture prior to migration.

Three-fourths of the former professional people settled in cities with populations in excess of 10,000; more than a fourth of this group settled in the city of Los Angeles alone. Approximately two-thirds of the skilled and semiskilled workers were enumerated in cities of 10,000 population and over; a fourth of these workers were in the city of Los Angeles. More than 40 percent of the former clerical and office workers settled in the three cities of Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco, and of these a third were in Los Angeles. In contrast, nearly three-fourths of those who had formerly been farmers and four-fifths of those who had formerly been farm laborers settled in communities having less than 10,000 population.

Of all families included in the California survey (116,000), more than three-fourths settled in urban areas—cities of 2,500 population and larger. Nearly 40 percent settled in cities of over 100,000 population, 23 percent in the city of Los Angeles alone.

While the impact of the migration, as measured by the ratio of newcomers to the resident population of the State, has not been as great during the thirties as in most other decades, local difficulties attendant upon the movement have in part resulted from the uneven distribution of the newcomers. Some counties have received few migrants in relation to their 1930 population, but others have experienced disproportionately large increases due to migration (table 6).

TABLE 6.—*Families enumerated in California migration survey, distributed by counties of residence in 1939, and compared with distribution of California's population in 1930, and percentage increases in population, 1920–29, 1930–39*

California—county of residence	Enumerated families	County population in 1930		Percentage increase in population	
		Percentage of total	Number of enumerated families per 1,000 population	1930–39	1920–29
State total:					
Number	116,333	5,677,251	21		
Percent	100.0	100.0		21.1	65.7
San Joaquin Valley counties	14.5	9.6	31	35.1	27.8
Fresno	2.7	2.5	22	23.7	12.1
Kern	3.6	1.5	51	61.7	50.6
Kings	.6	.4	27	38.3	15.2
Madera	.6	.3	43	43.5	40.7
Merced	.8	.7	25	27.7	49.5
San Joaquin	1.8	1.8	20	30.3	28.8
Stanislaus	1.4	1.0	28	32.3	30.0
Tulare	3.0	1.4	46	37.2	31.2
Sacramento Valley	4.8	5.3	19	19.6	29.3
Southern California	10.1	9.1	23	15.6	72.5
Coast counties	6.0	8.6	14	23.6	48.9
Mountain counties	4.0	3.9	21	25.6	18.3
Metropolitan counties	60.6	63.5	20	19.3	84.6
Alameda	4.7	8.3	12	6.6	38.0
Contra Costa	1.2	1.4	18	24.4	45.9
Los Angeles	45.3	38.9	24	25.8	135.8
San Diego	5.4	3.7	30	38.1	86.8
San Francisco	4.0	11.2	7	−.8	25.2

The five metropolitan counties which containeed 64 percent of the population of the State in 1930 received only 61 percent of the enumerated families. Los Angeles County, however, did receive relative to its 1930 population a higher proportion of the enumerated families. San Joaquin Valley counties, which contained 10 percent of the population of the State in 1930, contained 15 percent of the survey families. In the State as a whole the survey enumerated 21 migrant families to each 1,000 population, according to 1930 figures. However, in Kern County, in the southern San Joaquin Valley, there were 51 survey families per 1,000 of 1930 population. Several other valley counties received a similarly disproportionate share of the newcomers. In the decade 1920–29 the population of Los Angeles County increased 136 percent; during the decade of the 1930's the population increased only 26 percent. In general, only in the San Joaquin Valley counties and in some of the mountain counties did population increases take place in the 1930's which were greater than those of the decade 1920–29.

As pointed out above, more than half of the enumerated migrants to the San Joaquin Valley had been engaged in agriculture before coming to California. In large part, these are the families that are meant when the term "migrant" or "drought refugees" are used. From other studies of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics[15] it is known that many of the agricultural families came to the California valleys with little or no capital and with few employment prospects. They came from communities where they had long been resident, from an environment in which they had been a stabilized population attached to their communities by various forms of land tenure and an intricate pattern of family relationships.

Unable to afford productive farm land, or even lots, within the older communities, newcomers to whom a lot and a shack are symbols of a new start have settled in thousands on the fringes of cities and towns in the California valleys. The result has been the development of new slums surrounding the valley communities with a fringe of shack towns. In almost every instance these new shack towns are known to the older communities as "Little Oklahomas."

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[15] Ibid.

The testimony of Carey McWilliams, chief, State division of immigration and housing, before the subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor (pt. 59, p. 21899), treats of the development of the rural shack town of the "migrants" relocating in California agricultural valleys. "The trends indicated * * * are confirmed in a report issued July 1, 1939, titled 'Survey of Kern County Migratory Labor Problem,' prepared by C. F. Baughman, chief, sanitation division of the Kern County Health Department. This report reflects the progression in housing followed by most of the Dust Bowl migrants in Kern County—from the squatter camps on their first arrival, to the cheaper auto camps after their arrival, and from this point to smaller self-constructed homes purchased in the cheaper types of subdivisions. The report observes that the migratory worker is rapidly disappearing, that his place has been taken by the Dust Bowl migrant, with a permanent residence in the county, and indicates generally that "the growers have lost their fluid Mexican workers who miraculously appeared on harvest day and silently slipped away after their work was done." I quote from page 7 of this report:

> Bakersfield has experienced the creation of new subdivisions almost completely inhabited by people from Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Many have purchased lots for as low as $3 per month; houses have been constructed of any materials that can be salvaged from the alleys or retrieved from dismantled structures in exchange for labor. Some of these communities have no satisfactory water supply, poor sewage disposal, no gas or electricity; yet, they are teaming [sic] with hopeful life, buildings spring up overnight; shrubs, flowers, and scraggly trees swelter in the California sun drooping for the water that in some cases must be carried a considerable distance from a rasping, rusty pitcher pump.
>
> On many of these properties can be seen three stages of the owners' life in the golden State. On the back of the lot may be the remains of the family car or truck with obsolete license plates from the State of origin; the chicken shed was once the pasteboard and refuse house of their squatter camp residence and on the front of the lot is a crude house of good, used lumber, perhaps with one side partially stuccoed or otherwise finished; built piece by piece as the family income permits. The lots generally are strewn with the litter of wire, boards, and tin destined for a part of the finished home. Crude, often offensive, toilets dot the alley line, which threaten to leak their contents into the same strata of sand and subsoil from which come the water supply.
>
> The large squatter camps of yesterday are no more. Now, only a few isolated squatters can be located during a busy harvest season and none at all during the slack periods.
>
> In isolated areas the growers have accepted the responsibility of housing their workers.
>
> But rural and suburban slums are now the problem which Kern County must face. In these slums live the agricultural shock troops; the men and women who harvest the cotton in the fall, go on relief until May, harvest the potatoes in the spring, work the vegetables and fruits in the summer and rest on relief until cotton harvest again. They work within a radius of 30 miles. They are learning to can vegetables, preserve fruits, and otherwise augment their annual income in ways that are impossible for itinerant migratory workers.

Relocation in Arizona.—Among the States of the Pacific region, the number of families enumerated in the survey in relation to the population in the State in 1930 was highest in Arizona.

Newcomers to Arizona made relatively large additions to the population of some counties, and small additions to others (table 7). Maricopa County, which had one-third of the population of the State in 1930, was the residence of one-half of the enumerated families in 1940. Phoenix, in Maricopa County, the largest city in the State, had 11 percent of the population of the State in 1930 but was the residence of more than one-fourth of the enumerated families. More than one-fourth of the survey families were found in three southern Arizona counties—Pima, Pinal, and Yuma—with nearly 15 percent in Pima County, 6 percent in Pinal County, and 5 percent in Yuma County. Four-fifths of the families were enumerated in the counties of southern Arizona in which are located the major irrigated areas of the State and the larger towns and cities.

TABLE 7.—*Families enumerated in Arizona migration survey, distributed by counties of residence in 1940, and compared with distribution of Arizona's population in 1930, and percentage increases in population, 1920–29, 1930–39*

Arizona—County of residence	Enumerated families	County population in 1930		Percentage of increase in population	
		Percentage of total	Number of enumerated families per 1,000 population	1930–39	1920–29
State total:					
Number	13,334	435,573	30.6		
Percent	100.0	100.0		14.3	30.3
Apache	1.4	4.1	10.7	35.5	34.6
Cochise	4.5	9.4	14.6	−15.8	−11.8
Coconino	1.5	3.2	13.8	31.6	40.9
Gila	2.5	7.1	10.9	−22.9	20.8
Graham	1.9	2.4	23.9	17.2	2.2
Greenlee	1.4	2.3	18.6	−11.8	−35.6
Maricopa	50.9	34.6	45.0	22.8	68.5
Mohave	2.2	1.3	52.8	53.5	6.0
Navajo	2.2	4.9	13.6	18.7	31.9
Pima	14.7	12.8	35.3	31.0	60.5
Pinal	6.5	5.1	39.0	30.5	36.9
Santa Cruz	.9	2.2	13.0	−1.5	−23.7
Yavapai	4.1	6.5	19.2	−7.7	18.5
Yuma	5.3	4.1	39.5	7.9	19.5

In general, families chose communities in Arizona on the basis of their occupational experience. In excess of half of the former professional workers, more than half the managerial and proprietor group, the clerks and kindred workers, and those in domestic and personal services were enumerated in the two cities of Phoenix and Tucson. Of those who had formerly been farmers and farm laborers, more than half were enumerated in places of less than 1,000 in population (table 8).

TABLE 8.—*Families enumerated in Arizona school survey 1940: Classified by former occupational group and by residence classification, 1940* [1]

Former occupational group	Total families		Present residence-classification by size of population							
			Less than 100	100 to 499	500 to 999	1,000 to 2,499	2,500 to 4,999	5,000 to 9,999	Phoenix	Tucson
	Number	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
State total	13,334	100.0	18.8	8.5	7.8	12.5	8.6	7.2	25.5	11.1
Professional persons	607	100.0	11.2	6.8	3.8	7.4	10.5	9.4	28.3	22.6
Farmers (owners and tenants)	2,519	100.0	26.3	12.3	12.0	15.7	9.1	5.7	15.4	3.5
Owners, managers, and officials	1,005	100.0	11.0	3.4	3.3	10.5	7.6	10.2	35.3	18.7
Clerks and kindred workers	1,078	100.0	11.5	4.3	2.6	8.5	7.4	7.5	40.7	17.5
Skilled workers and foremen	1,625	100.0	19.1	6.8	6.3	13.9	9.5	7.1	24.7	12.6
Semiskilled workers	1,712	100.0	17.2	8.8	5.4	11.9	8.5	7.7	28.7	11.8
Farm laborers	1,467	100.0	25.0	16.0	15.2	15.1	8.5	3.2	14.1	2.9
Unskilled laborers	1,110	100.0	24.4	8.9	9.2	15.1	8.9	10.0	16.8	6.7
Domestic and personal workers	268	100.0	9.7	5.2	7.1	8.6	7.1	8.9	35.5	17.9
Nongainful persons	230	100.0	15.2	5.2	7.0	9.1	9.1	5.2	30.0	19.2
Unclassified occupations	1,713	100.0	13.9	5.1	5.3	9.7	8.0	8.0	34.5	15.5

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[1] Enumerated families are classified in this table by their address in 1940, and this place of residence is given the population classification of the 1930 census.

Relocation in the Pacific Northwest.—The survey made in the Pacific Northwest found that while nearly one-third of all the survey families settled in or near cities of over 10,000 population, only 13 percent of the agricultural workers (farmers and farm laborers) were found in these cities (table 9). In general, the areas chosen for relocation followed the former occupational experience of the families.

In the Pacific Northwest the most populous areas generally attracted the most newcomers. The areas of greatest concentration were Portland and the Willamette Valley, the Puget Sound region, the Yakima Valley, Spokane, the northern counties of Idaho, and the Snake River Valley (table 9). The part of Washington and Oregon lying west of the Cascade Mountains included 59 percent of the survey families and 63 percent of the population of the 3 States. The 10 leading counties, ranked according to number of enumerated families were (1) Multnomah, Oreg. (Portland); (2) King, Wash. (Seattle); (3) Spokane, Wash.; (4) Yakima, Wash.; (5) Pierce, Wash. (Tacoma); (6) Marion, Oreg. (Salem); (7) Lane, Oreg. (Eugene); (8) Snohomish, Wash. (Everett); (9) Clackamas, Oreg.; (10) Jackson, Oreg. (Medford). In these 10 counties were 43 percent of the enumerated cases, and 50 percent of the population of the 3 States.

TABLE 9.—*Percentage distribution of families enumerated in the Northwest migration survey, by residence classification, and by former occupational groups*

Occupational groups	All enumerated families	Residence classification				
		All classes	Cities over 100,000	Cities 10,000 to 100,000	Cities 2,500 to 10,000	Rural areas
	Number	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
All groups	37,314	100.0	17.8	14.0	17.4	50.8
Former occupational group:						
Professional	1,844	100.0	30.5	19.2	19.5	30.8
Owners, etc	2,945	100.0	29.2	18.6	18.7	33.5
Clerks	3,473	100.0	36.1	18.6	16.3	29.0
Skilled workers	5,757	100.0	18.5	15.9	19.1	44.5
Semiskilled workers	5,800	100.0	18.1	15.9	17.7	48.3
Unskilled workers	5,355	100.0	11.9	11.7	16.7	58.7
Farmers and farm laborers	12,142	100.0	5.3	8.0	16.5	70.2

While the geographical distribution of the newcomers was generally similar to that of the resident population, some differences appear when the pattern is examined in detail (tables 10, 11, and 12). Noteworthy areas in which the ratio of newcomers to population was greater than average are the western Oregon counties south of Portland (except Curry), the Yakima Valley, the three northernmost counties of Idaho, and the irrigated area in Payette, Gem, and Canyon Counties of Idaho, and Malheur County, Oreg. There are several areas of especially high ratio that can be explained by local circumstances. In Grant County, Wash., most of the returns were from families of workers on the Grand Coulee Dam in the northeastern corner of the county. The construction of Bonneville Dam probably accounts for a large part of the relatively high concentration of newcomers in Hood River County, Oreg., and Skamania County, Wash. In Boundary and Bonner Counties in Idaho there has been especially heavy settlement on cut-over land. In Malheur County, Oreg., the opening of new land in the Vale-Owyhee reclamation project brought in hundreds of settlers from outside the State.

TABLE 10.—*Families enumerated in Washington migration survey, distributed by counties of residence in 1939, and compared with distribution of Washington's population in 1930, and percentage increases in population, 1920–29, 1930–39*

Washington—county of residence	Enumerated families	County population in 1930		Percentage increase in population	
		Percentage of total	Number of enumerated families per 1,000 population	1930–39	1920–29
State total:					
Number	24,843	1,563,396	15.9		
Percent	100.0	100.0		10.1	15.2
Western counties	60.5	70.5	13.6	9.0	20.1
Clallam	1.6	1.3	19.2	5.0	79.9
Clark	5.0	2.6	30.9	20.1	22.9
Cowlitz	4.2	2.0	32.9	23.8	170.6
Grays Harbor	4.6	3.8	19.1	−13.5	34.1
Island	.2	.3	10.2	12.3	−2.2
Jefferson	.3	.5	9.9	5.6	27.3
King	13.3	29.7	7.1	8.6	19.1
Kitsap	2.5	2.0	20.5	44.2	−7.2
Lewis	4.3	2.6	27.0	2.4	8.7
Mason	1.1	.6	26.9	15.4	104.5
Pacific	.9	1.0	14.7	5.1	.5
Pierce	8.2	10.5	12.4	7.2	13.7
San Juan	.1	.2	5.2	.2	−14.1
Skagit	2.0	2.2	14.4	6.7	5.3
Skamania	.4	.2	33.2	59.8	22.7
Snohomish	6.4	5.0	20.2	12.1	16.5
Thurston	2.2	2.0	17.4	17.7	40.2
Wahkiakum	.3	.2	16.8	10.2	11.2
Whatcom	2.9	3.8	12.0	1.9	16.9
Central counties	18.0	10.7	26.9	20.8	19.2
Benton	1.4	.7	32.8	9.5	.4
Chelan	2.6	2.0	20.1	8.8	51.3
Kittitas	1.3	1.2	18.2	10.7	2.4
Klickitat	.9	.6	22.3	15.8	6.0
Okanogan	1.6	1.2	21.3	32.9	8.3
Yakima	10.2	5.0	32.7	27.4	21.5
Northwestern counties	12.2	11.6	16.8	7.8	3.5
Ferry	.3	.3	18.9	9.3	−16.5
Pend Oreille	.6	.5	20.0	−2.4	12.4
Spokane	9.9	9.6	16.4	9.1	6.5
Stevens	1.4	1.2	18.3	.5	−14.1
East Central counties	4.2	2.6	27.0	22.9	−18.5
Adams	.1	.5	4.5	−20.1	−19.8
Douglas	.5	.5	16.3	25.9	−19.5
Franklin	.6	.4	24.4	2.6	4.4
Grant	2.6	.4	115.2	156.7	−27.1
Lincoln	.4	.8	7.7	−4.5	−21.6
Southeastern counties	5.1	4.6	17.2	2.0	−2.4
Asotin	1.4	.5	43.3	3.3	24.4
Columbia	.3	.3	13.5	4.0	−12.6
Garfield	.3	.2	18.3	−8.3	−5.5
Walla Walla	1.7	1.8	14.8	7.4	3.3
Whitman	1.4	1.8	12.7	−2.9	−10.6

TABLE 11.—*Families enumerated in Oregon migration survey, distributed by counties of residence in 1939, and compared with distribution of Oregon's population in 1930, and percentage increases in population, 1920–29, 1930–39*

Oregon—county of residence	Enumerated families	County population in 1930		Percentage increase in population	
		Percentage of total	Number of enumerated families per 1,000 population	1930–39	1920–29
State total:					
Number	20, 462	953, 786	21. 5		
Percent	100. 0	100. 0		14. 0	21. 8
Northwest counties	65. 1	70. 5	19. 8	13. 3	22. 7
Benton	2. 2	1. 7	27. 6	12. 4	20. 5
Clackamas	5. 2	4. 9	23. 0	23. 0	22. 6
Clatsop	1. 3	2. 2	12. 8	14. 8	−8. 3
Columbia	1. 8	2. 1	18. 7	3. 2	43. 6
Lane	7. 9	5. 7	29. 6	26. 7	50. 7
Lincoln	1. 3	1. 0	26. 2	46. 0	62. 8
Linn	3. 6	2. 6	29. 8	23. 3	. 6
Marion	8. 8	6. 3	29. 6	24. 1	28. 3
Multnomah	22. 9	35. 5	13. 9	5. 1	22. 6
Polk	2. 4	1. 8	29. 0	17. 8	18. 9
Tillamook	. 8	1. 2	14. 4	3. 2	34. 2
Washington	3. 4	3. 2	23. 4	29. 0	14. 8
Yamhill	3. 5	2. 3	32. 4	19. 3	7. 3
North Central counties	2. 9	3. 4	17. 4	3. 8	−6. 8
Gilliam	. 1	. 4	3. 5	−18. 4	−12. 4
Hood River	1. 6	. 9	35. 8	29. 0	7. 5
Morrow	. 2	. 5	8. 7	−12. 2	−12. 0
Sherman	[1] . 0	. 3	. 7	−21. 8	−22. 2
Wasco	1. 0	1. 3	15. 5	4. 2	−7. 3
Northeastern counties	5. 8	7. 0	17. 9	4. 6	−5. 4
Baker	1. 3	1. 8	16. 0	9. 0	−6. 6
Umatilla	2. 5	2. 6	20. 9	6. 5	−6. 0
Union	1. 5	1. 8	17. 8	1. 0	5. 1
Wallowa	. 5	. 8	12. 8	−2. 5	−20. 1
Southwestern counties	13. 6	10. 3	28. 3	16. 8	31. 3
Coos	3. 5	3. 0	25. 1	14. 0	27. 5
Curry	. 3	. 3	20. 9	34. 9	7. 7
Douglas	2. 7	2. 3	24. 7	16. 6	3. 0
Jackson	4. 9	3. 5	30. 4	8. 9	61. 3
Josephine	2. 2	1. 2	38. 7	41. 2	50. 2
Central Southeastern counties	12. 6	8. 8	31. 1	28. 4	52. 3
Crook	. 5	. 4	30. 9	65. 2	−2. 6
Deschutes	1. 9	1. 6	26. 0	26. 3	53. 3
Grant	. 4	. 6	14. 6	7. 0	8. 1
Harney	. 3	. 6	10. 0	−9. 5	48. 3
Jefferson	[1] . 0	. 2	3. 5	−11. 0	−28. 7
Klamath	3. 9	3. 4	24. 7	24. 6	183. 9
Lake	. 5	. 5	23. 6	29. 9	21. 1
Malheur	4. 9	1. 2	88. 6	75. 3	3. 3
Wheeler	. 2	. 3	16. 1	5. 8	. 3

[1] Less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 percent.

TABLE 12.—*Families enumerated in Idaho migration survey, distributed by counties of residence in 1939, and compared with distribution of Idaho's population in 1930, and percentage increases in population, 1920–29, 1930–39*

Idaho—county of residence	Enumerated families	County population in 1930		Percentage increase in population	
		Percentage of total	Number of enumerated families per 1,000 population	1930-39	1920–29
State total:					
Number	9,582	445,032	21.5	------	------
Percent	100.0	100.0	------	17.6	3.0
Northern counties	29.3	27.1	23.5	12.9	6.6
Benewah	1.5	1.4	23.2	14.9	−8.9
Bonner	5.9	3.0	43.0	18.9	1.5
Boundary	2.3	1.0	48.5	29.5	1.8
Clearwater	1.6	1.5	23.9	24.8	32.2
Idaho	1.2	2.3	11.2	25.1	−14.0
Kootenai	6.8	4.4	33.5	14.2	8.9
Latah	3.1	4.0	16.8	5.5	−1.6
Lewis	.2	1.2	3.8	−11.4	−10.5
Nez Perce	3.2	4.0	17.5	7.1	15.3
Shoshone	3.5	4.3	17.6	11.1	33.8
West Central counties	31.1	24.3	27.4	28.9	6.1
Ada	10.0	8.5	25.2	32.1	7.7
Adams	.4	.6	12.9	18.7	−3.3
Boise	.4	.4	18.9	26.3	1.4
Canyon	10.6	7.0	32.9	32.0	14.8
Elmore	1.2	1.0	25.2	21.8	−11.7
Gem	2.9	1.7	36.8	28.5	15.4
Owyhee	.2	.9	3.9	37.4	−12.6
Payette	3.8	1.6	50.2	29.8	4.2
Valley	.4	.8	10.3	14.3	38.2
Washington	1.2	1.8	14.4	11.3	−15.5
South Central counties	20.0	16.9	25.2	20.0	−.4
Blaine	.7	.8	17.3	40.2	−15.8
Camas	.1	.3	9.9	−3.5	−18.4
Cassia	2.4	2.9	17.6	11.0	−16.2
Gooding	1.3	1.7	15.8	21.6	.4
Jerome	1.3	1.9	14.7	18.2	45.9
Lincoln	.9	.7	25.6	30.5	−5.9
Minidoka	2.0	1.9	22.6	17.2	−7.0
Twin Falls	11.3	6.7	36.2	22.4	5.0
Eastern counties	19.6	31.7	13.4	11.7	−.1
Bannock	6.0	7.0	18.3	10.2	13.6
Bear Lake	.8	1.8	10.3	.4	−10.4
Bingham	2.4	4.2	12.3	13.2	1.4
Bonneville	3.3	4.4	16.0	30.8	12.4
Butte	.2	.4	8.8	−3.7	−34.2
Caribou	.2	.5	10.4	7.0	−3.2
Clark	.1	.3	10.7	−10.5	−40.5
Custer	.2	.7	6.3	11.8	−10.9
Franklin	1.3	2.1	13.5	9.1	8.4
Fremont	.8	2.2	8.1	3.5	−4.4
Jefferson	.6	2.1	6.1	16.2	−2.9
Lemhi	2.1	1.0	43.1	39.9	−10.1
Madison	.6	1.9	7.5	10.3	−9.3
Oneida	.4	1.3	6.6	−9.7	−12.7
Power	.3	1.0	6.5	−10.2	−12.7
Teton	.3	.8	9.2	.7	−8.9

In contrast to the irrigated areas, the dry-farming and range livestock areas which lie east of the Cascades attracted relatively very few out-of-State people.

The impact of the migration, as measured by the ratio of newcomers to resident population, was somewhat greater in the rural areas and small cities than in the large cities. Table 13 shows the distribution of the enumerated families and the 1930 population by residence classification. Because the residence classification of the survey cases was on a school-district basis in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and the urban districts usually included areas outside the corporate limits of the city, the numbers classified as living in the cities are somewhat inflated. Furthermore, a significant number of rural schools in Idaho did not cooperate in the survey; hence, the proportion of rural cases is smaller than it should be. The percentage distributions shown in table 13 are, therefore, not strictly comparable, but they do serve to indicate that the ratio of newcomers to resident population was lower in the large cities and higher in rural areas and small cities. This can be largely accounted for by the higher proportion of farm families in the incoming group, since farm people entering the Northwest chose as areas of relocation agricultural sections of the State.

TABLE 13.—*Families enumerated in the Northwest migration survey and percentage distribution of the 1930 population by residence classification* [1]

Residence classification	1930 population	Families enumerated in migration survey				
		Total		Washington	Oregon	Idaho
	Percent	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*
Total	100.0	45,211	100.0	18,997	19,421	6,793
Cities over 100,000	30.0	8,032	17.8	3,911	4,121	
Portland	10.2	4,121	9.1		4,121	
Seattle [2]	12.3	1,491	3.3	1,491		
Spokane	3.9	1,443	3.2	1,443		
Tacoma	3.6	977	2.2	977		
Cities 10,000 to 100,000	11.0	6,339	14.0	3,382	1,988	969
Cities 2,500 to 10,000	9.8	7,873	17.4	2,289	2,921	2,663
Rural areas	49.2	22,967	50.8	9,415	10,391	3,161

[1] Residence classification was based on the school district attended by the youngest child in the family. The school districts were classified according to the 1930 population of the largest city in the district. Those containing no city over 2,500 population are rural.

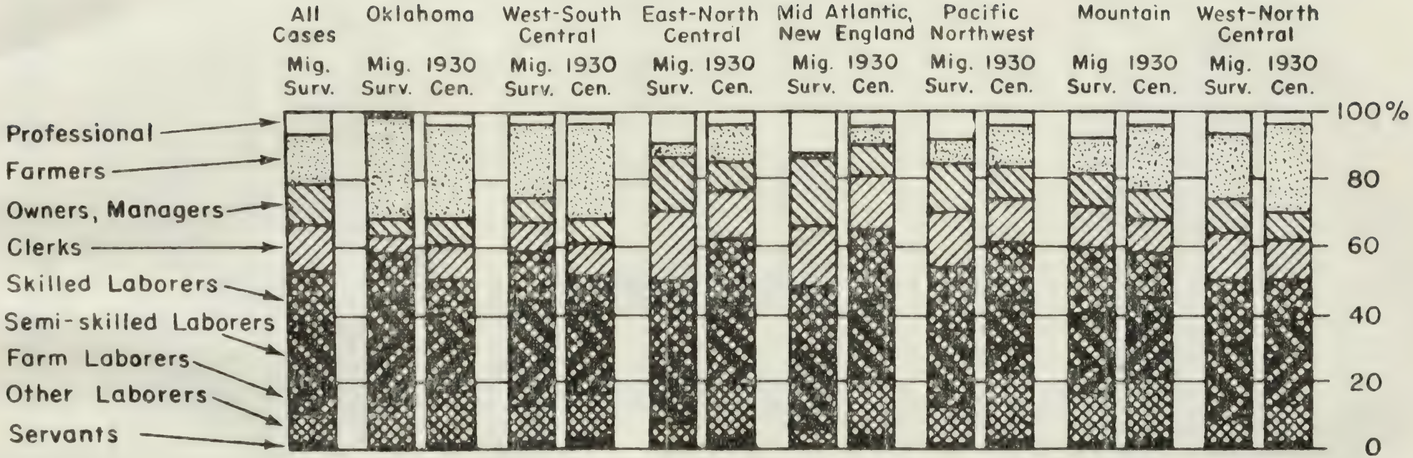
[2] Because of a difference in the method of conducting the survey in Seattle, the enumeration there was less complete than in most other areas.

SECTION 7. OCCUPATIONS OF MIGRANTS AND THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FAR WEST

California.—As indicated previously, migrants to California have been drawn from many occupations and, in general, are a cross section of the social-economic structure of the States from which they came. This is shown in figure 11 by comparing the social-economic group distribution of the family heads by regions of origin with the distribution of all gainfully employed males in the population of these regions.

Because of the larger number of families from Oklahoma, this State has been shown separately. The proportion of farmers and farm laborers among the families migrating from Oklahoma is somewhat greater than the proportion in the working population of Oklahoma in 1930. Proprietors, managers, and professional groups were somewhat underrepresented among the Oklahomans. From all regions, except Oklahoma, migration to California drew more heavily on nonagricultural groups than on the farmers and farm laborers. There was a marked tendency for both farmers and farm laborers to remain in the areas losing population to California.

This underrepresentation of agricultural population among the families included in the California migration survey is in sharp contrast with prevailing



CALIFORNIA

FIGURE 11.—Percentage distribution of male heads of enumerated families by former occupational groups by regions of 1930 residence, and comparison with distribution of all gainfully occupied males in those regions according to the 1930 census.

impressions regarding the social-economic character of the migration of the 1930's. The popular impression has tended to identify "the Dust Bowl refugees" with the entire migration to California in this decade.

Among nonagricultural groups in the California survey, professional persons, proprietors, managers, clerical, and semiskilled workers were substantially overrepresented relative to the proportion of the gainfully occupied in these groups in the areas of origin. Unskilled laborers and domestic servants were underrepresented.

Figure 11a Male heads of enumerated families by 1939 occupational groups and former occupational groups as per cent of total.

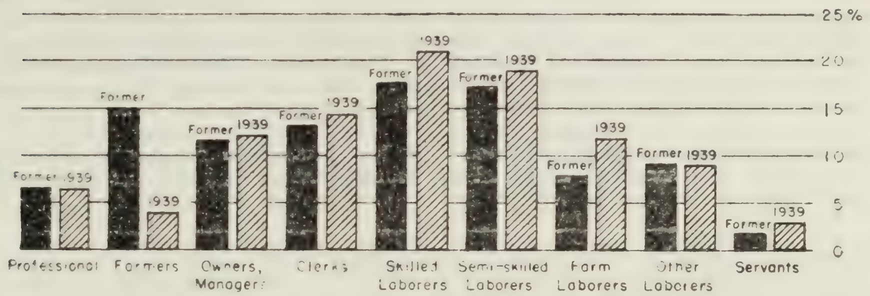
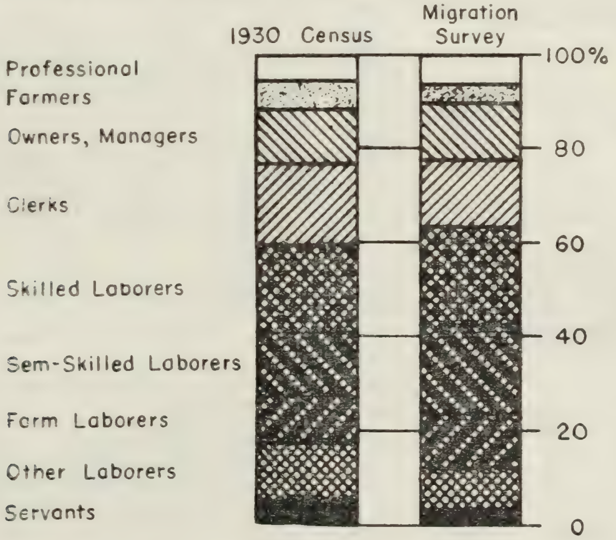


FIGURE 11b.—Percentage distribution of employed male heads of enumerated families by 1939 occupational groups in California compared with distribution of all gainfully occupied males according to 1930 census.



The distribution of occupations pursued by migrant family heads in California in 1939 was strikingly similar to the occupational structure of the California population in the last census (fig. 11b). This is not surprising, as it can probably be assumed that employment opportunities in California are likely to be roughly proportional to the numbers already employed in the various occupations. Relatively, more of the enumerated families were farm laborers, semiskilled laborers, and skilled workers, than among the California population in 1930, but the differences are not outstanding.

The process of adjustment by the newcomers to employment opportunities in California required much shifting from one occupation to another (fig. 11a). The number of farmers among the group as a whole had decreased by three-fourths from the number who were farmers before coming to California; farm laborers had increased from 8 to 12 percent of the total, but when both agricultural groups are considered together the net effect has been a shift out of agriculture following migration to California. Very few of the agricultural migrants to California had succeeded in establishing themselves as farmers; the great majority of those engaged in agriculture were working as hired laborers.

Proprietor and managerial classes, skilled, semiskilled, and domestic workers were all somewhat increased in California over the number in these groups prior to migration. (See fig. 11a.)

The shifting of occupations was considerable among all occupational groups but greatest among the former farmers, only 16 percent of whom became farmers in California. Most of those who had been farmers became farm laborers and skilled and semiskilled workers in California. The professional classes showed the greatest occupational stability, but even among them only three-fourths of those who had been in the professional classes before coming to California were still in this group in California in 1939. Nearly two-thirds of the former skilled workers remained within this group subsequent to migration. In general, the greatest occupational changes took place among agricultural and unskilled labor groups (table 14).

TABLE 14.—*Families enumerated in California migration survey, 1939: Classified by the occupational grouping of male parents or guardians prior to migration and by 1939 occupational distribution for each group*

Former occupational group of male parents or guardians	Total reporting		1939 occupational group (male parents or guardians)								
	Number	Percent	Professional, percent	Farmers, percent	Proprietors, percent	Clerks, percent	Skilled laborers, percent	Semiskilled laborers, percent	Farm laborers, percent	Unskilled, percent	Domestic, percent
Total, excluding unknown, relief programs and nongainful	79, 354	100.0	6.3	3.9	12.2	14.4	21.3	18.6	11.9	8.7	2.7
Professional	5, 511	100.0	77.7	.9	5.7	6.9	3.5	2.7	1.0	1.1	.5
Farmers	11, 231	100.0	.6	16.4	4.1	4.4	15.2	15.7	28.7	12.8	2.1
Proprietors	9, 842	100.0	2.2	1.8	59.9	14.7	7.6	7.8	2.1	2.5	1.4
Clerks	11, 048	100.0	1.7	1.2	11.3	64.7	6.6	8.0	1.9	3.2	1.4
Skilled workers	14, 403	100.0	.8	1.4	4.4	4.0	72.4	8.3	3.3	4.2	1.2
Semiskilled workers	13, 840	100.0	.8	1.9	5.2	6.3	11.9	58.4	5.9	7.4	2.2
Farm laborers	5, 501	100.0	.4	3.6	1.4	2.0	7.9	11.9	60.4	10.9	1.5
Unskilled laborers	6, 545	100.0	.5	3.5	3.9	4.4	13.5	16.9	16.0	38.6	2.7
Domestic	1, 433	100.0	.4	1.5	5.3	5.2	7.2	9.8	4.3	5.6	60.7

Of all the family heads included in the survey, more than one-fourth had worked in manufacturing and mechanical industries prior to migration; 23 percent had been engaged in agriculture; 18 percent had been occupied in trade; and the other principal industries in which they worked were transportation and communication, mining, and providing professional services of all kinds.

At the time of the survey, only 16 percent of the families were reported to be engaged in agriculture in California. The proportion of the enumerated families working in manufacturing and mechanical industries was 26 percent before coming to California and 32 percent in California in 1939. Before coming to California, 4 percent of the families were employed in mining industries; in California, 3 percent of the families were employed in this industry. The proportion employed in trade in California had slightly diminished from those employed in this industry prior to migration.

The former occupational groups of the family heads is shown, classified by the industries in which they were employed, in table 15. That more than a third of the enumerated family heads had, previous to migration, been skilled and semiskilled workers employed largely in manufacturing and mechanical industries, is a finding closely related to the expansion of manufacturing industries in California.

TABLE 15.—*Families enumerated in California migration survey, 1939, classified by former occupation and former industry*

Former occupational group	Total reporting		Former industry			
	Number	Percent	Agriculture, percent	Forestry and fishing, percent	Extraction of minerals, percent	Manuturing and mechanical, percent
Total	91,140	100.0	23.9	0.9	3.9	26.3
Professional	6,235	100.0	.1	.1	1.6	6.3
Farmers	14,014	100.0	100.0	0	0	0
Proprietors, managers, and officials	10,865	100.0	.5	1.2	1.4	18.1
Clerks and kindred workers	12,492	100.0	.1	.1	.4	13.5
Skilled workers	14,598	100.0	1.2	.2	2.3	80.2
Semiskilled workers	15,596	100.0	1.0	.3	1.1	42.0
Farm laborers	7,343	100.0	100.0	0	0	0
Unskilled laborers, etc	7,152	100.0	0	8.3	38.6	23.6
Domestic	2,845	100.0	.3	.2	.1	.6

Former occupational group	Former industry—Continued				
	Transportation, communication, percent	Trade, percent	Public service, percent	Professional service, percent	Domestic and personal service, percent
Total	7.9	17.7	6.1	7.1	6.2
Professional	1.4	.6	3.4	86.5	0
Farmers	0	0	0	0	0
Proprietors, managers, and officials	5.5	49.2	12.7	2.9	8.5
Clerks and kindred workers	8.6	71.2	2.7	2.5	.9
Skilled workers	9.5	2.0	3.9	.4	.3
Semiskilled workers	15.4	8.2	18.1	1.3	12.6
Farm laborers	0	0	0	0	0
Unskilled laborers, etc	21.3	3.9	2.5	9	.9
Domestic	3.4	1.3	.9	4.6	88.6

The distribution of the occupations in 1939 of migrant family heads compared to that of their States of residence in the far West is shown in table 16 for all five States.

TABLE 16.—*Occupations in 1939 and 1930 of employed male heads of families enumerated in migration survey in California, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, and of all gainfully occupied males in these States according to the 1930 census*

Occupational group and occupations	California		Arizona		Washington		Oregon		Idaho	
	Migration survey, 1939	1930 census	Migration survey, 1940	1930 census	Migration survey, 1939	1930 census	Migration survey, 1939	1930 census	Migration survey, 1939	1930 census
Total gainfully occupied: ¹										
Number	100,093		11,451		15,228		15,421		5,783	
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional	6.1	5.7	5.1	4.3	4.6	4.1	4.5	4.1	4.4	3.4
Clergymen	.9	.4	.9	.5	1.5	.3	1.2	.4	1.2	.3
Engineers and surveyors	1.1	1.0	1.0	.9	.8	.8	.9	.7	.7	.5
Teachers and college professors	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.1	.7	.7	.7	.7	1.0	1.0
Other professional occupations	2.9	3.0	1.9	1.8	1.6	2.3	1.7	2.3	1.5	1.6
Proprietors, managers, and officials	11.5	11.3	10.6	8.8	8.2	9.8	9.0	9.9	8.5	7.5
Retail dealers	4.0	4.8	4.3	3.9	3.3	4.1	3.7	4.1	2.9	3.5
Managers and officials	2.5	1.8	2.0	1.5	1.7	1.4	2.0	1.4	1.8	8
Government officials and inspectors	1.2	.5	.8	.5	.9	.2	.4	.1	.5	.1
Owners and proprietors	1.2	1.4	1.4	.8	.4	1.1	.6	1.2	.6	.8
Builders	.8	.7	.7	.5	.4	.5	.6	.6	.6	.3
Others	1.8	2.1	1.4	1.6	1.5	2.5	1.7	2.5	2.1	2.0
Clerks and kindred workers	14.0	17.3	10.2	10.2	9.6	13.0	10.4	12.4	8.6	7.8
Salesmen	7.3	6.6	5.2	3.7	4.8	4.9	5.7	4.8	4.6	3.1
Clerks (except in stores)	2.3	4.8	1.8	3.0	1.6	2.7	1.5	2.5	1.3	1.2
Accountants, bookkeepers, and cashiers	1.2	1.8	.9	1.3	.7	1.3	.7	1.2	.7	.9
Insurance agents	.9	.8	.6	.3	.6	.6	.5	.6	.5	.3
Others	2.3	3.3	1.7	1.9	1.9	3.5	2.0	3.3	1.5	2.3
Skilled workers	20.9	18.7	16.4	15.0	16.0	17.4	15.7	16.1	14.6	10.2
Carpenters	5.7	4.0	3.9	3.1	4.7	3.2	4.7	3.0	4.2	1.8
Mechanics	3.6	2.6	3.5	2.1	2.6	2.2	3.0	2.1	2.4	1.5
Foremen	1.7	1.4	2.4	2.0	1.6	1.3	1.1	1.3	1.6	1.0
Painters (building)	2.4	1.3	1.2	.7	1.2	1.0	1.5	.9	1.1	.5
Stationary engineers	.8	1.3	.9	1.1	.6	1.2	.6	1.0	.3	.4
Machinists	1.5	2.2	.7	1.4	.6	1.3	.5	1.1	.4	.7
Electricians	.8	1.1	.7	.9	.5	.9	.5	.7	.7	.5
Plumbers	.6	.7	.5	.6	.5	.6	.4	.5	.5	.3
Others	3.8	4.1	2.6	3.1	3.7	5.7	3.4	5.5	3.4	3.5

Semiskilled workers	18.5	13.7	15.5	10.7	16.6	13.7	17.7	11.7	12.1	6.3
Operatives	7.5	4.5	5.5	3.0	6.9	4.7	7.8	4.0	3.4	1.8
Chauffeurs, truck and tractor drivers	3.9	2.8	5.2	2.3	2.8	2.7	3.5	2.6	3.2	1.5
Barbers	.6	.8	.4	.7	.6	.7	.6	.7	.4	.6
Soldiers, sailors, and marines	2.0	.9	.4	1.3	.9	.9	.3	.1	.1	-
Others	4.5	4.7	4.0	3.4	5.4	4.7	5.5	4.3	5.0	2.4
Unskilled laborers	13.8	17.2	15.8	24.5	26.5	23.8	20.7	22.1	21.9	19.4
Farmers and farm laborers	15.2	16.1	26.4	26.5	18.4	18.2	22.0	23.7	29.9	45.4
Farmers [2]	3.7	6.2	4.9	10.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Farm laborers [2]	11.5	9.9	21.5	16.3	-	-	-	-	-	-

[1] Excludes unknown, unemployed, and nongainful workers.

[2] Distinction between farmers and farm laborers cannot be made from the migration surveys in the Pacific Northwest.

To repeat, the survey families from New England, Pennsylvania, and New York were drawn mainly from the professional, proprietor-managerial, clerical, and skilled worker classes. This was true as well of those from the Great Lakes States, from the States of the Ohio Valley, and among the migrants from the northern Great Plains.

From a close inspection of table 16a, the migration of the 1930's, as measured by this survey, might be characterized as a general movement of population to California which drew, from all regions, more heavily on the professional and white-collar classes and skilled workers than on agricultural population or unskilled labor groups.

TABLE 16A.—*Gainfully employed male heads of families enumerated in California migration survey: Classified by former occupational group and by region of residence in United States in 1930, and compared with distribution of all gainfully occupied males in these regions according to the 1930 Census*

Occupational grouping	Total United States		New England and Middle Atlantic		East North Central		West North Central		South Atlantic		East South Central	
	Migration survey	1930 census	Migration survey	1930 census	Migration survey	1930 census	Migration survey	1930 census	Migration survey	1930 census	Migration survey	1930 census
Total enumerated:												
Number	87,376		8,023		11,150		19,318		2,006		1,523	
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional	6.0	3.9	12.3	4.7	9.1	4.0	4.6	3.5	10.3	3.1	5.3	2.4
Farmers	15.3	15.1	1.6	3.8	4.0	11.0	21.0	26.0	4.1	20.4	19.6	33.1
Proprietors	11.3	9.0	19.8	10.7	16.3	9.0	10.1	8.8	21.3	7.0	8.5	5.6
Clerks and kindred workers	13.2	12.8	18.5	16.1	19.9	13.7	13.8	11.7	11.3	9.4	12.1	7.1
Skilled laborers	18.1	16.3	19.4	20.5	23.3	20.0	18.9	12.4	14.1	12.2	21.5	9.4
Semiskilled laborers	17.0	14.3	21.8	20.3	19.1	16.5	16.1	9.4	33.3	12.2	17.9	7.6
Farm laborers	7.9	9.8	.7	3.3	1.3	6.5	6.7	14.1	1.4	16.0	6.1	18.0
Unskilled laborers	9.4	16.1	4.2	17.1	5.1	16.8	7.0	12.1	3.0	17.4	7.3	15.1
Domestic and personal service	1.8	2.7	1.7	3.5	1.9	2.5	1.8	2.0	1.2	2.3	1.7	1.7

Occupational grouping	West South Central [1]		Mountain		Pacific coast		Oklahoma		Foreign countries, migration survey [2]
	Migration survey	1930 census	Migration survey	1930 census	Migration survey	1930 census	Migration survey	1930 census	
Total enumerated:									
Number	10,576		14,020		10,098		10,662		2,999
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional	3.0	2.9	5.7	3.9	7.7	5.2	1.7	3.6	15.3
Farmers	22.4	28.6	12.9	19.7	9.5	8.1	30.0	27.6	10.2
Proprietors	7.3	7.5	9.4	8.4	13.9	10.9	4.5	8.4	23.0
Clerks and kindred workers	8.5	9.4	12.6	10.0	15.0	15.9	5.4	9.9	11.2
Skilled laborers	14.7	10.2	18.8	13.0	17.8	18.2	12.7	11.4	10.6
Semiskilled laborers	15.2	8.1	15.2	8.6	19.2	13.4	11.8	7.2	17.7
Farm laborers	15.4	16.7	8.4	15.8	4.5	9.3	19.0	14.2	3.3
Unskilled laborers	11.1	14.5	14.9	18.4	10.5	15.2	13.8	15.8	7.0
Domest and personnel service	2.4	2.1	2.1	2.2	1.9	3.8	1.1	1.9	1.7

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[1] Excludes Oklahoma.

[2] Not included in total migration survey figures.

The Pacific Northwest.—The survey families in the Northwest were, like those in California, a fair cross section of the areas from which these people came. This is shown graphically by a comparison of the social-economic group distribution of the survey cases from the various regions of origin with the distribution of the male working population of the same regions (fig. 12). The professional group was slightly overrepresented in the survey cases for most of the regions, and this was true as well of skilled, and particularly semiskilled, workers. The proportion of unskilled workers among the survey cases was somewhat lower than in the population of nearly all regions (fig. 12a).

About one-third of the survey families in the Northwest had been engaged in farm work (farmers and farm laborers) before coming into the State (fig. 12). This was a much higher proportion than was the finding of the survey in California, where only 23 percent of the families had previously been engaged in agriculture. Among the migrants to the Northwest from Missouri, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma the proportion of agricultural population was relatively high as compared with the occupational distribution of the population in this region. The States showing a disproportionately high ratio of farm workers were all in the areas of drought in 1934 and 1936. This is in contrast with the findings of the California survey, where agricultural population was underrepresented from every State but Oklahoma.

Mr. Troxell and Mr. O'Day find from the Northwest survey that there was a marked similarity in the distribution of the occupations pursued in 1939 by the employed heads of the families studied and the male working population of the Northwest States as indicated by the 1930 census (fig. 12b).

The process of adaptation of the newcomers to the occupational opportunities of the Pacific Northwest involved a considerable amount of shifting from one occupation and industry to another. The number working in agriculture in the Pacific Northwest was considerably less than the number who previous to migration had been engaged in agriculture (fig. 12a). The unskilled labor group was larger in 1939 than before migration. Although the other groups were of approximately the same size in 1939 as before migration, this is not to say that all who were formerly members of these groups were able to find employment at their usual occupations in the Northwest.

There was a great deal of occupational shifting by members of all occupational groups, but the greatest amount took place among the members of the unskilled labor and agricultural groups. Less than half of the former farmers and farm laborers were employed in agriculture in the Northwest in 1939. Nearly three-fourths of those who were formerly in the professional group were still members of this group at the time of the survey.[16]

The similarity between the distribution of the occupations in 1939 of migrant family heads to that of the gainful workers of the State in 1930 is not as close for the Idaho cases as for Washington and Oregon. In Idaho the agricultural group was unduly small, probably because a significant proportion of rural schools did not cooperate in the study (fig. 12b).

In Washington and Oregon agricultural workers were relatively about as numerous in the survey group as in the population. Certain of the nonagricultural occupations were proportionately larger in the survey sample than in the resident population. There were, relative to the 1930 census, three to five times as many clergymen in the survey group. "United States officials and inspectors," which include Army and Navy officers, were also considerably overrepresented. Salesmen, carpenters, mechanics, foremen, painters, manufacturing operatives, and truck drivers were occupations more frequently found in the survey sample than in the population.

Arizona.—More than 40 percent of the families enumerated in the Arizona migration survey were living in the three States of Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkan-

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[16] Percentage of the male family heads of each group whose occupational group in 1939 was the same as it had been before migration:

Occupational group:	*Percent*
Professional	73
Owners, managers, officials	58
Clerks	61
Skilled workers	60
Semiskilled workers	46
Unskilled workers	50
Farmers and farm laborers	45

Pacific Northwest

Fig. 12 – Percentage distribution of male heads of enumerated families by former occupational groups by regions of last residence; and comparison with distribution of all gainfully occupied males, in those regions according to 1930 census.

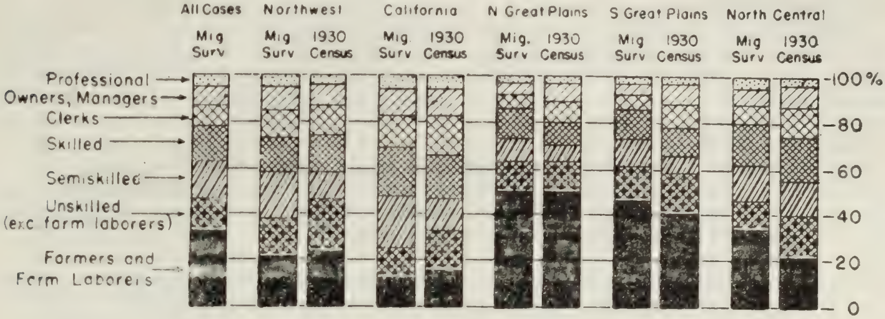


Fig. 12a.-Male heads of enumerated families, by 1939 occupational groups and former occupational groups.

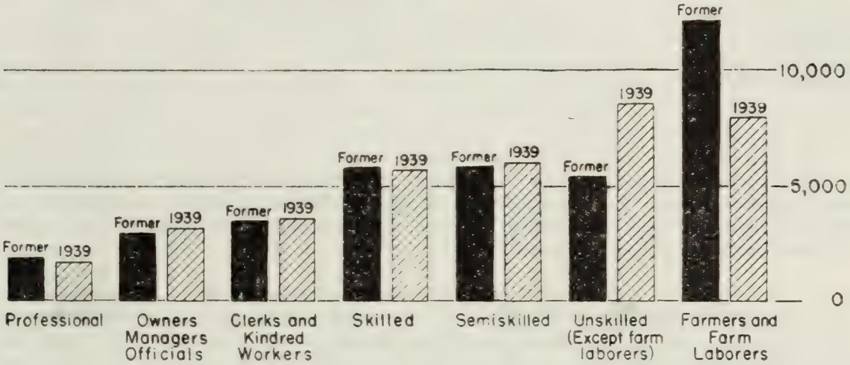
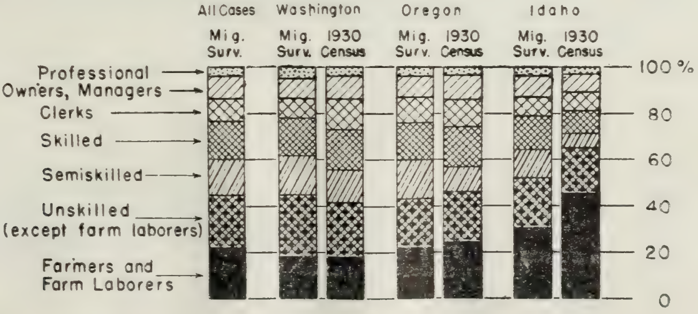


Fig. 12b.- Percentage distribution of employed male heads of enumerated families by 1939 occupational groups, by state of residence in 1939; and comparison with distribution of all gainfully occupied males according to 1930 census.



sas in 1930, and more than half of these families were engaged in agriculture prior to migration. Movement of population to Arizona from this region drew proportionately more heavily on farmers and farm laborers than the distribution of agricultural workers among all workers in these States in 1930 Migrants to Arizona from all other regions of the United States underrepresented the agricultural population in those regions and substantially overrepresented the white-collar and skilled-worker groups.

Among all the enumerated migrant families, those who had been in the white-collar groups before migrating to the States were about the same proportion as these groups made up of the gainful workers in Arizona in 1930. Relative to the occupational structure of Arizona in 1930, the enumerated migrant families contained twice the proportion of farmers but only half the Arizona proportion of unskilled laborers.

Adjustment to occupational opportunities in Arizona required a great deal of shifting in occupations and the distribution of all the enumerated families among the social-economic groups was substantially different in Arizona in 1940 from the grouping of families prior to migration (table 17).

TABLE 17.—*Families enumerated in Arizona migration survey, classified by social-economic groups prior to migration and in Arizona in 1940*

Social-economic grouping	Prior to migration	In Arizona in 1940	Social-economic grouping	Prior to migration	In Arizona in 1940
Professional	5.2	5.1	Farm laborers	12.6	19.7
Farmers	21.7	4.5	Unskilled laborers	9.6	12.2
Proprietors	8.6	10.1	Domestic workers	2.3	3.6
Clerks	9.3	10.3	Nongainful	2.0	4.0
Skilled workers	14.0	15.2			
Semiskilled workers	14.7	15.3	Total	100.0	100.0

The proportion of the "migrant" families who were farm operators, in Arizona in 1940, had decreased by three-fourths from those who previous to migration had been in this group. Following migration, farm laborers among the group had increased by half and substantial increases also occurred among the unskilled laborers and proprietor classes.

SECTION 8. RELIEF AND UNEMPLOYMENT

In reply to the occupational questions, some pupils reported their parents or guardians as unemployed, on Work Projects Administration, or receiving relief. While replies of this character are not an index to the extent of unemployment or dependency among the survey group as a whole, because specific questions regarding unemployment were not asked, nevertheless these replies provide a basis for some comparisons within the group of enumerated families.

Among all the male heads of families enumerated in California, 11 percent were reported to be on relief, working on Work Projects Administration, or unemployed. To repeat, this is by no means an absolute measure of the incidence of unemployment among the group, but there is reason to believe that variations in the proportions of families reported in these categories do represent varying proportions of unemployment and dependence (table 18).

TABLE 18.—*Male heads of families enumerated in California migration survey, 1939, and the Arizona migration survey, 1940: Classified by former occupational group and by percentage of each group reported on relief, unemployed, or working on Work Projects Administration in California and Arizona in 1939*

Former occupational group	Unemployed, receiving relief, or on W. P. A.	
	In Arizona, 1940	In California, 1939
	Percent	*Percent*
All occupational groups	9.8	11.2
Professional	4.4	3.3
Farmers	12.5	16.0
Proprietors, managers	5.3	4.3
Clerks and kindred workers	5.8	6.5
Skilled workers and foremen	8.2	9.5
Semiskilled workers	10.7	10.1
All occupational groups—Con.		
Farm laborers	9.8	20.7
Other laborers	12.6	18.7
Domestic and personal service	11.8	10.5
Nongainful	8.0	4.0
Unemployed, receiving relief, or working on Work Projects Administration	14.6	36.4

Of the male family heads who, before migration, were unemployed, on Work Projects Administration, or receiving relief, 36 percent were reported to be still in these groups in California. Twenty-one percent of the former farm laborers, 19 percent of the unskilled laborers, and 16 percent of the former farmers were reported as unemployed, on Work Projects Administration, or on relief in California. In contrast, only 7 percent of the former clerical workers and 3 percent of the fomer professional persons were reported as unemployed, on Work Projects Administration, or receiving relief in California. By this index, the agricultural and unskilled labor groups were the least successful in establishing themselves in California.

Families with a female head were reported in larger proportion to be unemployed and on relief than was true of the families in which the father or a male guardian was indicated as the head. Therefore, when all of the enumerated families are considered, the ration of unemployed and relief dependence rises to 13 percent of all the survey families.

Striking differences from this State average are apparent in various sections of California. Of the enumerated families in the five metropolitan counties of California, only 11 percent were reported to be unemployed or receiving relief; whereas, in the San Joaquin Valley counties, 20 percent of the families were so reported (table 19). It has been indicated earlier in this exhibit that 52 percent of the families enumerated in the San Joaquin Valley counties had been engaged in agriculture prior to migration as compared with 23 percent of all of the families enumerated throughout the State.

TABLE 19.—*Families enumerated in California migration survey: Classified by counties of residence in California in 1939 and by number receiving relief, working on relief programs, and unemployed at the time of the survey*

County of residence in California	Families reporting present occupation (number)	Families unemployed and on relief	
		Number	Percent
State total	102,790	13,150	12.8
San Joaquin Valley	14,871	3,027	20.4
Sacramento Valley	4,918	711	14.5
Southern California	10,355	1,378	13.3
Coast counties	6,183	756	12.2
Mountain counties	4,110	464	11.3
Metropolitan counties	62,353	6,814	10.9

For the State as a whole, the migration survey enumerated 21 families for each 1,000 persons in the State according to the 1930 census; however, the ratio of enumerated migrant families to population was 31 for the San Joaquin Valley counties. The migration of distressed agricultural population to the agricultural valleys of California in addition to the relatively greater volume of migration to these valleys is doubtless among the basic causes of this disproportionately high incidence of relief and unemployment among the migrant families in these agricultural counties.

The proportion of all enumerated families receiving relief or unemployed, was smaller in Arizona (10 percent) than in California (13 percent) or in the Pacific Northwest (14 percent). Those family heads who, previous to migration, had been farmers and those who had formerly been unskilled laborers were more frequently reported to be receiving relief or unemployed in Arizona (table 18).

Of the heads of families enumerated in the survey in the Northwest, 14 percent were reported to be unemployed, receiving relief, or on Work Projects Administration when the survey was made in 1939 (table 20). A relatively high percentage of Work Projects Administration cases in Washington and a low percentage in Oregon are perhaps only a reflection of the relative size of the Work Projects Administration programs in the two States.[17]

TABLE 20.—*Male heads of families enumerated in the Northwest migration survey who were unemployed or on Work Projects Administration in 1939, by former occupational groups*

Former occupational group	Total unemployed receiving relief and on Work Projects Administration	Work Projects Administration occupational group	Unemployed occupational group
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
All groups	13.7	7.8	5.9
Professionals	3.8	1.4	2.4
Owners, managers, officials	6.3	2.2	4.1
Clerks and kindred workers	6.4	2.9	3.5
Skilled workers and foremen	12.0	6.4	5.6
Semiskilled workers	13.9	8.0	5.9
Unskilled workers (except farm laborers)	25.0	15.0	10.0
Farmers and farm laborers	18.1	10.8	7.3

Former unskilled workers and people engaged in agriculture were the two groups which made up most of the people who were unemployed, on relief, and working on Work Projects Administration (table 20). About 18 percent of the agricultural groups and 25 percent of the unskilled group, as compared to 10 percent of other groups, were reported to be on Work Projects Administration, receiving relief, or unemployed in the Northwest in 1939 (table 20).

A classification of the total unemployed group by year of arrival in the States of the Northwest shows a slightly higher proportion among the 1934 to 1937 arrivals. This is a reflection of the greater number of agricultural workers arriving in these years. The 1938 arrivals had the highest proportion unemployed in 1939, but only a few of these late comers were on Work Projects Administration, probably because of the requirement of 1 year's residence before application for work can be made.

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[17] In March, April, and May of 1939, when the survey data were being collected, the average number on the Work Projects Administration rolls was approximately 41,000 in Washington, 17,000 in Oregon, and 10,600 in Idaho, according to the April to June 1939 issues of the Statistical Bulletin compiled by the Work Projects Administration Division of Statistics. These figures represent approximately 6 percent, 4 percent, and 6.5 percent, respectively, of the working population of these States, including both men and women.

SECTION 9. CONSIDERATIONS IN A NATIONAL POLICY FOR MIGRATION

Migration and the economy of the Far West.—In recent years, a great deal of attention has been given to the effects of a decline in the growth of population on economic development. The considerable literature discussing the relationship between population movements and the expansion and contraction of economic activities frequently raises the question as to "* * * whether the failure of the American economy to enjoy full recovery since 1929 is not, at least partly, a result of the decline in the rate of population growth. It has been felt that the decline in the birth rate and the decline in immigration are to a certain degree responsible for the large scale unemployment that has characterized the economic development in this country in the last 10 years.[18]

In such discussions, it is frequently pointed out that in the past, new investments in productive capacity have been frequently made by businessmen in the expectation that continued increases in population would provide the market for the products of new or extended factories. During the last decade it has become apparent that population was not increasing at its past rates and that investments could not be wisely made on growth expectations.

Discussions of the retarding effects on economic expansion of a diminishing rate of population growth have not been limited to professional economists; the subject has appeared, as well, in the journals of business, and the interpretation of population trends is often quite pessimistic. For example, "As a result of a slowing up of the Nation's forward march (in population) some of today's gilt-edge bonds will never be paid, and many a mortgage thought to be as good as gold won't be worth the paper it takes to record it."[19]

To discuss the effects of the 1930–39 migration to the Far West on the economy of the areas to which they came, it is not necessary to explore the theoretical labyrinths of the arguments by which the relationship between population growth and the level of economic activities is established. In brief, the position is often taken that decline in population growth will of itself necessarily curtail the volume of expansion in old as well as new enterprises.[20]

Whether or not this point of view will be accepted, there is some evidence that in States and regions within the United States, population and industry have in the past two decades expanded together. Using estimates of national income made by the National Industrial Conference Board, it was found that the 12 States, in the decade 1920–29, in which the largest percentage increases took place in the proportion of the national income they received, were also the States which experienced the largest increases of population during this period.

Examined in another way, the 12 States whose share of the national population increased most in the decade 1920–29 also received proportional increases in their share of national income. The simultaneous expansion of income and population was true as well, but for different States, in the decade of the 1930's.

For the 12 States whose share of the national population decreased most from 1920–30, a more than proportional decrease took place in the share of the national income received by these States. And this was true as well in the years since 1930.

These data on the concomitant variations of population size and income do not identify the causal factors—whether the population came or stayed in the region and therefore the income rose, or whether it was the relative expansion of economic activities which attracted people to and held people in these areas cannot be deduced from these relationships. However, the evidence seems clear that at least for the past two decades, the areas showing the greatest changes in income showed changes in the same direction in population, and likewise the States experiencing the greatest changes in population showed the greatest changes in the same direction in income. And frequently changes in relative income were proportionately higher than changes in population.

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[18] Statement of Otto Nathan, in the Round Table on Population Problems, American Economic Review, March 1940, pt. 2, supplement.

[19] Sterns, Fred H., New Signposts for Industry, Barron's Financial Weekly, February 5, 1940.

[20] "* * * when population is increasing, absolute diminutions of demand are likely to be somewhat fewer, and somewhat less acute when they do occur, than when population is stationary." Cannon, E., The Changed Outlook in Regard to Population, Economic Journal, vol. 41, December 1931.

Westward migration during the 1930's has more frequently been regarded as a movement away from depressed areas than as a population movement toward areas of industrial development and relative economic expansion. Yet, the relative economic position of the far West in the Nation has kept pace with the expansion of its population. California, Oregon, and Washington combined, had, in 1920, 5.26 percent of the national population and received 7.19 of the national income. In 1930, these three States contained 6.67 percent of the national population and accounted for 8.66 percent of the national income. By 1938, the three States had approximately 7.24 percent of the population of the Nation and their share of the national income had increased to 9.34 percent. The per capita-income position of the population in these three States has been substantially maintained in its advantaged position relative to the rest of the United States for the past two decades (table 21). It is not possible to say with certainty what would have been the effect of the economy of the far West if no migration to this region had taken place in the depression decade of the 1930's. However, from evidence reviewed above the extension of economic activities and the expansion of population seem to have a synchronous existence. What would happen to the population of the far West without migration can be quite accurately estimated.

TABLE 21.—*Percentage of the national population in the Pacific region (California, Oregon, and Washington) and percentage of the national income paid to persons in the Pacific region, 1919–38*

Year	Pacific region (California, Oregon, and Washington)		
	Percentage of the national population [1]	Percentage of the national income [2]	Ratio of Pacific region per capita income to United States average per capita income
1919	5.19	6.78	1.31
1920	5.26	7.19	1.36
1921	5.40	7.77	1.44
1922	5.54	7.94	1.43
1923	5.68	8.07	1.42
1924	5.82	8.25	1.42
1925	5.96	8.37	1.40
1926	6.10	8.54	1.39
1927	6.24	8.56	1.37
1928	6.39	8.49	1.33
1929	6.53	8.73	1.34
1930	6.67	8.66	1.30
1931	6.74	8.54	1.27
1932	6.81	8.82	1.29
1933	6.88	8.93	1.30
1934	6.95	8.56	1.24
1935	7.02	8.74	1.25
1936	7.09	8.96	1.28
1937	7.17	9.11	1.27
1938	7.24	9.34	1.29

[1] Population from U. S. Census. Change in population between census periods distributed evenly over the decade.

[2] National and regional income figures from the National Industrial Conference Board Studies in Enterprise and Social Progress, November 1939, pages 116–117.

Population growth and migration.—The national birth rate has been declining for a century (the total number of births per year reached its peak in 1921–25). Effects of this secular decline in the birth rate have been offset by a substantial and secular decrease in mortality rates, by heavy immigration of adults from foreign regions of high birth rates, and by the large number of females in the child-bearing ages. The National Resources Board estimates of future population, however, indicate small additions to the national population by the excess of births over deaths for the next three decades with the total population in 1980 at a figure somewhat higher than that of 1940.[21]

As regards the natural growth of their populations, Oregon, Washington, and California are in a substantially different position from the Nation as a whole. In 1930, Oregon had the lowest birth rate (per 1,000 people in her State) of all the States in the Nation (14.1). Nevada was second lowest with 14.6, Washington third with 14.7, and California fourth from the bottom of the list with 14.8.

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[21] National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, 1938.

Looking at fertility a little differently, in the number of children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women, aged 20–44 years, California stood lowest in the Nation with a ratio of 357. The fertility rates of Oregon and Washington was not much larger at 387 and 396, respectively.

In order to show what this low fertility means to the population growth of Oregon, Washington, and California, we have taken an average of the birth and death rates in the period 1929–31 and from these rates (and the population in the three States in 1930) estimated what the natural trend of population in these States would be in the period 1930–60. We have assumed, for this purpose, that the birth and death rates would remain static at this 1929–31 level and that no migration to these States or emigration from them would take place. This projection has been made by 5-year age groups so that the changing age composition of this population under these conditions can be observed.[22]

Under these conditions (without migration), the total population would increase in Washington until 1950, after which it would decline. The population of Oregon would start to decline after 1945; the population of California would start to diminish after 1940, and by 1950 would be less than it had been in 1935 (tables 22, 23, and 24).

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[22] This assumption probably maximizes the period of growth as there seems to be no reason to believe that birth rates will not continue to fall.

TABLE 22.—*Projected California population*[1]—*Age composition of population according to Census of 1930 and estimated for 1935, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1955, and 1960 (assuming birth and death rates static at 1929–31 level and no migration or emigration)*

[In thousands]

Age class	1930		1935		1940		1945		1950		1955		1960	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0–4[2]	422.5	7.4	399.8	6.9	362.1	6.2	343.4	5.9	326.7	5.7	309.0	5.5	289.8	5.2
5–9	466.5	8.2	414.3	7.2	392.3	6.7	355.4	6.1	337.3	5.9	320.9	5.7	303.6	5.5
10–14	425.1	7.5	462.7	8.0	411.4	7.1	389.5	6.7	353.3	6.1	335.3	5.9	319.0	5.8
15–19	429.8	7.5	421.0	7.3	458.4	7.9	408.0	7.1	386.4	6.7	350.6	6.2	332.9	6.0
20–24	476.3	8.4	422.7	7.3	415.4	7.2	453.5	7.8	404.1	7.0	382.9	6.8	347.9	6.3
25–29	497.3	8.7	467.6	8.1	416.0	7.2	409.5	7.1	447.8	7.8	399.5	7.0	378.8	6.9
30–34	483.9	8.5	487.1	8.4	459.1	7.9	409.2	7.1	403.5	7.0	441.7	7.8	394.4	7.1
35–39	489.8	8.6	472.6	8.2	477.1	8.2	450.6	7.8	402.3	7.0	397.0	7.0	435.0	7.9
40–44	444.5	7.8	475.3	8.2	460.3	7.9	466.1	8.0	440.9	7.7	394.3	7.0	389.5	7.0
45–49	394.5	6.9	426.5	7.4	457.7	7.9	444.8	7.7	451.5	7.8	428.3	7.6	383.7	7.0
50–54	332.3	5.8	372.8	6.5	404.6	7.0	435.9	7.5	425.1	7.4	432.8	7.6	411.5	7.5
55–59	255.9	4.5	306.8	5.3	345.0	5.9	375.6	6.5	405.8	7.1	396.6	7.0	398.5	7.2
60–64	208.0	3.7	228.4	3.9	274.5	4.7	309.6	5.3	337.9	5.9	366.1	6.5	358.5	6.5
65–69	156.2	2.8	176.0	3.0	193.7	3.3	232.8	4.0	262.9	4.6	287.1	5.1	311.3	5.6
70–74	107.9	1.9	121.2	2.1	136.8	2.4	150.8	2.6	181.2	3.1	204.9	3.6	224.0	4.1
75–79	59.7	1.0	73.8	1.3	83.1	1.4	93.9	1.6	103.7	1.8	124.5	2.2	140.9	2.5
80–84	29.0	.5	34.0	.6	42.0	.7	47.4	.8	53.7	.9	59.3	1.0	71.2	1.3
85–89	11.0	.2	12.6	.2	14.9	.3	18.3	.3	20.7	.4	23.5	.4	25.9	.5
90–94	2.7	.1	3.7	.1	4.2	.1	4.9	.1	6.0	.1	6.8	.1	7.6	.1
95 and over	.7	(3)	(3)	(3)	1.1	(3)	1.2	(3)	1.4	(3)	1.7	(3)	1.9	(3)
5–19	1,321.4	23.2	1,298.0	22.5	1,262.1	21.7	1,152.9	19.9	1,077.0	18.7	1,006.8	17.8	955.5	17.3
Total population	5,693.6	100.0	5,779.6	100.0	5,809.7	100.0	5,800.4	100.0	5,752.2	100.0	5,662.8	100.0	5,525.9	100.0

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[1] Based on: Thompson, Warren S., Welpton, P. K., California Population Estimates to 1960, published by Los Angeles Bureau of Municipal Research, 1935.

[2] The number in this age group has been corrected for the census under enumeration of children less than 1 year of age in 1930. Therefore, the total population in 1930 as shown here is slightly higher than the census count.

[3] Less than 1/10 of 1 percent.

TABLE 23.—*Projected Washington population—Age composition of population according to Census of 1930 and estimated for 1935, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1955, and 1960 (assuming birth and death rates static at 1929–31 level and no migration or emigration)*

Age class	1930		1935		1940		1945		1950		1955		1960	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 5[1]	121,899	7.8	106,476	6.7	108,222	6.7	108,728	6.6	106,935	6.5	104,420	6.4	101,785	6.3
5–9	136,188	8.7	119,212	7.5	104,050	6.4	105,755	6.4	106,250	6.5	104,499	6.4	102,041	6.3
10–14	138,568	8.8	134,891	8.4	118,079	7.3	103,062	6.3	104,750	6.4	105,241	6.4	103,506	6.4
15–19	138,097	8.8	137,459	8.6	133,812	8.3	117,134	7.2	102,238	6.2	103,912	6.4	104,399	6.5
20–24	130,566	8.3	136,302	8.5	135,672	8.3	132,072	8.1	115,611	7.1	100,909	6.2	102,561	6.4
25–29	120,804	7.7	128,281	8.0	133,917	8.3	133,298	8.2	129,761	7.9	113,588	7.0	99,143	6.2
30–34	115,594	7.4	118,630	7.4	125,972	7.8	131,507	8.0	130,899	8.0	127,425	7.8	111,543	6.9
35–39	122,989	7.8	113,340	7.1	116,317	7.2	123,516	7.6	128,943	7.9	128,346	7.8	124,940	7.8
40–44	118,255	7.5	120,160	7.5	110,733	6.8	113,642	7.0	120,675	7.4	125,977	7.7	125,394	7.8
45–49	108,417	6.9	114,589	7.2	116,435	7.2	107,300	6.6	110,119	6.7	116,934	7.2	122,072	7.6
50–54	90,337	5.8	103,755	6.5	109,662	6.8	111.428	6.8	102,686	6.3	105,384	6.5	111,902	6.8
55–59	69,348	4.4	85,097	5.3	97,737	6.0	103,302	6.3	104,965	6.4	96,730	5.9	99,272	6.2
60–64	57,603	3.7	63,488	4.0	77,906	4.8	89,478	5.5	94,573	5.8	96,095	5.9	88,556	5.5
65–69	44,496	2.8	50,518	3.2	55,679	3.4	68,324	4.2	78,472	4.8	82,941	5.1	84,275	5.2
70–74	30,113	1.9	35,730	2.2	40,566	2.5	44,710	2.7	54,864	3.3	63,013	3.9	66,602	4.1
75 and over	27,022	1.7	30,839	1.9	36,135	2.2	41,445	2.5	46,284	2.8	55,085	3.4	63,985	4.0
5–19	412,853	26.3	391,562	24.5	355,941	22.0	325,951	19.9	313,238	19.1	313,652	19.2	309,946	19.2
Total population	1,570,296	100.0	1,598,767	100.0	1,620,894	100.0	1,634,701	100.0	1,638,025	100.0	1,630,499	100.0	1,611,976	100.0

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[1] The number in this age group has been corrected for the census underenumeration of children less than 1 year of age in 1930. Therefore, the total population in 1930 as shown here is slightly higher than the census count.

TABLE 24.—*Population of Oregon—Age composition of population according to Census of 1930 and estimated for 1935, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1955, and 1960 (assuming birth and death rates static at 1929–31 level and no migration or emigration)*

Age class	1930		1935		1940		1945		1950		1955		1960	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 5 [1]	73, 712	7.7	62, 893	6.5	63, 811	6.5	64, 001	6.5	62, 918	6.4	61, 165	6.2	59, 568	6.2
5–9	81, 558	8.5	72, 188	7.4	61, 536	6.3	62, 434	6.3	62, 617	6.4	61, 561	6.3	59, 847	6.2
10–14	82, 698	8.7	80, 865	8.3	71, 574	7.3	61, 013	6.2	61, 903	6.3	62, 085	6.3	61, 038	6.3
15–19	83, 409	8.7	82, 078	8.4	80, 259	8.2	71, 037	7.2	60, 555	6.1	61, 439	6.3	61, 619	6.4
20–24	78, 022	8.1	82, 366	8.5	81, 052	8.3	79, 256	8.0	70, 149	7.1	59, 798	6.1	60, 671	6.3
25–29	72, 087	7.5	76, 774	7.9	81, 048	8.3	79, 755	8.1	77, 988	7.9	69, 027	7.1	58, 841	6.1
30–34	71, 135	7.4	70, 789	7.3	75, 392	7.7	79, 589	8.1	78, 319	7.9	76, 584	7.8	67, 785	7.0
35–39	75, 054	7.8	69, 783	7.2	69, 444	7.1	73, 960	7.5	78, 077	7.9	76, 831	7.8	75, 129	7.8
40–44	72, 009	7.5	73, 365	7.5	68, 213	6.9	67, 882	6.9	72, 296	7.3	76, 320	7.8	75, 102	7.8
45–49	65, 693	6.9	69, 777	7.2	71, 091	7.2	66, 098	6.7	65, 778	6.7	70, 055	7.2	73, 954	7.6
50–54	55, 322	5.8	63, 033	6.5	66, 951	6.8	68, 212	6.9	63, 421	6.4	63, 114	6.4	67, 218	7.0
55–59	43, 889	4.6	52, 113	5.4	59, 377	6.0	63, 068	6.4	64, 256	6.5	59, 743	6.1	59, 453	6.1
60–64	36, 657	3.8	40, 158	4.1	47, 683	4.8	54, 330	5.5	57, 708	5.9	58, 794	6.0	54, 665	5.7
65–69	28, 212	2.9	32, 112	3.3	35, 178	3.6	41, 770	4.2	47, 593	4.8	50, 552	5.2	51, 504	5.3
70–74	20, 176	2.1	22, 598	2.3	25, 722	2.6	28, 178	2.8	33, 458	3.4	38, 122	3.9	40, 492	4.2
75 and over	18, 975	2.0	20, 897	2.2	23, 275	2.4	26, 305	2.7	29, 112	3.0	33, 791	3.5	38, 730	4.0
5–19	247, 665	25.9	235, 131	24.1	213, 369	21.8	194, 484	19.7	185, 075	18.8	185, 085	18.9	182, 504	18.9
Total population	958, 608	100.0	971, 789	100.0	981, 606	100.0	986, 888	100.0	986, 148	100.0	978, 981	100.0	965, 616	100.0

[1] The number of this age group has been corrected for the census under enumeration of children less than 1 year of age in 1930. Therefore, the total population in 1930 as shown here is slightly higher than the census count.

Without migration to these Western States and with the same birth and death rates, the number in the young-age groups would shrink and there would be a substantial increase in both the number and proportion of older persons in the population of these States. Of the total population in California in 1930, 15 percent were over 54 years of age; by 1940, 20 percent of the population would be in this age group. This proportional shift in age composition would also obtain in Oregon and Washington.

The increases mentioned above which would take place in the decade between 1930–39, are, of course, only a partial index to what would be the changing composition of the population in the Western States under these assumptions. In 1930, the persons over 54 made up 14.8 percent of the total population of California, 15.4 percent of the total population of Oregon, and 14.5 percent of the population of Washington. By 1960, the proportion of total population aged 54 and over in California would be 27.9 percent; in Oregon, they would make up 25.3 percent; and in Washington, 25 percent.

On the other hand, the proportion of the population 5 to 19 years of age would change in California from 23.2 in 1930 to 17.3 in 1960. In Washington, the change over this same interval would be from 26.3 to 19.2 and in Oregon from 25.9 to 18.9.

The growth and changing age composition of population through births and deaths is affected by three elements: (1) The size of the base population, (2) fertility and mortality rates at specific ages, and (3) the age and sex distribution of the population.

It is estimated from the Bureau's study of migration to the Western States and from reports from the 1940 census that the apparent net effects of interstate migration from 1930–39 has been an addition of 19 percent to the population of California, an addition of 8 percent to Washington, and 11 percent to the population in Oregon. The age and sex composition of the population migrating to the West cannot be ascertained from the migration surveys as the sample was limited to migrant families having children in school. Therefore, the effects of the total westward migration on the sex and age distribution and on the fertility and mortality rates of the population in Western States will not be accurately known until the 1940 census is published.

The Bureau's surveys have indicated that the majority of newcomers to the West in this decade have migrated from the States of the Great Plains and the Southwest—areas characterized by relatively high birth rates. The effect of these newcomers on the birth rates of the Western States cannot be accurately foretold, but it seems not unlikely that the effect of this migration has been at least to diminish the rate at which the birth rate is declining.

Actually, by the end of the decade, from 1930–39, the crude birth rate (number of births per 1,000 population in the State) rose in California. In 1930, the crude birth rate was 18.83 per 1,000, and in 1939 it was 15.32.[23] And the rate of natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) rose from 3.20 per 1,000 in 1930 to 3.90 in 1939. This occurred, not only because the birth rate rose to this 1939 figure but the crude death rate in 1939 was slightly less than it had been in 1930.

The crude rate of natural increase for Oregon and Washington combined was 3.68 per 1,000 in 1930; in 1939 it was 4.80. The birth rate had increased from 14.50 per 1,000 in 1930 to 15.26 in 1939.

The increase in these rates cannot be attributed solely, and perhaps not even in largest part, to the entry of newcomers into the far West, because of the operation of many other factors on the birth rate, such as economic recovery, relief, etc. However, it seems likely that the westward migration of the 1930's probably retarded the rate of decline of the fertility ratio, delayed the aging of the population in the Western States, maintained the absolute number of school-attending population in Oregon and Washington, substantially increased the school population in California, and added to the population in all three States.

In regard to the school-attending population, the evidence from the migration survey is clear. Changes in the volume of school attendance in the counties of

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[23] This rate is calculated by assuming that in April 1939 nine-tenths of the total population increase from the 1930 to the 1940 census has taken place.

California, Oregon, and Washington were highly correlated with interstate immigration to the counties.[24]

The apparent net effect of migration on the average daily attendance in the public-school system of the State of Washington has been to maintain school attendance almost at the level of 1930. Actually, total school attendance fell off 2 percent from the 1930 figure, but if there had been no migration into or out of the State after 1930 (projected population) and no secular change in the ratio of school attendance by those of school age, the diminished number of children of school age in Washington would have resulted in a decrease in attendance of approximately 15 percent. It is known from the migration survey that pupils from families who moved into Washington after 1930 constituted 12 percent of the average daily attendance in the State in 1939 (table 25).

TABLE 25.—*Changes in average daily attendance in the public-school systems of California, Oregon, and Washington, 1930–39, and proportion of 1939 attendance made up by pupils from families entering the State since 1930*

State and region	Ratio of 1939 average daily attendance[1] to 1930 average daily attendance (in percent)	Ratio of children from families moving to State since 1930 [2] to—	
		1930 average daily attendance	1939 average daily attendance
California:			
State total	118.6	21.0	17.7
San Joaquin Valley counties	123.8	27.5	22.2
Metropolitan counties	117.1	20.6	17.6
Sacramento Valley counties	116.5	19.7	16.9
Southern California counties	123.8	22.2	17.9
Coast counties	116.9	15.0	12.8
Mountain counties	118.5	19.8	16.7
Washington:			
State total	98.1	12.0	12.2
Western counties	99.0	10.6	10.7
Central counties	106.5	17.6	16.6
Northeastern counties	89.2	12.4	13.9
East Central counties	87.3	16.3	16.6
Southeastern counties	84.0	11.6	13.9
Oregon:			
State total	104.3	17.3	16.5
Northwestern counties	104.0	16.7	16.1
North central counties	93.6	11.4	12.2
Northeastern counties	91.5	12.9	14.0
Southwestern counties	108.1	19.5	18.0
Central southeastern counties	116.9	21.4	20.6

[1] Average daily attendance figures from: California State Department of Education, Oregon State Department of Education, and Washington State Department of Education.

[2] The number of pupils from families entering the States since 1930, from the migration survey corrected o include nonresponding children in enumerated families.

The approximate net effects of migration to Oregon increased school attendance in 1939, 4 percent over the 1930 level. Without migration school attendance would have fallen about 15 percent by 1939. Pupils from migrant families made up 16.5 percent of the average daily attendance in Oregon in 1939 (table 25).

In California, school attendance had been increased, by 1939, about 19 percent over the 1930 level instead of diminishing about 5 percent as our projected population indicated. Children from families moving to California after 1930 made up 18 percent of the average daily attendance in the schools of the State in 1939 (table 25).

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[24] It was found that in the counties of California, Oregon, and Washington the ratio:

$$\frac{\text{1939 average daily attendance}}{\text{1930 average daily attendance}}$$

was closely correlated with the ratio:

$$\frac{\text{school children of families entering State since 1929}}{\text{average daily attendance in 1930}}$$

the coefficient of correlation was 0.75±0.038 (S. E.).

SUMMARY

It is not the intention of this exhibit to minimize the economic and social problems aggravated and created by the 1930–39 migration. The effects of the influx have not been evenly distributed over the States and this uneven distribution has meant that while some communities and counties have hardly noticed any influx of newcomers, in others, new shack towns have rapidly appeared, schools have become crowded, hospitals and relief agencies have been called upon for unprecedented amounts of aid, and public costs have climbed.

However, it is essential to recognize that it was economic necessity which attracted these people toward the far West, where they thought they could create the means of living under relatively more favorable conditions. The evaluation of what constitutes more favorable conditions is subject to historical variations. The migrants of previous generations generally moved to a diminishing frontier or to an expanding urban commerce and industry. Their place in the economic and social life of their new communities was relatively easy to acquire because of the general demand for their labor, because of investment and development opportunities and because of the apparent benefits of their presence to their new communities.

The migrants of the 1930's came into the economic and political life of already well established communities. They came in a time of depression, when there was unemployment rather than a scarcity of labor, when public costs were rising, when there were few opportunities to develop new farms, and when new investment opportunities were curtailed and previous investments were in jeopardy. Nevertheless, there is evidence that even the diminished opportunities in the far West were superior to those in places of origin.

Income data clearly indicate the Western States as affording more per capita opportunities than the areas from which the majority of the migrants have come.[25] As the great majority of newcomers show every indication of remaining in the West, it is clear that the alternative action of returning to the areas from which they migrated is not going on because the far West is a more hospitable environment than the areas from which they came.

Then, from the point of view of the migrants and from considerations of national welfare, westward migration during the 1930's can probably be regarded as generally beneficial. Removal to the West has resulted in a larger proportion of the population of the Nation living in a region of higher per capita income.

In some respects, the migration to the far West during 1930–39 may be envisaged as a self-generating correction of an unwise distribution of population which took place in the absence of a national policy for migration. That section of the Middle West made up by the States of Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota was the area which received the largest population increases in the Nation by internal migration during the period from 1880–1920.[26] Much of this settlement was made on a foundation of a type of farming now generally recognized as unsuited to the area. The result of this unwise settlement can in part be seen in the substantial emigration from this region which took place during the depression decade of the 1930's; the population in each of these States was less in 1940 than it had been in 1930.

However, evidence suggests that for the far West as a whole, there may be no important migrant problem thought of as an unprecedented influx of a great horde of unskilled and destitute persons; the continued population growth and perhaps the economic development of the far West is still partly dependent upon a continued westward migration of population similar to that which came in the 1930's. The problems of the migrant, on the other hand, are acute. Migration, unguided and unaided by any national or State policy has resulted in the creation of new slums in the West which now cannot be removed except by the expensive process of buying out individual holdings. Resettlement has taken place in some areas offering little prospects for the future. New farms have been created far from markets and in some cases on land which national efforts toward soil conservation and flood control would condemn as undesirable. In some cases, westward migration has resulted in a nomadic life in the West as families continuously follow crop harvests over vast areas, and this migratory agricultural pattern is undirected and takes place without regard to the labor needs of local areas. The policy followed by almost all States of extending aid only to those who have legal residence in the State and the absence of Federal relief have left that fraction of the newcomers who were in need of assistance in helpless suspension between the migrant's legal, but perhaps uninhabital residence and his new community from which he is likely to be excluded as a public charge.

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[25] The ratio of Oklahoma's per capita income to the United States average per capita income was 0.60 in 1930. For Arkansas, it was 0.37, 0.69 for Texas, 0.93 for Missouri, and 0.60 for North Dakota in 1930. For the three far western States, California, Oregon, and Washington, considered as a unit, the ratio of per capita income to this United States average was 1.30 in 1930. Source: National Industrial Conference Board Studies in Enterprise and Social Progress, November 1929.

[26] Goodrich, Carter, Migration and Economic Opportunity, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936, p. 676.

It seems likely that the ultimate social costs of problems such as these, if neglected, will probably far exceed the costs of dealing with them in advance or as they appear.[27]

APPENDIX I

SURVEY METHODS

Data for the survey were obtained from questionnaires filled out by public-school children, members of families that had moved into the State after 1929. The questionnaire was designed to be answered by children with a minimum of instructions and, therefore, the questions were kept simple. Teachers were requested to check their pupils' replies for completeness of response and to make sure that they understood the questions.

Returned questionnaires were sorted alphabetically, and the replies of brothers and sisters were clipped together. Those families for which returns were received from all children reported to be attending school were considered to be "complete." The "incompletes" were alphabetized for the entire county and then with the "incompletes" in adjacent counties. After this process, the remaining groups, in which there were pupils reported to be in school but for which no questionnaires were found, were considered to be "incomplete."

Data for each family were coded for punching on a Hollerith card. The family was considered as the unit, and during the coding the replies from all responding children were consulted. Frequently the information on questionnaires was incomplete and could be supplemented from the replies of other children in the family. If there were discrepancies between the various returns, the reply of the majority of the children was followed, and if there was no majority, the reply of the oldest child was used.

Followng are definitions and descriptions of the methods used in determining the principal statistical items:

Families included.—Families eligible for inclusion were those who had moved into the State after 1929 and had children enrolled in the public schools at the time of the survey. Families that had been living in the survey States but who moved out and in again after January 1, 1930, were included.

Residence classification.—In the surveys made in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, the school districts from which returns were received were classified according to the 1930 Census of population of the largest city or town in the district. In the California and Arizona surveys, the home address of the family was given the 1930 Census classification for population size.

Residence, 1930.—Residence on January 1, 1930, was determined in the surveys made in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho from the date of birth, length of residence reported in each State, and date of entry into the State the child was living in at the time of the survey. If the oldest responding child in the family was born after January 1, 1930, this child's birthplace was taken to be the 1930 residence of the family. In many cases the year and place of birth of one of the responding children established the answer.

In the California and Arizona surveys, pupils were asked to give the county and State of their parents' residence in 1930.

Occupations.—The "1939 occupations" were classified from replies to the question, "What kind of work does your father (or guardian) do right now?" Both the job and the industry worked in were specified. "Former occupations" were classified from the replies to the question, "What kind of work did he do before he came to this State?" In order to make the occupational classifications comparable with the census, the census code book, Alphabetical Index to Occupations, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, was used.

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[27] Exhibits which follow this one treat of the problems of migrants seeking reestablishment as farmers on cut-over lands and newly irrigated lands, and as agricultural laborers in the far West.

Occupations were grouped according to the system described by Alba M. Edwards in A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States and the group symbols were taken from the Alphabetical Index of Occupations by Industries and Social Economic Groups, Bureau of the Census, 1937. A special group symbol was used to designate the unemployed.

APPENDIX II

ESTIMATING THE RATIO OF COVERAGE

In this survey the attempt was made to enumerate, by means of questionnaires distributed through the public-school system, all families that had moved into the States of Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho since 1929 and had children in school at the time the survey was made. Lack of completeness in the enumeration was due to: (1) Absence from school at time survey was taken, (2) unwillingness to cooperate, (3) misunderstanding of survey, and (4) schools not returning questionnaires. Estimates of coverage within the reporting schools can be made by assuming the first three of the above reasons followed chance. Since a family was enumerated if only one child responded, the probability of missing a family is less, the larger the family. It is assumed that failure to respond is distributed at random among all eligible pupils, the probable number of families missed can be estimated by application of probability theory. The available information for this calculation is: (1) Total number of families reporting, (2) number of school children in each family reporting, and (3) number of children responding for each family reporting.

In the binomial expansion $p+q=1$

p=proportion of families responding

q=proportion of families failing to respond

For those families with two children in school $(p+q)^2$ will represent the proportions of the two-child families where both children responded, one child responded, and no response

$$(p+q)^2=p^2+2pq+q^2$$

If families with both responding children=A, and families with one responding child=B, and total eligible families=T,

$$p^2=\frac{A}{T};\quad T=\frac{A}{p^2}$$

$$2pq=\frac{B}{T};\quad T=\frac{B}{2pq}$$

$$\frac{A}{p}=\frac{B}{2q}$$

$$2qA=Bp=B(1-q)=B-Bq$$

$$2qA+Bq=B$$

$$q(2A+B)=B$$

$$q=\frac{B}{2A+B}=\frac{\text{Number of families with only one return}}{\text{total number of children reporting}}.$$

Proportion of families with:	both children responding		one child responding		neither child responding	=all families
	p^2	+	$2pq$	+	q^2	$=1$

$$1-q^2=p^2+2pq=\frac{\text{number of responding families}}{\text{number of eligible families}}$$

$$\text{Eligible families}=\frac{\text{responding families}}{1-q^2}$$

"q" was calculated for 3-, 4-, and 5-child families and showed a tendency to increase as the number of families increased. This action is explained by the fact that the larger families would contain a higher proportion of siblings in the same school and even in the same class. In some of the smaller schools it was observed that where there were siblings in the same school, the teachers had only one of the children fill out a questionnaire. This effect was not great, but showed its effect in the larger families. Thus, if we are to assume a chance probability the more correct "p" and "q" would be the "p" and "q" of the 2-child families.

The ratio of families enumerated to the total number of eligible families is determined as follows: Where n=number of school children in the family, $(p+q)^n=1$=proportion of total eligible families,

$$\text{expanding: } p^n+np^{n-1}q+\frac{(n)(n-1}{2\,!}\Big)p^{n-2}q^2+\frac{(n)(n-1)(n-2)}{3\,!}p^{n-3}q^3+\cdot\cdot+q^n$$

"q^n" represents the proportion where no reports are received from the families to the total eligible families.

$$\therefore \text{the proportion of } \frac{\text{families reporting at all}}{\text{total eligible families}}=1-q^n$$

R=responding families

E=total eligible families

$$E=\frac{R}{1-q^n}$$

nE=number of eligible children in eligible families.

In order to estimate those families who were not included due to the schools' not returning the questionnaires, it was assumed that migrant families in those regions existed in the same proportion as the average among all reporting schools. Thus, the number of eligible children is corrected by the factor of

$$\left(\frac{\text{average daily attendance of schools reporting}}{\text{total average daily attendance of all schools}}\right)$$

The total eligible children is now corrected for those: (1) not replying, $\frac{1}{1-q^n}$; (2) schools not participating, $\frac{\text{total } ADA}{\text{responding } ADA}$; to give total eligible children (NE),

$$NE=\frac{\text{total } ADA}{\text{responding } ADA}\sum\frac{{}^nRn}{1-q^n}$$

APPENDIX III

ESTIMATES OF IN-MIGRATION, 1930–39 (BASED ON THE SURVEYS)

To obtain from the survey data an estimate of the total in-migration in the period 1930–39, it is necessary to determine the probable value of the ratio of total persons entering the area to school children in the migrant group. This "inflating ratio" multiplied by the total number of pupils eligible for inclusion in the survey gives the total estimated persons entering these States. Two methods can be used. In one, the proportion of school children in the net migration of the 1920–29 decade is estimated and the assumption is made that the proportion is the same for the 1930–39 migration. The other method assumes that the proportion of school children among the migrant group is the same as in the population of the States from which the migrants came.

The estimate of the proportion of school children in the 1920–29 migration follows a procedure which has been widely used to determine the age distribution of migrants. V. B. Stanbery[28] has made such a calculation for the Oregon net migration of 1920–30. Dorothy Swaine Thomas[29] describes the method, its weakness, and the many calculations which have been made using it. This method has not been used in making estimates of 1939–39 in-migration because in addition to defects in census data, the method results in net migration estimates and does not give the age distribution of either the incoming or outgoing migrants.

The method used involves the assumption that the ratio of total "migrants" to "migrant" school children is the same as the ratios between total population and school population in the areas of origin. These ratios were weighted according to the number of families originating in the State as indicated by migration survey data. Ratios calculated by this procedure were 4.77 for Washington, 4.72 for Oregon, 4.61 for Idaho, 4.53 for Arizona, and 4.68 for California.[30]

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[28] Migration into Oregon, 1930–37. Oregon State Planning Board.

[29] Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Bull. of Social Science Research Council 43, 1938.

Support for the assumption that the ratio of total persons to school children is the same in the migrant group as in the population of the States of origin is offered by the reasonable results derived by this method when compared with the estimates of the net effects of migration calculated from population changes in the decade 1930–39 as reported in the 1940 census.

APPENDIX IV

ESTIMATES OF MIGRATION, 1920–29

To arrive at an estimate of in-migration for the decade 1920–29 which will compare with the estimates from the survey for the decade 1930–39, the migration difference for the entire population must be established. This is equal to the population of the State in 1930 less the population there in 1920, less the births occurring in the State during the period and plus all deaths in the State.

The migration difference for natives of the State is used to estimate the total emigration from the State, which added to the total migration difference gives the estimated in-migration.

The number of surviving immigrants plus the births that have occurred to them while in the State is the figure desired for comparison with the estimated total number of "migrants" of the post-1930 period living in the State at the time of the survey in 1939.

To arrive at the migration difference for the natives of the State, it is necessary to know the age distribution of the natives of the State alive in 1920 in order to obtain their mortality in the ensuing 10¼ years of the intercensal period. This is estimated by taking the number less than 1 year of age in each census from 1850 to 1920. It is assumed that all such infants are natives of the State and that any error on this score would apply uniformly to all decades. It is also assumed that the under-enumeration is constant for each census;[31] while this might result in the wrong total number of natives, it should yield the correct age distribution, which is all this calculation is intended to give.

To each of these census numbers of infants must be applied a factor which gives the probability of survival to 1920. This is done by means of life tables. The gross survival till 1920 is calculated, multiplying together the probabilities of successive 10-year survivals.

Deaths occurring to natives between 1920–29 were estimated from life tables for each age group. Total natives (of State in question) in the United States in 1930=(total natives in 1920)−(deaths of total 1920 natives in decade 1920–29)+(births (in State) in decade)−(deaths of those born in decade). Natives leaving the country are neglected in this calculation.

The migration difference for natives indicates a net outward movement of natives of the Western States during the 1920–29 decade. The net outward movement of natives is used to estimate total out-migration by making the following assumptions: (1) The number of natives moving back into State can be neglected compared to the number moving out, and (2) the outward migration of nonnatives is assumed to bear the same ratio to the total number of nonnatives in the State as does the outward migration of the natives to the number of natives in the State. (The means of the 1920 and 1930 native and nonnative populations are used here.)

The estimated emigration is added to the migration difference and gives an approximation of the volume of in-migration. The number of surviving immigrants is estimated from the total immigration by applying five times the average annual mortality rate for the State and subtracting the deaths so calculated. (It is assumed that all the immigrants were in the State half the time.)

With the assumption that all of the immigrants were in the State half the time, it was further assumed that they would have the same crude birth rate as the population of the State to which they came and their numbers would then be increased by the "natural increase" yielded from such assumptions.

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[30] These ratios, which were the ones used in estimating the total migration into the survey States, are not greatly different from the average ratio of 5.0, which is calculated on the basis of the 1920–29 migration from the census figures.

[31] Whelpton, P. K., "The Completeness of Birth Registrations in the United States," Journal of the American Statistical Association, vol. 29, No. 125, 1934.

$$\frac{\text{One-half total immigrants}}{\text{Average population of decade}} \times \text{Total surviving births in State}$$

The natural increase to surviving immigrants was added to the immigrants in order to yield an estimate of in-migration effects for the decade 1920–29 that would be comparable to the estimate of in-migration from the migration survey in 1939. The in-migration estimates from the survey necessarily included children born to migrants.

APPENDIX V

METHOD FOR APPORTIONING A POPULATION CHANGE AS BETWEEN THE INFLUENCE OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS AND OF MIGRATION

The net effects of migration[32] on population between census enumerations can be approximated from the following data: (1) The total births and deaths within the area for the period. (2) The total population at the beginning and the end of the period.

Subtracting the total number of deaths from the total number of births gives the total natural increase during the period. This total natural increase has occurred not only to the population in the State at the beginning of the decade but includes as well the births and deaths occurring to immigrants who entered the State during the decade. This natural increase will also include the births occurring to persons in the area at any time during the decade but who emigrated from the area before the end of the decade. The addition of the total natural increase during a decade to the population at the beginning of the decade equals the total number of persons in the region at the end of the decade except for the net difference between the number of persons entering over the persons leaving the region. The natural increase occurring to the (net) migrants is assumed to bear the same ratio to the total natural increase as does the (net) migrants to the average population of the decade.

Following is the derivation of the mathematical procedure by which net migration effects is approximated:

M_m=migration minimal
P_1=population at beginning of period
P_2=population at end of period
I_n=natural increase
B_t=total births during period
D_t=total deaths during period
M_t=net migration effects
$\triangle P$=change in population during period

Definition of net migration: (migration minimal)

Equation (1) $M_m = P_2 - [P_1 + (B_t - D_t)]$

Natural increase of migrants added to minimal migration:

Equation (2 $M_t = M_m + \dfrac{\frac{M_t}{2}}{\frac{P_1+P_2}{2}}(B_t - D_t)$

Rearranging the equation:

Equation (3) $M_t = \left[(M_t)\left(\dfrac{B_t - D_t}{P_1+P_2}\right)\right] = M_m \, M_t\left(1 - \dfrac{B_t - D_t}{P_1+P_2}\right)$

Simplifying to solve for net migration effects:

Equation (4) $M_t = \dfrac{(P_2 - P_1) - (B_t - D_t)}{1 - \dfrac{(B_t - D_t)}{(P_1+P_2)^{33}}} = \dfrac{\triangle P - I_n}{1 - \dfrac{1_n}{P_1+P_2}}$

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[32] The net effects of migration differ from net migration in that the births occurring to the migrants entering the region are taken into account. Net migration is the difference between the number arriving and the number leaving by the end of the decade.

[33] It is assumed that net migration is evenly distributed throughout the period, thus the average length of residence for the people arriving and leaving the region is one-half the total period.

Experience of Settlers on Cut-Over Lands in the Pacific Northwest

By Carl P. Heisig, Agricultural Economist, and H. E. Selby, Senior Agricultural Economist

INTRODUCTION

The low cost of cut-over land in the Pacific Northwest and the opportunity to start farming with little capital appeal to many who are unable to find employment elsewhere and lack sufficient capital to purchase land in developed farming areas. Estimates are that about 460,000 persons moved from other States into the Pacific Northwest (Oregon, Washington, and Idaho) in the years 1930 to 1938. Approximately half of them settled in rural areas. Undoubtedly many thousands settled in cut-over areas, but the exact number is not known.

Only a part, however, of the total recent settlement on cut-over lands is by migrant families from other States. Many of the new settlers came from Pacific coast cities, seeking an alternative to unemployment. Others were farm tenants and laborers in nearby areas.

To determine the economic situation of these settlers and appraise the opportunities afforded by settlement on cut-over lands, studies were made in 1939 in two areas in northern Idaho and five in western Washington (figs. 1 and 2).

LOCATION AND APPROXIMATE EXTENT OF LOCAL AREAS STUDIED IN WESTERN WASHINGTON, 1939

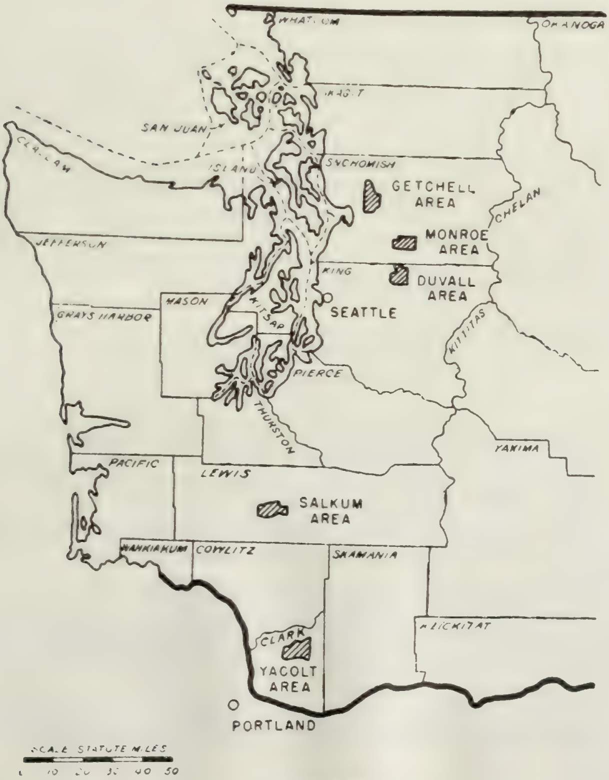
WHATCOM
OKANOGA
SKAGIT
SAN JUAN
CLALLAM
ISLAND
SNOHOMISH
GETCHELL AREA
CHELAN
MONROE AREA
JEFFERSON
KING
DUVALL AREA
MASON
KITSAP
SEATTLE
GRAYS HARBOR
KITTITAS
PIERCE
THURSTON
YAKIMA
PACIFIC
LEWIS
SALKUM AREA
WAHKIAKUM
COWLITZ
SKAMANIA
KLICKITAT
CLARK
YACOLT AREA
PORTLAND
SCALE STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50

Figure 1

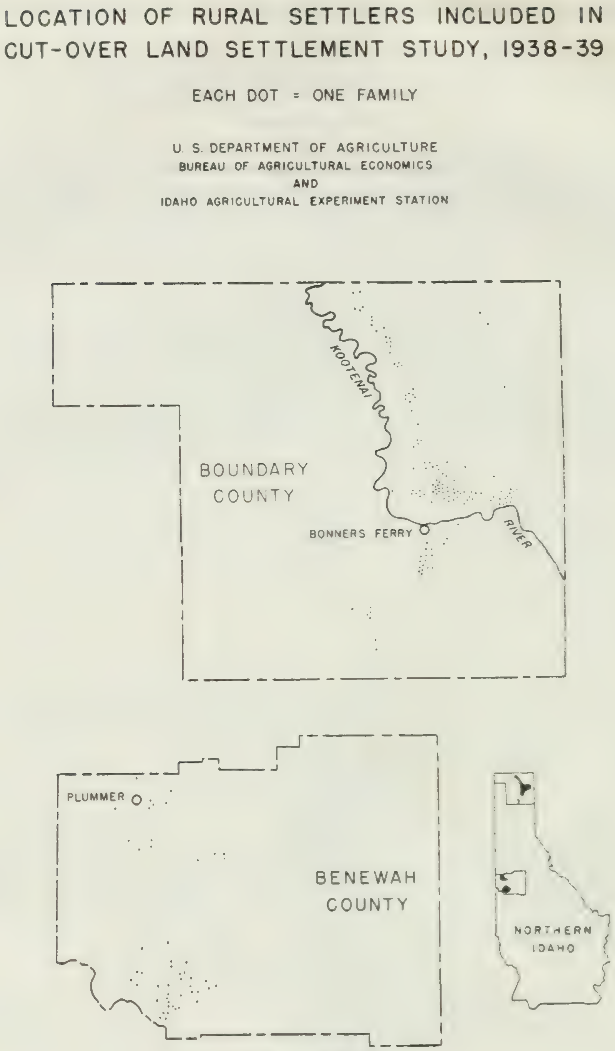
LOCATION OF RURAL SETTLERS INCLUDED IN
CUT-OVER LAND SETTLEMENT STUDY, 1938-39
EACH DOT = ONE FAMILY
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
AND
IDAHO AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
KOOTENAI
BOUNDARY COUNTY
BONNERS FERRY
RIVER
PLUMMER
BENEWAH COUNTY
NORTHERN IDAHO

FIGURE 2.

In western Washington all resident families, 1,051 in number, were enumerated briefly and detailed records were obtained from 267 families, including 156 who settled after 1929 and 111 who had been on their farms from 10 to more than 30 years. In northern Idaho data were obtained from 189 settlers, all but four of whom had located there since 1929. Complete records of income and progress were obtained from 150 of these settlers who had located on farms in 1930 and subsequent years.[1]

In all the five Washington areas from 50 to 70 percent of the families residing in the areas in 1939 had moved to the areas since 1929.

Thus, in two areas, fewer than a third of the families had been there in 1930. Some families have moved out of the areas since 1930, so the above figures do not represent a net increase in population.

Of the families who settled in these areas since 1929, 31 percent were in the same county before 1930. An additional 24 percent were in other Washington counties before 1930. Thus, more than half of the recent settlers in the five local areas came from within the State.

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[1] A farm was defined as 3 or more acres of cut-over land.

Of the interstate migrants, about half came from the Great Plains and slightly more than a fourth from Pacific and Intermountain States. Of those who came from the Great Plains States, about two-thirds were from the northern plains.

In northern Idaho, more than 60 percent of the farm settlers came from the Great Plains.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SETTLERS

Families of the new settlers (since 1929) averaged 4.3 persons in northern Idaho and 3.9 persons in western Washington. The new settler families have relatively more young people and fewer old people than are found in either the farm population or the general population of the Pacific Northwest. Nearly a third of all persons in the new settler families of northern Idaho were under 15 years, while fewer than 10 percent were more than 55 years old. However, nearly half of the family heads are more than 50, and therefore, in many cases, the ultimate clearing of the farm will depend on the younger members of the family.

In the northern Idaho areas the principal motivating reason for the settlers coming west was to obtain better economic opportunities. Crop failure and drought account for 53 percent of the reasons given. Only 2.6 percent of the settlers signified their desire to get off relief as their reason for coming west. The reasons given are those which the individuals reported in response to an enumerator's question, which may or may not have suggested to them certain types of response.

In the western Washington areas, because of their nearness to large urban areas such as Portland and Seattle, a somewhat different situation exists. Almost one-half of the 156 settlers studied in detail who moved into the rural areas since 1929 gave nonagricultural work as their previous occupation. A large part of this group was doubtless drawn from nearby urban areas. Lack of opportunity elsewhere and availability of cheap land were frequent reasons given by this group. Crop failure and drought were reported as the primary reasons for leaving the Great Plains States. The presence of relatives in the area and availability of cheap land were the most frequent reasons reported for settling in the areas studied. A liking for the local climate was a reason expressed by a number for locating where they did.

In many cases settlement on cut-over land has meant a shift from farm tenancy or laborer status to small-scale farm ownership. Of 150 farm settlers in northern Idaho from whom complete income records were obtained, 37 were farm owners before moving to northern Idaho, 11 were owner-renters, 41 were farm tenants, 16 were farm laborers, and 45 were in nonfarming occupations. Of 138 settlers who have purchased or are purchasing land, 70 were farm tenants or farm laborers in their former locations. On the other hand, of the 12 settlers who are now renting their farms, 3 were farm owners before coming to northern Idaho.

In western Washington approximately one-half of those previously engaged in agricultural occupations had been in a tenant or farm laborer status. In 1939 less than 9 percent of recent settlers were renting farms.

The shifts from renter or laborer to farm ownership have not, however, necessarily involved an improvement in economic status, as farm ownership often consisted only of an equity in an undeveloped, stump-covered farm.

KIND OF FARMS OBTAINED AND LAND-PURCHASE TERMS

The Washington localities typify conditions common to the cut-over Douglas fir region west of the Cascades. Except in the higher mountain areas, most of the timber in this region was logged off more than 30 years ago and land clearing for agriculture has been in progress ever since. The many stumps are large and decay very slowly; agricultural development therefore has been slow. Most farms still have uncleared land within their boundaries, and many extensive areas are in practically the same condition now as when the timber was first removed. In northern Idaho, however, the stumps, mostly pine, are smaller and rot more readily. Clearing is easier and more can be accomplished with limited means. Even here, however, agricultural development has been slow and the land is largely still covered with stumps, brush, and second-growth timber.

Merely because large, numerous stumps occupy a piece of land, it does not follow that such soil is fertile and adapted to the production of cultivated crops. Much commercial timber has been harvested from rough, gravelly soil areas that have little or no value for anything but the continued production of forests. Many settlers who have come from parts of the country where vegetation is sparse are misled by such profuse growths of vegetative matter as occur in western Washington into the belief that the soil must necessarily be equally productive for cultivated plants.

The truth is that there is little correlation between native vegetative growth and soil quality, and soil types vary remarkably and change rapidly from good to poor quality in short distances. Because of the relatively small amount of growing season precipitation, a soil retentive of moisture is necessary for successful farming. While there are yet many acres of good farm land uncleared, there are likewise many acres of poor, unproductive soil. Proper selection of land is one of the most important considerations for the prospective settler who contemplates hewing a farm out of timber or stump land.

Western Washington.—Most of the settlers who moved into the areas studied obtained tracts of land having from 20 to 45 acres of stump, brush, and second-growth timberland. Approximately 65 percent of the families who had settled in the areas since 1929 and from whom detailed information was obtained had secured farms with less than 3 acres cleared at time of settlement. About 30 percent of the farms had from 3 to 30 acres cleared at time of settlement, and only 5 percent had more than 30 acres cleared. Practically all settlers, therefore, are faced with the task of clearing a considerable tract of land if they hope to obtain their entire living from the land they purchased.

Sixty of the group of recent settlers had purchased land on which there were no buildings at time of purchase, though a small amount of clearing may have been done. These 60 land purchases averaged 46 acres per farm at an average purchase price of $15 per acre. There was a wide range in price both between different areas and between farms within the same area. Most purchases were made at from $10 to $30 per acre for cut-over land with no clearing done.

Very few of the settlers paid cash for their land. Most of them purchased on a contract, with from 10 to 20 percent of the purchase price as a down payment, the balance payable in installments over a period usually from 5 to 10 years. The interest rate was 6 percent in most cases, though 4 percent was a common rate in the Yacolt area in Clark County.

Northern Idaho.—The farms on which the settlers located consisted predominantly of undeveloped cut-over land. Many settlers acquired completely raw land, others obtained partly developed farms, and a few purchased or rented more completely developed farms. The soils are predominantly rolling upland types that are subject to erosion unless carefully handled. Because of the original forest cover of these soils, a nitrogen and organic matter deficiency has resulted and farming practices must be followed to build up these constituents and to combat erosion.

From soil and land classification maps of the areas in which the settlers are situated, it has been estimated that for northern Idaho as a whole, only about half of the newly settled land can be classed as good cropland, the other half being of doubtful value for cultivation or definitely nonagricultural. However, the settlers' own estimates that 78 percent of their land is suitable for cultivation may not be overly optimistic since these records were taken in areas which are generally somewhat better than average. It appears probable that in many cases settlers have obtained and are laboriously clearing land of doubtful value.

From reconnaissance land classifications and soil surveys, it is estimated that there are about 600,000 acres of good agricultural land in the upland cut-over areas of northern Idaho. From the 1930 census precinct data and the school survey, it is estimated that there are about 1,000,000 acres in farms in these same areas. These estimates indicate that a considerable body of nonagricultural land is included within present farm boundaries. This leads to the conclusion that there are only very limited amounts of additional good land available for new farm development, exclusive of the undeveloped agricultural land already in farms, and hence emphasizes the importance of careful selection of land before it is developed for agriculture. Possibilities of the migration of farm settlers to northern Idaho are limited not only because of the limited areas of agricultural land available for development but because some of this will be required if rural families already in the area are to become established on farms.

The average size farm obtained by the 150 farm settlers was 98 acres. The acreage of cultivatable cropland was 8 acres per farm with 0.3 additional acre of cleared pasture land. Eighty-three settlers obtained less than 1 acre of cleared land at time of settlement.

Improvements on the farms obtained by the settlers varied widely. Forty-four percent of the 138 settlers purchasing farms obtained entirely uncleared cut-over land with no improvements; 13 percent obtained no cleared land with some improvements; and 43 percent obtained some cleared land and improvements, usually consisting of a 1-room or 2-room house and a barn of frame or log construction. All of the 12 settlers who were renting their farms obtained improvements with their places.

The new settlers paid an average of $880 for their farms, or $10 per acre, although individual purchase prices ranged from $1.50 to $83 per acre, including improvements. Improvements, however, were almost negligible, amounting to an average of only $28 per farm. Only 30 settlers out of the 138 purchasing land paid for their land in full at time of purchase; the remainder made down payments averaging $199 and ranging from $15 to $1,400. One hundred and two of the purchasers bought their land on purchase contracts ranging from 1 to 40 years, averaging 8 years. The most common form of contract called for 10 percent down with 10 years to pay at 6 percent interest. Sixty-six percent of the purchasers obtained farms from other individuals; 21 percent purchased on contract; and 6 percent obtained deeds from lumber companies; and the remainder purchased from banks, the State, and the county. Lumber companies were the principal vendors of the more recently logged-off land, but in previously logged-off areas much of the land was purchased by individuals and held without improvements until sold to new settlers during the past decade.

Few of the purchase contracts contained provisions for compensation for improvements made to property if the settlers were dispossessed, but vendors were reported as having been very fair in this respect. When a new settler purchased a previous settler's contract he usually paid an agreed price for improvements and payments already made, then continued to pay the balance of the contract price to the original vendor.

While the settlers with substantial amounts of cash could have chosen to make relatively large down payments or outright purchase of farms, they tended to make more modest down payments and use the remaining available cash for living and operating expenses. In general, those with the most cash contracted to buy the most expensive farms, but one settler with no cash on arrival contracted to buy a farm for $2,250, giving $125 worth of livestock as down payment.

SOURCES OF FAMILY LIVING

Anyone driving through the cut-over areas would wonder how most of these people make a living at all. Income from an undeveloped cut-over farm is exceedingly meager. The present study reveals a high degree of dependence on nonfarm income by most settlers.

Western Washington.—In the 5 local rural areas surveyed a total of 1,051 families were residents on the land. Some of these farms were merely rural residences with little land and practically no contribution made by the land to family living. Others were full-time farms from which the families obtained all funds used in family living.

Only 26 percent of the total number had no off-the-farm employment or receipts from grants or pensions (table 1). Lumber industries provided employment to 15 percent of the farm operators in varying amounts of 2 to 12 months' employment. Work on nearby farms was a source of employment to about 6 percent of the operators; most of this group obtained from one-half to 4 months of employment. Other public service and private employment of a nonrelief nature furnished employment in various amounts to 17 percent of the operators. Relief work provided employment to 24 percent of all farm families, over 50 percent of this group having from 10 to 12 months' employment in 1938.

TABLE 1.—*Number of farms, with specified amounts of off-the-farm employment, classified by major type of employment, summary of 5 sample areas, western Washington, Apr. 1, 1938, to Mar. 31, 1939*

Number of months of employment	No off-the-farm employment	Nearby farms	Lumber industries [1]	Other private public-service employment [2]	Relief work [3]	Grants and pensions [4]	Combination relief work, pensions, and private jobs	Total
None	270					77		347
Less than 0.5		9	1	10	2			22
0.5 to 1.9		14	6	21	4			45
2.0 to 3.9		15	33	26	10		4	88
4.0 to 5.9		6	21	20	26		4	77
6.0 to 7.9		4	31	18	37		10	100
8.0 to 9.9		5	23	11	23		9	71
10.0 to 12.0		6	41	65	128		24	264
Length of time not reported		2	2	8	23		2	37
Total	270	61	158	179	253	77	53	1,051
Percent of total	26	6	15	17	24	7	5	100

[1] All woodworking enterprises, including logging, fuel cuttings, etc.

[2] All private employment except woodworking, and regular public-service employment, such as road work, postal service, teaching, etc.

[3] Includes Work Projects Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps.

[4] Cash or in kind payments from public funds where no work is performed in return for the consideration

Among the five areas there were some significant variations in employment distribution. For instance, lumber industries provided employment to 30 percent of the operators in one area, and to only 6 percent in another. Private and public service employment other than lumber industries, neighboring farms, and relief work was very uniform from area to area, varying from 15 to 19 percent. Relief work, grants, and pensions probably were residual items; that is, they supplied income where it was unavailable from other sources.

For the settlers from whom detailed records were obtained, the source of funds for family living was significantly different for farms of different sizes and length of settlement. Medium-size and large farms, both old and new, necessitated little if any dependence upon public-relief work. Small farms and nonfarm tracts, on the contrary, averaged from $146 to $277 of income from relief work. All groups of farms had appreciable amounts of income from off-farm work of a nonrelief nature.

The total amount of cash available for family living, not including the value of farm-produced commodities used in the home, averaged about $500 for settlers on all groups of farms except on the larger older farms, the latter averaging nearly $800.

The explanation of this relative uniformity of cash income lies in the source from which these funds were obtained. On the larger and older farms, approximately 65 percent of the net family cash receipts came from the farm itself. The smallest and least developed farm, on the other hand, contributed less cash than was spent for their development, but the families received more than half of their income from public assistance (Work Projects Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, direct relief, etc.) The farms did, however, contribute materially to family living in noncash items such as food, fuel, and dwelling.

There were significant differences between new and old farms as to the amount of public-relief assistance received by families residing on these farms. Over 82 percent of the families residing on farms established prior to 1930 were receiving no relief assistance in 1938, compared with only 49 percent on farms established in 1930 or later years. About 33 percent of the farm families on recently established farms were receiving over $500 per year from public assistance. This greater dependence on the part of more recent settlers is associated with smaller farms, less cleared land, fewer livestock, and perhaps lack of opportunity for outside employment because of recently established residence in the communities.

Northern Idaho.—For the year 1938 the total family earnings of the 150 farm settlers in northern Idaho averaged $708 per family, including farm perquisites used by the family averaging $189 per farm (table 2). This is the cash or cash equivalent available for the family living and debt repayment from all sources after farm operating expenses, interest payments, and depreciation of building and equipment are deducted. Family earnings ranged from minus $46 to plus

$2,275. Renters and owners renting additional land had larger incomes than owners; their farm earnings were larger, chiefly because of larger crop acreages, and also their earnings from off-farm work.

TABLE 2.—*Average income per farm family from major sources, northern Idaho settlers, 1938*

	Owners	Renters	Owner-renters	Total
Number of settlers	127	12	11	150
Acreage of crops per farm	6.4	33.0	33.0	10.6
Farm receipts [1]	$271	$397	$676	$311
Farm expenses	190	237	432	212
Net farm earnings [1]	81	160	244	99
Off-farm work	296	510	476	330
Public assistance	58	40	0	48
Other off-farm receipts	48	2	8	42
Total family earnings	483	712	728	519

[1] Including crop and livestock inventory increases, but not value of farm perquisites used by family.

Receipts from off-farm work, public assistance, and other off-farm sources amounted on the average to more than one-half of the total family income. In other words, off-farm sources of income were more important to the average settler than the net receipts from his farm, even considering the value of farm products, including dwelling and fuel supply, used by the family. There was wide variation between different farms in the amount of off-farm income.

Public assistance, including Work Projects Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and National Youth Administration employment and direct relief, was not as large on the average as many might expect, only $46 per farm. Thirty-two families, or 21 percent, received income from these sources, amounting to $227 per family receiving it.

FARM ORGANIZATION AND INCOME

Western Washington.—For purposes of analysis and comparison, the farms on which detailed information was obtained were divided into groups according to the length of time the farm had been developed, irrespective of the length of occupancy by the present settlers, and by size of operation, as follows:

Group A: Farms in operation prior to 1930 having less than 100 P. M. W. U.[2] in 1938.

Group B: Farms in operation prior to 1930 having from 100 to 199 P. M. W. U. in 1938.

Group C: Farms in operation prior to 1930 having 200 or more P. M. W. U. in 1938.

Group D: Nonfarm tracts, those occupied pieces of land on which none of the following conditions are exceeded: 3 acres of cleared land, 25 P. M. W. U. of crops and livestock, or $250 gross value of farm production, including value of farm products used in the home. Where any of these conditions are exceeded the operation is considered a farm and is included in some other grouping. Length of development is not considered in this grouping.

Group E: New farms (developed since 1930)[3] having less than 100 P. M. W. U. in 1938.

Group F: New farms having 100 or more P. M. W. U. in 1938.

The differences between the various groups as to acres in farm, acres of crops, acres of seeded pasture, and numbers of livestock are shown in table 3. Acres of crops and numbers of livestock are the determinants of farm size and therefore are greater on the larger farms. Group D, nonfarm tracts, is composed almost entirely of recent settlers who either have no intention of developing a farm or have had insufficient time or capital to carry on any farm development. This group of settlers is almost entirely dependent upon off-farm employment for their living.

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[2] P. M. W. U=productive man work unit: The amount of work performed during a 10-hour day at average rates of performance on directly productive farm enterprises.

[3] New and old farms are distinguished by the date the farm was placed in operation, rather than the date on which the present operator occupied the farm.

TABLE 3.—*Farm organization by size and type of farm, 5 local areas of western Washington, 1938*

Farm group [1]	Number of farms	Total land in farms	Crop-land	Seeded pasture	Dairy cows	Poultry	Productive animal units [2]
	Number	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*
Group A	56	38.6	7.1	5.8	2.7	34	4.8
Group B	57	82.5	17.8	18.1	5.7	119	12.1
Group C	35	131.2	31.3	36.7	10.6	323	21.5
Group E	58	35.9	3.5	4.0	1.5	58	3.9
Group F	14	68.3	7.1	1.4	4.0	485	14.9
Group D	47	30.2	.7	4.7	.3	10	.7

[1] See pp. 15–16 for definition of farm groups.

[2] Conversion basis: 1 animal unit=1 cow, 2 young cattle, 5 hogs, 7 sheep, or 100 checkens. Productive animal units do not include horses or mules.

Hay for feeding to livestock is by far the most important crop produced. The upland soils upon which most of these farms are established are not well adapted to more intensive crops because of their lack of moisture retention during the relatively dry summer months, although most farms have gardens and many have small patches of berries. With higher prices, these latter crops might be expanded to advantage.

Dairying and poultry are the two most important sources of cash income in the areas.

Very little labor is hired on most farms. In groups C and F, the largest farms, an average of about $60 per farm was expended for hired labor (table 4). The largest item of expense in all farm groups was for feed. This item was probably somewhat larger than usual because the 1938 season had less than normal precipitation, particularly in the Salkum area of Lewis County. Group F had the largest expense of any group, because of the greater number of poultry farms in this group than in any of the others. Much of the hay for feeding dairy cows is raised on western Washington farms, but relatively little grain is produced, necessitating large purchases where poultry is a major farm enterprise.

TABLE 4.—*Farm expenses and farm income, by type and size of farm, five local areas of western Washington, April 1938 to March 1939*

Item	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group E	Group F	Group D
Number of farms	56	57	35	58	14	47
Farm receipts:						
Crops	$19	$34	$91	$17	$3	$1
Livestock	45	160	330	52	248	10
Livestock products	180	588	1,195	144	1,533	4
All other receipts	34	38	28	29	5	20
Total receipts [1]	278	820	1,644	242	1,789	35
Farm expenses:						
Hired labor	15	19	58	5	62	2
Seed and feed	151	340	733	173	978	27
Gas and oil	15	30	49	15	36	2
Taxes and insurance	24	38	62	12	30	6
Buildings and machinery cost [2]	115	204	254	101	158	33
All other expenses	31	85	135	24	45	13
Total expenses	351	716	1,291	330	1,309	83
Family farm income	−73	104	353	−88	480	−49
Farm perquisites:						
Food products	190	198	288	207	196	64
Wood for fuel	35	36	46	35	27	27
Dwelling rental	85	109	132	74	68	33
Total	310	343	466	316	291	124
Family farm earnings	237	447	819	228	771	75

[1] Includes inventory charges.

[2] Includes an allowance for depreciation.

Income to the family from farming operations, after allowing for depreciation of buildings and equipment but not including farm-produced commodities used in the home, was negative in groups A, E, and D—small farms and nonfarm tracts. None of the groups, even those with the larger farms, had large farm incomes. However, when the value of farm-produced commodities used in the home and the rental value of the dwelling is added to family farm income, the earnings from the farm are greater by approximately $150 to $400 for each group. Groups C and F thus have family farm earnings of about $800, which is sufficient to provide these families with a fairly comfortable living, particularly when supplemented by some off-the-farm earnings, as many of them are. Even the nonfarm tracts have a small family farm earning.

Income from these nonfarm tracts and from the small farms is largely potential, however, and must await further development of the farms through clearing and addition of livestock before the families residing on them will be provided with any degree of independence from off-the-farm income.

The relation between size of farm and source of family income from all sources is shown in table 5. There was little if any dependence on relief work for income on the larger farms, because farm income, together with some off-farm work of a nonrelief nature, was sufficient to provide the family with a living. This fact is significant in a consideration of the advisability of extending public assistance for land-clearing operations.

TABLE 5.—*Source of funds used for farm operation and family living, farms of five local areas in western Washington, classified by size and type, Apr. 1, 1938 to Mar. 31, 1939*

Item	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group E	Group F	Group D
Number of farms	56	57	35	58	14	47
Gross cash income	$296	$938	$1,695	$258	$1,793	$29
Cash farm expenses	321	724	1,212	349	1,537	106
Net cash farm income	−25	214	483	−91	256	−77
Off-farm employment:						
Public assistance	146	33		277		250
Private and nonemergency public	223	195	177	246	137	225
Pensions and cash relief	64	1	18	32		80
All other income	54	43	82	52	8	32
Net additions from borrowing and cash reserves after interest and indebtedness payments	−23	30	18	−42	93	−15
Net available for family living	439	516	778	474	494	495

Northern Idaho.—In 1938 the new settler farms contained an average of 16.2 acres of cleared land, of which 10.6 acres were in crops, exclusive of cultivated pasture, summer fallow, and new seedlings from which no returns were obtained. Of the several crops grown, alfalfa hay utilized 38 percent of the total crop acreage. Crops per farm and their per acre yields were as follows: Alfalfa hay, 4 acres, 1.6 tons; grain hay 2.1 acres, 0.9 ton; wheat 1.8 acres, 8.6 bushels; other hay 0.7 acre, 0.9 ton; oats 0.6 acre, 11.5 bushels; and potatoes 0.4 acre, 32.8 bushels. The production of other crops utilized an average of one acre per farm. These usually consisted of barley, berries, orchards, miscellaneous truck crops and from one-eighth acre to 1 acre of garden for home use.

The low average crop yields obtained are caused in part, no doubt, by the planting of crops on raw land and by inexperience of the new settlers, but it is believed that they also reflect the fact that many of the settlers have located on poor land that is not suited to agricultural use and that will not produce satisfactory crop yields.

Receipts from farm products sold or on hand at the end of the year totaled $311 per farm (table 6), of which livestock and livestock products amounted to $150, wood products $99, and crops $62. In addition, the farm products used by the family, including an estimated rental value of the dwelling and of the fuel used, amounted to $189 per farm. These are not net amounts available for family living and debt paying, however, since most of the farm expenses of $212 per farm are chargeable to them.

TABLE 6.—*Average farm receipts and expenses per farm in 1938 of settlers in northern Idaho*

	Owners	Renters	Owner-renters	Total
Number of settlers	127	12	11	150
Receipts:				
Crops sales	$9	$22	$54	$13
Crops on hand end of year	35	94	152	49
Livestock products	67	109	206	81
Livestock net increase	58	85	174	69
Wood products	102	87	90	99
Total receipts	271	397	676	311
Farm expenses:				
Labor	11	5	4	10
Feed and seed	74	81	142	80
Automobile and truck	40	49	74	43
Hauling and machine work	13	32	40	16
Taxes	14	0	27	14
Interest	15	1	43	16
Depreciation	14	17	37	16
Rent	0	32	47	6
Other	9	20	18	11
Total farm expenses	190	237	432	212
Family farm income [1]	81	160	244	99
Value of farm products used	171	302	250	189
Family farm earnings	252	462	494	288

[1] Includes ending crop inventory and livestock inventory increases.

Feed and seed purchased amounted to $80 of the $212 total expenses per farm. Automobile and truck expense was the next largest item, $43 per farm. This was for the expense chargeable to the farm business and does not include the personal or pleasure use of automobiles by the family. Very little labor was hired, only $10 work per farm on the average, and taxes and interest payments were low, $14 and $16 per farm, respectively.

Besides cash receipts, many settlers increased their crop and livestock inventories from $10 to $250. The majority were also clearing land and making other improvements to their farms. Products from the farm, important noncash items in the family living, were valued at $200 to $300 for most groups of farms. The farms with little or no clared land produced much less than this, while the larger and older farms supplied the family with a larger share of their living.

Of 127 settlers who owned or were purchasing their farms, 99 had less than 10.0 acres of crops, 18 had 10.0 to 19.9 acres, and only 10 had 20 or more acres (table 7). The settlers with 20 acres or more of crops had larger family incomes and had increased their net worth more rapidly than those with smaller farms, despite the fact that the settlers on the smaller farms had more off-farm work and received more public assistance. The settlers with more than 20 acres of crops received a larger income, chiefly from their farms, than the average settler received from all sources.

TABLE 7.—*Relation of crop acreage to income and progress of settlers in northern Idaho (127 owners)*

Item	Unit	Acres of crops			
		Under 10.0	10.0–19.9	20.0 and over	All
Number of settlers	Number	99.0	18.0	10.0	127.0
Crop acreage per farm	Acre	2.9	13.7	28.0	6.4
Average period of settlement	Month	40.0	51.0	57.0	43.0
Receipts:					
Crops and livestock	Dollar	95.0	267.0	644.0	169.0
Wood products	do	119.0	51.0	114.0	102.0
Off-farm work	do	310.0	311.0	134.0	296.0
Public assistance	do	62.0	46.0	31.0	58.0
Other	do	53.0	52.0	0.0	48.0
Total receipts	do	639.0	727.0	923.0	673.0
Total farm expenses	do	178.0	191.0	308.0	190.0
Net cash family income [1]	do	461.0	536.0	615.0	483.0
Value of farm products used	do	160.0	214.0	217.0	171.0
Total family earnings	do	621.0	750.0	832.0	654.0
Total increase in net worth	do	494.0	750.0	1,390.0	600.0
Annual increase in net worth	do	148.0	176.0	293.0	168.0
Land cleared in 1938	Acre	1.6	2.9	3.0	2.0

[1] Includes ending crop inventory and livestock inventory increase.

FINANCIAL POSITION AND PROGRESS

Western Washington.—Families who settled between 1930 and 1938 in the areas studied in western Washington had for the most part relatively small resources. Almost 32 percent of 152 families had a net worth at time of settlement of less than $500; an additional 28 percent had net worths of $500 to $1,500; about 35 percent had between $1,500 and $5,000; and only 4.6 percent had net worths of over $5,000 (table 8).

TABLE 8.—*Distribution of recent settlers by net worth at time of settlement and on Mar. 31, 1939*

Net worth (dollars)	Western Washington [1]				Northern Idaho			
	At time of settlement		Mar. 31, 1939		At time of settlement		Mar. 31, 1939	
	Number of farms	Percent	Number of farms	Percent	Number of farms	Percent	Number of farms	Percent
Less than 0			3	2.0	7	4.7	2	1.3
0 to 99	10	6.6	1	.7	9	6.0	1	.7
100 to 249	14	9.2	8	5.3	17	11.3	6	4.0
250 to 499	24	15.8	7	4.6	21	14.0	16	10.7
500 to 999	23	15.1	18	11.8	39	26.0	23	15.3
1,000 to 1,499	20	13.1	17	11.2	27	18.0	38	25.3
1,500 to 2,499	27	17.8	27	17.8	23	15.3	45	30.0
2,500 to 4,999	27	17.8	44	28.9	4	2.7	15	10.0
5,000 to 9,999	6	3.9	20	13.1	3	2.0	4	2.7
10,000 and over	1	.7	7	4.6	0	0	0	0
All farms	152	100.0	152	100.0	150	100.0	150	100.0

[1] Settlers who moved into the areas in 1930 and later years.

The financial statement as of March 31, 1939, as given by the settlers indicates that most of them have made some improvement, though a few sustained losses. Only 13 percent reported a net worth less than $500. About 47 percent reported a net worth over $2,500, compared with only 21 percent in that category at time of settlement. This comparison is apt to be misleading, however, as there was apparently a tendency to value land and buildings higher than the original purchase price, even though no improvements had been made. This is a reflection of optimism coupled with a natural belief on the part of most people that they obtain a bargain when they make a purchase.

It is extremely difficult to measure land values under any circumstances, and when the original purchase includes buildings and improvements (as many of them did) the task of measuring change in value becomes almost impossible. Perhaps a more realistic indication of progress is the change in financial position from the beginning to the end of the most recent year of record, rather than from date of settlement to the present time. Land values are then held constant, except for actual land clearing, and buildings are valued the same at the beginning and end of the period less a depreciation charge for 1 year based on the probable length of life of the improvements. Such a comparison indicates that the group of old farms included in the survey had a small loss in net worth from April 1, 1938, to March 31, 1939, averaging $48 per farm. The new farms and nonfarm tracts had an increase in net worth of $96 per farm, which represents a small amount of land clearing and some improvement to buildings and equipment. Occupants of old farms (those established prior to 1930) did little clearing, and the loss probably represents in large part depreciation of buildings. Income was apparently just about sufficient to offset expenses of farm operation and family living. Wide variations occur, of course, between farms of different sizes and between individuals with varying opportunities for off-farm employment.

The various types of assets and their amounts and the amount of liabilities at time of settlement and on March 31, 1939, are shown in table 9 for those 119 settlers who moved onto land that had little or no land clearing prior to the time of settlement, though many such tracts included buildings constructed by previous occupants. A number of recent settlers who acquired previously developed farms had a somewhat better financial situation than those who acquired undeveloped lands.

TABLE 9.—*Average assets and liabilities of 119 recent settlers on new land at time of settlement and on Mar. 31, 1939, 5 local areas of western Washington*

Item	At time of settlement	On Mar. 31, 1939	Item	At time of settlement	On Mar. 31, 1939
Assets:	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	Liabilities:	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
Land	94	901	Mortgages, liens, notes	57	288
Buildings and machinery	157	1,146	Accounts payable	9	92
Livestock	62	229	Delinquent interest and taxes	1	8
Other farm property	23	7	Other liabilities	1	1
Total farm property	336	2,283			
Household goods	152	253	Total liabilities	68	389
Cash and accounts receivable	572	149	Net worth	1,348	2,466
All other assets	356	170			
Total assets	1,416	2,855			

The most important asset at time of settlement was cash, which averaged $572 for all settlers. Total farm property at time of settlement before purchase of land (except for a few who acquired their land several years before settlemeent) was valued at $336, about one-half of which was farm machinery and equipment. Liabilities amounted to $68 and total assets were valued at $1,416, leaving a net worth at time of settlement of $1,348.

By the end of March 1939 the average net worth of these settlers had increased to $2,466, an increase of $1,118, though there was a wide variation, depending upon the length of settlement, available opportunities for employment, and many other factors. Farm assets were 81 percent of total assets in March 1939, but only 24 percent at time of settlement. The value of household goods had increased by $100, but cash, accounts receivable, and other nonfarm assets had decreased from $928 to $319. In other words, the settlers had converted their liquid assets into acquirement of farm property. Liabilities increased over $300, most of which represented land-purchase contracts or mortgages.

Northern Idaho.—The settlers had widely varying resources when they arrived in northern Idaho to begin their new venture. Their net worths averaged $934 (table 10), but ranged from minus $1,950 to plus $6,450. The assets which the settlers brought with them consisted of machinery and equipment, automobiles, livestock and poultry, household goods, and cash, with a scattering of miscellaneous items ranging from wheat allotments and agricultural conservation benefit payments to paid-up insurance policies. Of their $1,094 average total assets, $489, or nearly half, was reported as cash. Only 12 settlers, or 8 percent, reported no cash at time of settlement, while one man had $5,000 cash. Fifty-two settlers, or 35 percent, reported that they had $500 or more when they arrived in Idaho to settle.

TABLE 10.—*Average resources of settlers at time of settlement*[1] *and in December 1938*

	At time of settlement	December 1938		At time of settlement	December 1938
Number of settlers	150	150	Liabilities:		
			Land contract	0	$359
Assets:			Federal land-bank loans	$37	40
Real property	$37	$1,242	F. S. A. loans	4	30
Livestock and poultry	114	278	Feed and seed loans	57	58
Crops	0	53	Doctor and hospital bills	30	37
Machinery and equipment	122	215	Other bills	2	27
Automobile	132	104	Other liabilities	30	89
Household goods	132	173	Total liabilities	160	640
Cash	489	45			
Other assets	68	63	Net worth	934	1,533
Total assets	1,094	2,173			

[1] Prior to acquisition of land in northern Idaho.

Liabilities averaged $160 per settler, consisting of feed and seed loans, a few mortgages, and various miscellaneous obligations.

Many settlers shipped tools and livestock in immigrant cars or brought them out on their farm trucks or trailers. However, the kind of farm machinery that was well adapted to use in the Plains States is generally poorly adapted to the small-scale type of farming practiced on the cut-over lands of northern Idaho. Those who shipped livestock fared better, since the livestock found a ready market in the area or was capable of producing income on the farms, whereas machinery was often difficult to dispose of or to put to advantageous use on the small fields usually found on the cut-over farms.

As of the close of 1938, the settlers had increased their net worth by an average of $599 since settlement, or at the rate of $172 per year (table 10). The increase is represented principally by farm improvements, livestock, and crop inventories, and machinery and equipment.

It was estimated that the settlers purchasing farms had increased the value of their farms $470, of which two-thirds was from increased value of improvements and one-third from increased value of land through clearing. Ninety-six percent of them reported having made improvements on their places at an average cash cost of $172. Of these, 7 percent had spent $500 or more cash, and 51 percent had spent less than $100 cash. Cash costs of building are relatively small where logs and sawmills are numerous. Settlers may haul logs from saw timber on their places, have it sawed and pay for the sawing by hauling additional logs.

Settlers purchasing land had a 55-percent equity in their farms in 1936. Thirty-four percent had a 100-percent equity, an increase of 12 percent over those who paid all cash at the time of purchase. The average balance due on farm purchase price was $398 per farm. Twenty-two percent of the settlers reported difficulty in meeting their payments.

Commercial bank loans averaged $49 per settler, while loans from the Farm Security Administration amounted to only $30 per settler. Most of the settlers were not eligible for Farm Security loans, because of inadequate farm units.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Living conditions on these cut-over areas are generally poor, though there is an abundance of wood and water—factors of importance in the minds of many settlers from drier regions. The typical dwelling is a frame, rough board or log structure with three or four rooms, unpainted, an unfinished interior, and a shake roof. The number of rooms per person was 1.1 for recent settlers in western Washington and 0.8 in northern Idaho.

In western Washington, 21 percent of recent settlers (since 1929) had running water in the house and 11 percent had indoor toilets. Percentages of settlers with other home conveniences were as follows: Electric lights, 52 percent; electric refrigerators, 11 percent; electric stoves, 3 percent; radios, 72 percent; telephones, 3 percent; washing machines, 50 percent; and furnaces, 2 percent.

In northern Idaho home conveniences were listed in the following order: Sewing machines, 66 percent; radios, 47 percent; washing mhchines, 47 percent; electricity, 38 percent; running water in house, 9 percent; baths, 2 percent; and telephone, 2 percent. Sources of domestic water were: Wells, 40 percent; hauling from elsewhere, 33 percent; and springs, 27 percent. Only 69 percent of the settlers had automobiles.

PROGRESS IN LAND CLEARING

Western Washington.—Much of the upland areas on which most settlement is taking place was originally covered with a dense forest, largely Douglas fir. Many of the stumps remaining are from 6 to 8 or more feet in diameter and are extremely difficult and expensive to remove. These stumps decay very slowly so that little is gained by waiting, although many settlers clear the brush from between the stumps and use stump land for pasture, or clear the smaller stumps out and plow around the larger ones. However, this practice is inefficient where machines are utilized in farming.

Clearing has progressed slowly on most farms, not only on recently established farms but on the older farms as well. Almost 30 percent of farms occupied by the present families since before 1920 have had less than 5 acres cleared since settlement by the present occupants (table 11). Almost 50 percent of that group had cleared 10 acres or more. With shorter lengths of settlement the amount cleared was less and less. Over 50 percent of those settled from 1932 to 1935, for instance, have cleared less than 2 acres since settlement, and 80 percent of those settled from 1936 to 1938 cleared less than 2 acres.

TABLE 11.—*Percentage of farms settled at various periods, having specified amounts of land cleared since settlement, all farms in five local areas of western Washington, 1939*

Land cleared since settlement by present occupant	All farms	Farms settled by present occupant				
		Before 1920	1920 to 1927	1928 to 1931	1932 to 1935	1936 to 1938
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
None	25.2	2.9	11.2	14.1	21.4	49.9
0.1 to 1.9 acres	22.5	4.0	13.7	26.6	30.1	30.8
2.0 to 4.9 acres	23.0	22.0	30.4	25.0	31.7	13.8
5.0 to 9.9 acres	13.2	22.5	20.8	17.2	11.2	4.0
10.0 to 19.9 acres	10.2	27.8	15.7	14.8	3.6	.6
20.0 to 39.9 acres	4.5	15.6	6.1	2.3	1.5	.6
40.0 or more acres	1.4	5.2	2.1	----------	.5	.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of farms	1,048	173	197	128	196	354.0

With greater length of settlement more acreage was cleared, but the process has been exceedingly slow. The modal rate of clearing was from one-quarter to three-quarters of an acre per year. Fewer than 30 percent had cleared more than an acre a year, and only 2 recent settlers out of 156 had succeeded in clearing 5 or more acres annually. At the modal rate of clearing it would take about 40 years to clear 20 acres of land.

A number of the settlers obtained some land already cleared, so the total acreage cleared in the areas is more than that indicated in table 11, though not much more. Of the 1,051 farms occupied in the five areas studied, 87 percent were larger than 10 acres in size and 70 percent were larger than 20 acres. However, 32 percent of the total number of farms occupied had less than 2 acres cleared in 1939; 57 percent had less than 5 acres cleared; and 75 percent had less than 10 acres cleared. It is obvious, therefore, that relatively few farms have enough cleared acreage for a full-time farm, and at the present and past rates of clearing, few of the present occupants will ever have enough cleared acres for a full-time farming operation, assuming that the land selected for clearing is sufficiently productive. Most settlers on these lands must of necessity continue to depend upon off-farm sources of income, or they must find some way of speeding up the clearing rate if they can look forward to having sufficient cleared land within a reasonable length of time.

Northern Idaho.—The settlers' progress in farm development has been slow. The average increase in cultivable land since settlement was 6 acres, or 1.7 acres a year (table 12). At this average annual increase, over 11 years would be required to have a farm with 20 acres of cleared land, and the estimated average potential cropland of 70 acres would require 47 years to clear. Twenty-two percent of the settlers had no increase in cleared land; 29 percent had a total increase of 0.1 to 2.9 acres; and 49 percent had 3 acres or more.

TABLE 12.—*Type and value of land and improvements in January 1939 of farms of northern Idaho settlers*

	Unit	Owners	Renters	Owner-renters [1]	Total [1]
Number of settlers	Number	127	12	11	150
Average per farm:					
Crops	Acre	6.4	33.0	33.0	10.6
Other cropland [2]	do	2.6	1.0	10.0	3.4
Cleared pasture (seeded)	do	2.4	1.2	.3	2.2
Uncleared pasture	do	45.9	66.9	72.9	49.6
Other land	do	32.7	23.9	39.8	32.2
Total farm area	do	90	126	156	98
Land cleared since settlement, per farm	do	5.0	[3] 1.0	13.0	6.0
Average period of settlement	Month	43.0	23.0	41.0	42.0
Annual rate of clearing	Acre	1.4	.5	3.6	1.7
Value of land and improvements per farm	Dollar	1,265.0	--------	2,330.0	1,350.0
Value per acre	do	14.0	--------	22.0	15.0
Increased value of farm since settlement	do	444.0	--------	763.0	470.0
Value of improvements per farm	do	301.0	--------	566.0	322.0
Increased value of improvements since settlement	do	258.0	--------	450.0	294.0

[1] Value of land and improvements only for land owned or under purchase by settlers, including 107 acres per farm for owner-renters.

[2] Fallow, new seeding, etc.

[3] 3 renters cleared land—1 as payment of rent, 1 who must clear a specified amount in order to purchase, and 1 who cleared while purchasing, then discontinued his contract and rented the farm.

The settlers with 20 or more crop acres cleared an average of 3 acres of land each in 1938 as compared with 1.6 acres for those with less than 10 acres, which doubtless was made possible at least partly by the larger incomes received from the larger farms. The settler with insufficient crop acreage not only receives a smaller income for his living but is handicapped by his lack of income in clearing additional land with which to increase his income.

NEED FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN LAND CLEARING

Comparatively few of the present settlers will ever live to see their farms fully improved, unless some means is worked out for more rapid clearing than settlers have been able to attain thus far.

The rehabilitation of these settlers as self-supporting farmers depends on increasing their ability to clear land. The use of large machinery for land clearing has not materially helped the new settlers because they cannot pay cash for clearing. The Farm Security Administration has made loans in northern Idaho for the purchase of blasting powder and has financed a cooperative machine-clearing association in one county in western Washington with apparent good results, but the scope of these measures has been very limited thus far.

Relatively little clearing can be done by the farmer and his family without expensive machinery. Recent years have witnessed the development of machine methods of clearing land with resulting material reduction in costs. Studies of clearing costs indicate that western Washington cut-over land can be cleared by machines at a cash cost of $20 to $80 an acre, depending on the density, size, and age of stumps. Machine clearing, however, requires a cash outlay which most settlers are unable to afford. Consequently they either clear not at all, or use old-fashioned methods requiring little cash but much labor and gradually work the stumps out of a half-acre or so a year.

Long-term credit for the purposes of clearing land and providing livestock with the provision for no payment of principal or interest during the first 4 or 5 years would appear to be essential for developing a successful farm. Extension of credit in varying amounts from year to year as needed, with increasing rather than decreasing total amounts of debt assumed up to the time when the farm is large enough to be considered an economic unit, points toward a budget type of loan running over several years under supervision such as that provided by the Farm Security Administration. It may be that arrangements of the character now used to develop land under Government reclamation projects should be applied to finance clearing in cut-over areas.

A more general program for Government aid in clearing land, with a repayment plan similar to that now in effect for irrigation projects, would place the settler on cut-over lands in a very much more favorable position than he now is. At least it should permit substitution of income from farming for income now received from public assistance.

EXPERIENCE, SITUATION, AND PROSPECTS OF MIGRANTS RESETTLED ON NEWLY IRRIGATED LANDS

By CARL P. HEISIG, Agricultural Economist, and MARION CLAWSON, Principal Agricultural Economist

Widespread opportunities for settlement on irrigation projects have existed in many areas of the West. Recently settlement opportunities on such projects have become less numerous because of previous development of most of the easily accessible irrigable land, although important additions to irrigation agriculture have been made. Now under construction are such developments as the Black Canyon project in Idaho, the Roza Division of the Yakima project and the Grand Coulee project in the State of Washington, and the East Mesa unit of the Imperial Valley project in California. These and other developments will offer additional opportunity to misplaced farmers in the far West and for rural migrants from other regions.

Aside from other considerations of reclamation as a national policy or the impact of such developments upon the agriculture of older established farming areas, these projects offer problems of public policy directly concerned with settlers. Newly irrigated lands are one of the means for accommodating part of the influx of migrants. Therefore, an appraisal of the opportunities offered, the problems encountered by settlers in the development of a new farm, the financial needs during early years of settlement, and prospects for eventual success are of primary concern to many public agencies, other interested parties, and the settlers themselves.

When irrigation water is brought to raw land, a long series of complex and interrelated changes is started. The changes which occur affect the land, the farm as a business enterprise, the farmer as an income producer, the family as a social group, and the community as a whole. There is presented here an analysis of these changes and the problems they cause on the Vale and Owyhee projects in northeastern Malheur County, Oreg., where more than 1,000 new farms have been established since 1930; more than 700 of these started in the 3 years—1936, 1937, and 1938. This area is located in eastern Oregon near the Snake River, which forms the boundary between Oregon and Idaho.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LIVING

Most of the settlers surveyed came from the Western States, although substantial numbers were from the Great Plains. For the most part, the settlers operating farms are middle-aged, over half of them being from 35 to 54 years old. About 15 percent were less than 35 years old, and over 20 percent were in excess of 55 years. Over 75 percent of all settlers were in agriculture before settlement and about 90 percent had some previous agricultural experience.

Although the majority of the new settlers were making substantial additions to their net worth, most of them were hard-pressed for cash and compelled to live at low levels. Houses were generally small and cheap, poorly constructed, and equipped with few conveniences. Overcrowding of dwelling space was common. Settlers who were borrowing funds from the Farm Security Administration, about half of the total number of new settlers, spent an average of $425 for family living during 1938 (table 1).

TABLE 1.—*Scale of family living, Farm Security Administration and non-Farm Security Administration farmers in new project areas and farmers in older districts, Vale-Ontario area, Malheur County, Oreg., 1938*

Item	Farm Security Administration clients in new project areas	Non-Farm Security Administration farmers in new project areas	Farmers in older irrigation districts
Number of families	40	49	33
Number persons per family	4.7	4.8	4.2
	Dollars per family	*Dollars per family*	*Dollars per family*
Cash expenditures in 1938 for:			
Food	194	227	279
Clothing	67	105	122
Household operation	20	24	20
Personal	61	72	88
Medical	37	50	78
Housing	22	25	84
Auto	16	19	47
All other	9	19	80
Total family living	426	541	798
Life insurance premiums	17	11	49
Value of automobile [1]	142	200	327
Value of dwelling	398	686	1,640
	Number	*Number*	*Number*
Rooms in dwelling	2.6	3.4	5.1

[1] Includes pick-up truck where no automobile is owned.

Dwellings of these settlers were valued at an average of $398, with 2.6 rooms to accommodate an average family of 4.7 persons. The average settler not borrowing from the Farm Security Administration spent $540 cash for family living and had a house valued at $686, containing 3.4 rooms for 4.8 persons. Major items of equipment for family comfort and convenience, such as electric refrigerators, running water, indoor toilets, and furnaces were almost unknown among the very recent settlers, but increased in frequency with added length of settlement. In most cases houses were added to or improved as length of settlement increased and income permitted.

Notwithstanding the prevailing low levels of living, optimism and few complaints typified the new settlers included in this survey, for they looked forward to the time when they could enjoy incomes like those of the older settlers. Farmers in the nearby older irrigation districts spent an average of $798 for family living, even though the families were somewhat smaller (4.2 persons) than new settler families. Expenditure per person was slightly more than twice as great as for the Farm Security Administration clients in the new districts. As the families were settled longer, the amount spent for family living became greater (table 2). Expenditures for family living exceeded $600 for 75 percent of the farm families in the older irrigation districts, for 33 percent of the non-Farm Security Administration families in the new areas, but for only 17 percent of the Farm Security Administration families in the new districts. In addition to cash expenditures, farm-produced commodities added materially to the family living. Expenditure for family living was closely related to net farm income, which in turn was dominated by length of settlement.

TABLE 2.—*Cash spent for family living and value of farm perquisities, Farmers classified by settler type and length of time on farm, Vale-Ontario area, Malheur County, Oreg., 1938*

	Farms	Cash spent for family living	Value of farm perquisites		Total value of farm family living
			Food production	Dwelling [1]	
Farm Security Administration clients:	*Number*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
On farm 1 year	8	361	272	38	671
On farm 2 years	20	332	271	39	642
On farm 3-4 years	5	529	228	39	796
On farm 5 years or more	7	693	310	87	1,090
All farms	40	426	273	48	747
Non-Farm Security Administration farmers:					
On farm 1 year	15	426	204	45	675
On farm 2 years	13	522	286	80	888
On farm 3-4 years	10	468	239	65	772
On farm 5 years or more	11	784	403	129	1,316
All farms	49	541	278	80	899
Farmers in older districts: All farms	33	798	304	165	1,267

[1] Calculated rental value of dwelling based on depreciation, repairs, and interest costs, which approximate 10 percent of the value of dwelling.

Prospects for future improvement in living conditions, however, can not disguise the prevalence of poverty and hardship during the development period of the new farms. The numerous families who had less than $400 to spend on family living, and more particularly those with less than $300, were in many cases inadequately supplied with goods and services necessary for health and decent living. Nearly two-thirds of the Farm Security Administration clients were living below the levels of expenditure established by that agency as minimum for the maintenance of health (table 3).

TABLE 3.—*Cash expenditures and adequacy of family living in Vale-Owyhee areas, 1938*

Cash expenditures in 1935 for family living	Farm Security Administration clients in new project areas					Non-Farm Security Administration farmers in new project areas				
	Number	Average size of family	Average spent per family	Adequate [1]	Percent adequate	Number	Average size of family	Average spent per family	Adequate [1]	Percent adequate
	Number	*Number*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Number*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Percent*
$150-$199	4	4.5	187	450	42	2	2.5	162	250	65
$200-$299	12	4.5	259	450	58	6	2.7	236	270	87
$300-$499	9	4.2	368	420	88	17	4.4	369	440	84
$450-$599	8	4.9	513	490	105	8	5.4	498	540	92
$600 and over	7	5.6	821	560	146	16	6.0	906	600	151
Total	40	4.7	430	470	92	49	4.8	541	480	113

[1] Based on Farm Security Administration estimates of $100 per year per person.

It would have been possible to have improved the level of living to the minimum acceptable standard of Farm Security Administration by extension of more credit to settlers so that the increases in net worth could have been translated into cash and thus made available for family living.

FARM INCOME BY LENGTH OF SETTLEMENT

Length of settlement was the predominant factor affecting size of farm income in 1938. Farm incomes vary in direct proportion to the number of years of development. Farms operated for one crop year, because of their relatively small acreage in crops, low yields, and small number of livestock, had a family farm income[1] of only $130 (table 4). Farms operated for two crop years increased their family farm income to $310. The additional 11 acres in crops, 3 extra animal units, and slightly increased crop yields were all factors in this larger income. Farms in operation 3 or 4 crop years secured a much larger family farm income—$944 on the average. Crop acreage had increased by 12 acres; livestock numbers were 50 percent larger; and crop yields were 28 percent higher than on the farms in operation 2 crop years. Family farm income of $1,357 was reported by those farms in operation 5 to 7 crop years. Again, more crop acres, more livestock, and higher yields were responsible for the increase. Farms in operation 8 or more years reported no larger incomes than those in operation 5 to 7 years. Approximately full development apparently was reached about the sixth crop year after settlement. This proportionate variation of farm income is consistent with the growth of farm size and farm experience. It is not believed, however, that this relationship is dependent in any way on differences in kinds of land available to early and late settlers. These projects were opened up by divisions as water was made available, and there is no evidence that the last divisions opened for settlement were any more or less productive than the first.

TABLE 4.—*Relationship of number of crop years on present farm to income, organization, and efficiency factors, Vale-Ontario area, Malheur County, Oreg., 1938*[1] *(average per farm)*

Number of crop years on present farm	Farms	Full-time man workers	Crop years on farm	Crop acres	Productive animal units	Productive man work units		Crop yield index	Gross farm receipts	Family farm income	
						Per farm	Per worker			Per farm	Per crop acre
Vale and Owyhee projects:	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
1	23	1.3	1.0	43.8	8.2	150	112	87.5	855	130	2.99
2	33	1.2	2.0	55.3	11.0	188	159	91.9	962	310	5.61
3 to 4	15	1.4	3.5	67.5	16.8	254	176	107.2	1,723	944	13.99
5 to 7	13	1.5	5.3	74.0	27.2	314	216	109.9	2,883	1,357	18.34
8 or more	5	1.6	10.4	73.8	36.9	375	228	121.9	2,705	1,322	17.91
All farms	89	1.3	3.0	58.2	15.1	218	164	97.7	1,441	560	9.62
Older irrigation districts: All farms	33	1.7	10.2	68.9	29.2	296	180	131.5	2,267	937	13.60

[1] Income calculations do not include a deduction for irrigation-construction charges. These construction assessments, which are essentially an addition to capital investment, would reduce the amount available for family living.

Average farm income for all farms surveyed was rather low. Yet if one considers only farms in operation 5 or more years, family farm income was fairly high, averaging approximately $1,300 return to the farm operator and family for labor and interest on investment. The average farmer had little capital, and yet these incomes compare well with those received in older good-farming areas. The increased income secured by the older settlers was doubtless responsible for a good share of the high hopes held by the new settlers. Settlers on the older irrigated lands in the same vicinity obtained a family farm income of $937, but they were paying construction assessments and higher taxes than the newer settlers.

Within groups of settlers who have operated for the same number of crop years, the most important determinants of farm income were size of operation and type of farm. Farms of the same age and size had important differences in the 1938 farm family incomes owing to differences in type of farm. Sugar beets were the most profitable crop grown on a large acreage. Grain farms had the lowest incomes of any group. Many of these farms were very new, but, even when comparisons are made for farms of the same age, grain farms made a poor showing. Livestock farms produced more income than did crop farms of the same acreage and age, because they offered a greater opportunity for profitable farm employment, a better market outlet for farm-raised feed, and better opportunity for sustained fertility. Livestock farms in operation 3 or more years averaged more than $4 higher farm family incomes per crop acre than crop farms of similar length of settlement.

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[1] Family farm income is gross farm receipts (including inventory increases of crops and livestock) minus farm expenses (including depreciation on buildings and equipment and inventory decreases, but not including irrigation construction charges, interest payments, or unpaid family labor). It is the amount available to the operator and family for their own labor and for interest on investment, from which can be paid family living expenses, interest payments, and capital investment or savings. It does not include the value of farm products used in the home.

Cash difficulties.—Family farm income may be misleading in areas of new settlement. The average Farm Security Administration client on a farm for the first crop year had a family farm income of $106; if estimated increases in value of land are added to his family farm income, his total income was $697; yet he spent $892 more in cash on his farm than he received in cash, and in addition he had to support his family. These differences are due to the fact that large investments of cash must be made in early years of settlement, and the necessity for building up inventories of livestock and feed reduces the cash income.

The average Farm Security Administration client who was on his farm for the first crop year borrowed over 40 percent of the total cash which was available to him in 1938 (table 5). The average Farm Security Administration client who was on his farm the second year borrowed over 20 percent of his available funds. These borrowings were necessary in order that he might improve his farm. The non-Farm Security Administration farmer borrowed some money but financed most of his investments by expending the cash he had on hand. Cash from farming operations was less than half the total cash available for farmers operating for the first crop year, but by the third crop year cash farm income was the source of over four-fifths of the cash available.

TABLE 5.—*Source of funds used for all purposes during 1938, Farm Security Administration and non-Farm Security Administration farmers classified by number of crop years on present farm, Vale-Owyhee projects, Malheur County, Oreg.*

Source of funds and type of settler	Number of crop years on present farm				All groups
	1	2	3 to 4	5 or more	
Farm Security Administration clients:					
Number of farms	8	20	5	7	40
Gross farm receipts, percent	32.3	50.4	84.7	78.9	60.2
Outside work, do	7.1	18.8	1.2	6.1	10.8
Other income, do	9.3	5.7	11.7	15.0	10.2
Gross income, do	48.7	74.9	97.6	100.0	81.2
Net borrowings [1], do	42.9	22.2	--------	--------	17.0
Decrease in cash [2], do	8.4	2.9	2.4	--------	1.8
Total funds used, do	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Non-Farm Security Administration farmers:					
Number of farms	15	13	10	11	49
Gross farm receipts, percent	48.2	66.6	96.0	91.4	79.9
Outside work, do	12.7	6.9	3.1	4.1	7.1
Other income, do	2.5	12.2	.9	4.5	5.5
Gross income, do	63.4	85.7	100.0	100.0	92.5
Net borrowings [1], do	5.6	5.5	--------	--------	----------
Decrease in cash [2], do	30.9	8.8	--------	--------	7.5
Total funds used, do	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Loans received in 1938 minus indebtedness repaid in 1938. Where no figures are given, repayments exceeded borrowings for that group of farms during 1938.

[2] Includes accounts receivable. Where no figures are given there was a net increase from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31 1938, in cash and accounts receivable.

FARM DEVELOPMENT FOLLOWING SETTLEMENT

From the time the new settler first moves onto his tract of raw land, until the time when a fully developed and improved farm exists, many changes occur. Although sagebrush land can be cleared and put in shape for the plow quite rapidly, this work is not completed the first year or two after settlement. On the group of farms surveyed, those who had produced but one crop on the land in 1938 had cleared 44 acres in time to plant that year (table 4). This usually represented some effort during the fall or even summer months of the preceding year, as well as clearing work during the winter and spring. Farms settled 2 crop years had an average of 55 acres cleared in 1938; those settled 3 to 4 years had 67 acres; and farms in operation 5 years or more had 74 acres cleared for crops. Most of the irrigable land was cleared on the farms in operation 5 years or more, although some of the earlier clearings were leveled and prepared more carefully in later years.

Along with this increase in crop acres as the farms were developed longer, there was also a marked change in the use of cropland. Grain was the most common crop the first year of settlement, with 55 percent of the total cropland being used for that purpose. Alfalfa and clover were usually seeded with the grain, the latter serving as a nurse crop. As the farms became older, a smaller portion of the cropland was used to produce grains, and on farms 3 years old and older only 20 percent of the cropland was in grain. The acreage of alfalfa increased rapidly until the third year, but remained about constant thereafter. Alfalfa and clover constituted almost two-thirds of the crop acreage after the third or fourth year of development. Sugar beets were not usually found until the fourth or fifth year after development, because this crop needs soil well supplied with organic matter and nitrogen which can be introduced into raw desert land only by rotations and legumes. Irrigated pasture acreage increased from 7 percent of the cropland during the first year of development to 25 percent on farms in operation for 7 or more years.

Farms in operation 1 year in 1938 had 10 animal units of productive livestock, as follows: 3 dairy cows, 6 other cattle (including young animals), a few hogs and chickens. Livestock numbers were about the same for farms in operation 2 years, but thereafter the numbers of livestock increased quite rapidly. Those farms in operation 7 or more crop years had 33 productive animal units in 1938. Although livestock numbers appeared to increase rapidly with added length of settlement, the increase was much less than the increase of hay crops, with the result that there was a serious oversupply of feed in the area. Livestock increases are necessarily slow when the farmer must raise his own stock, and can be increased rapidly only if the farmer has resources available for purchases of livestock. However, where all farmers in an area are attempting to purchase livestock, there is apt to be a shortage in the surrounding area, and it becomes almost impossible to increase livestock numbers rapidly enough to take care of the increasing hay supply. This problem of adjustment of livestock to feed supplies is one of the many problems encountered in the development of new areas.

There were marked increases in crop yields with longer periods of settlement, owing to increased organic matter in the soil, to better soil tilth, to better leveling for more efficient irrigation, and to more efficient cropland preparation. If average crop yields on the Vale project in 1938 are assigned the figure 100, the crop-yield index for farms in operation 1 year was only 87; for farms in operation 2 years the yield index was 92; for farms in operation 3 to 4 years it was 107; for farms in operation 5 to 7 years, 110; and for farms in operation 8 or more years the yield index was 123. Comparative yields in the older irrigated areas surrounding the Vale and Owyhee projects were 132 in 1938.

Farm organization on the new lands as measured by total crop acreage, use of cropland, numbers and kinds of livestock, and crop yields seemed to be approaching farm organization on the older adjacent districts as the farms became older.

FINANCIAL PROGRESS

During the first year or two financial progress was confined very largely to improvements to land, such as clearing, leveling, and seeding. With increased length of settlement, gains from land improvement became less and such gains as increased livestock, better buildings, and more feed on hand became greater. Settlers had less cash and liquid assets at the end of 1938 than they had at the time of settlement. They had invested all their money and borrowed more; but their farms had increased in value to such an extent that their net worth had increased. The average settler in 1938, even the longer-established one, was still pressed for cash to make improvements and to repay debts. Family living expenses still had to be held to a minimum, for the increased net worth was all in the farm. A large part of the increased net worth came from a willingness to increase the farm productive plant at the expense of family living.

The average settler who secured a loan from the Farm Security Administration had a net worth of $1,565 at time of settlement (table 6). The average settler who did not borrow from Farm Security Administration had a net worth of $3,188 at time of settlement. The 18 farmers included in the survey who had been on their farms 5 years or more had increased their net worth by $5,800, of which less than $1,500 was due to increased land value (table 7). This increase was more than a doubling of net worth in 5 to 8 years, and for this group of farms amounted to an average of about $900 annually since time of settlement.

TABLE 6.—*Average value of assets and liabilities of farmers at time of settlement—classified by type of settler and tenure of operator, Vale-Ontario area, Malheur County, Oreg.*[1]

Item	Owners and part-owners			Renters		
	Farm Security Administration clients in new areas	Non-Farm Security Administration farmers in new areas	Farmers in older irrigation districts	Farm Security Administration clients in new areas	Non-Farm Security Administration farmers in new areas	Farmers in older irrigation districts
Number of farms	36	45	29	4	4	4
Farm assets:						
Machinery and equipment	$247	$426	$348	$56	$420	$18
Livestock	207	865	756	140	2	212
Other farm property	73	160	278	2	12	------------
Total farm property	527	1,451	1,382	198	434	230
Cash and accounts receivable	646	1,107	3,047	40	438	58
All other assets	549	1,121	731	178	639	717
Total, all assets	1,722	3,679	5,160	416	1,511	1,005
Total liabilities	157	491	159	219	44	68
Net worth	1,565	3,188	5,001	197	1,467	937

[1] The financial statement was obtained for the period immediately preceding the purchase of land or other property on the present farm. No land values are thus included in the statement of farm assets except for 1 or 2 farms in each of the owner groups where the land was purchased several years prior to the time of settlement. These values are included in the item "other farm property." Real estate owned elsewhere than the present farm is included under "all other assets." Value of household property comprises an important part of this latter item.

TABLE 7.—*Increase in net worth, from time of settlement to Dec. 31, 1938, and from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1938, and amount of increase attributable to improvements to land, owned farms on new project areas classified by number of crop years on present farm, Vale-Owyhee projects, Malheur County, Oreg.*

Number of crop years on present farm	Farms	Time of settlement to Dec. 31, 1938			Jan. 1, 1938, to Dec. 31, 1938		
		Increase in net worth	Appraised value of land improvements	Increase excluding land improvements	Increase in net worth	Appraised value of land improvements	Increase excluding land improvements
	Number	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
1	20	[1] 1,371	1.017	354	[1] 558	622	−[2] 64
2	28	1,410	1,142	268	485	381	104
3 to 4	14	3,200	1,435	1,765	683	255	428
5 to 7	13	6,338	1,507	4,831	1,168	39	1,129
8 or more	5	4,376	1,097	3,279	750	101	649
All farms	80	2,699	1,226	1,473	665	349	316

[1] The difference in net worth between time of settlement and Jan. 1, 1938, for this group of farms is due to the fact that most of these farms were settled several months before Jan. 1, 1938, and some as early as April and May of 1937, though no crop was produced in 1937. The farmers therefore had several months of time in which to increase net worth through improvement operations and earnings from outside employment.

[2] Decrease.

The rate of financial progress varied considerably between farms, and on a few farms settled only 1 or 2 years there was an actual decrease in net worth of the operator. In part, progress depended upon net worth at time of settlement and ability to borrow. The man with some money could develop his farm faster and borrow less than the man with less money. During the first year or two, increased net worth came about largely by applying labor to land for improvement. Later, cash was needed to make improvements. Size of family, ability to do hard work, opportunity for off-farm employment, willingness to forego better living conditions, and family needs were all factors affecting progress of individual farmers.

CREDIT

Credit needs were inversely proportional to the net worth of the settler. The man with few assets had to borrow money in order to develop his farm. Approximately half of all the new farms in the Vale-Owyhee area were financed, in part at least, by the Farm Security Administration. The average settler who was on his farm for the first crop year, and who was able to borrow from the Farm Security Administration, borrowed $1,047 from the Farm Security Administration and $25 from other sources during 1938 (table 8). He paid $158 on indebtedness, including land-purchase payments, making a net borrowing of $914 for the year. The settler who was on his farm the second crop year and had borrowed from the Farm Security Administration, borrowed a net amount of $247 in 1938. Most of this money came from the Farm Security Administration. The settler who was on his farm 3 or 4 crop years and was a Farm Security Administration client had net payments of $72 in 1938. Some of these farmers were not borrowers that year. Not until farmers had been operating 5 years or more were net repayments substantial. Settlers who did not find it necessary to borrow from the Farm Security Administration contracted small loans, a large part of which was repaid during the year. On the average these farmers were net borrowers the first 2 years of settlement and made substantial repayments only after 5 or more years of settlement. Most of the Farm Security Administration loans were set up for substantial net repayments during the first and second years of the loan. The fact that it was impossible or unwise for the farmer to make repayments of these loans the first and second years indicates the need of longer term credit. New settlers were unable to obtain credit from the Federal land bank. The land bank has refused to make loans in the area until the amount of the construction charge levied against the land is known. The Farm Security Administration represented the chief source of credit for the settler with few assets.

TABLE 8.—*Average loans received and debt repayments made in 1938, Farm Security Administration and Non-Farm Security Administration farmers on new project areas and farmers in older irrigation districts classified by number of crop years on present farm, Vale-Ontario area, Malheur County, Oreg.*

Settler type and number of crop years on present farm	Farms	Loans received in 1938			Repayments of principal in 1938 [1]	Excess or deficit of principal repayments over loans received
		From Farm Security Administration	From other sources	Total		
Farm Security Administration clients (new areas):	*Number*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
1 crop year	8	1,047	25	1,072	158	−914
2 crop years	20	319	47	366	119	−247
3 to 4 crop years	5	80	115	195	267	+72
5 or more crop years	7	202	29	231	486	+255
All Farm Security Administration clients	40	414	48	462	209	−253
Non-Farm Security Administration farmers (new areas):						
1 crop year	15		274	274	197	−77
2 crop years	13		202	202	126	−76
3 to 4 crop years	10		132	132	218	+86
5 or more crop years	11		650	650	838	+188
All Non-Farm Security Administration farms	49		310	310	326	+16
Farmers in older districts:						
1 crop year	3		836	836	860	+24
2 crop years	6		386	386	346	−40
3 to 4 crop years	4	9	532	541	612	+71
5 or more crop years	20		482	482	733	+251
All farmers in older areas	33	1	503	504	659	+155

[1] Includes mortgage and land-purchase contract payments.

ACTIVITIES OF GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

The Bureau of Reclamation and the Farm Security Administration are the two most important Federal agencies in the area. The former has provided irrigation water to all new farms and supplemental water to most of the older area farms. The latter agency has provided credit for farm development to several hundred new farmers, generally those with least resources.

Bureau of Reclamation provisions regarding speculation, size of holdings, settler selection, and water charges have affected and will continue to affect settlement patterns, farm organization, and family income.

Farm Security Administration loans to settlers have made possible more rapid settlement than might otherwise have occurred, have provided many with small financial means the opportunity to become farm operators, and have reduced family hardships during the early years of settlement.

The Agricultural Extension Service has provided instruction and advice on irrigation and farm problems to those unfamiliar with the area and the agriculture. Such services are invaluable to many settlers, especially during the first few years of settlement.

Local governmental agencies have been faced with a serious problem in providing school facilities and local roads prior to any appreciable increase in local taxation revenues. These problems would be even more serious in a new development isolated from old established areas.

SUGGESTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF FUTURE RECLAMATION AREAS

Credit.—Most settlers on new land will have insufficient capital with which to fully develop their farms. Men with ample capital generally prefer to buy farms in established farming areas. If the settler with inadequate capital is going to succeed, he must have credit from some source. Demand for adequate credit has been experienced on most reclamation areas. Various public agencies have an interest in seeing that the settler is adequately provided with credit, so that the project will be successful and people will have satisfactory living conditions.

The settler on new land who has little capital, and the agency which finances him, must choose between a small family farm with smaller income possibilities and smaller debt and a larger farm which will provide more income but will necessitate heavier indebtedness. There are various ways in which a settler can hold his capital investment to a minimum. He may get along with poor buildings. He may do all his land clearing with his own labor. He may build his livestock numbers up from his own herd. All of these measures will lengthen the time required to bring the farm into full production, and most of them will result in a lowered scale of living at least for several years.

The settler should have adequate credit to erect necessary buildings, including a comfortable if modest home and a satisfactory water-supply system. If the farm is a success, the home can be improved from current income. Erection of a high-priced home will provide the family on the farm with a nice place to live, but may take too large a part of the family income to pay interest on the extra debt. Adequate credit for prompt development of the land into a productive farm, but without excessive indebtedness for items that can be satisfactorily postponed, promises the most successful record of repayment.

Settlers in new reclamation areas have usually been handicapped by inadequate cash or credit for development. This has resulted in poor housing and inadequate living for the farm family, and in retardation of farm development.

One approach in dealing with this problem would be for public credit agencies to advance sufficient credit to permit rapid development of the farm and to provide adequate living facilities for the family during the development period as well as later. For an 80-acre farm this might require about a $6,000 investment distributed approximately as follows: $1,800 for a dwelling; $250 for a well and pump; $600 for outbuildings; $800 for land; $750 for clearing, leveling, ditching, and fencing; and $1,800 for operating credit.

If an investment of this size were advanced as credit it should be made as a part of a complete settlement plan that involves adequate supervisory assistance until farmers have become familiar with the area and with irrigation farming. Payment would have to be delayed during the early years of the settlement period, and a long-term, low-interest payment plan developed.

An alternative approach to the problem is a more gradual development of the farm plant but one that involves more liberal use of credit than usually has been available to settlers in reclamation areas. This involves gradual clearing and leveling of land, substitution of family labor for hired labor in construction of buildings, and more modest but still acceptable housing conditions, particularly during the development period. On the other hand, this approach makes it possible for most settlers to assume the responsibilities of managing a full-time irrigated farm somewhat on an apprenticeship basis. If adequate supervision and credit (on a long-term, low-interest basis) are not available, this approach will be the only alternative to the unsatisfactory progress resulting from lack of credit. Even under the delayed development plan for a reasonably adequate farm set-up the settler must have at least $4,000 in cash or credit available for investment within the first 2 years of settlement. A smaller sum than this will severely handicap the settler.

In the Vale-Owyhee area it was possible to secure irrigable land for an average of about $10 per acre. In most reclamation areas raw land values will be low, since the speculative element is largely kept out by the Bureau of Reclamation's antispeculation policy. Dwellings can be erected for widely varying sums, depending upon the size and type of house, number and kind of facilities provided for, and the extent to which the settler does the work of construction. An adequate house erected immediately upon settlement will cost at least $1,000 for materials alone. If any smaller sum is spent for housing it is of the utmost importance that the initial dwelling be of a flexible type which can be added to in later years when the settler has increased resources and more time available for construction of a better house. Some setters in the Vale-Owyhee area have started out with basement houses consisting of a finished basement to which they expect to add aboveground floors in later years. Such dwellings, while far from adequate as permanent housing, are nevertheless, if properly constructed, warm and dry in this climate and, if the family is not too large, provide fairly satisfactory accommodations for a few years. Dwellings of this type are far superior to the crude shacks in which many families are living. For settlers with small resources they have the further advantage of being susceptible of improvement without loss of previous investment, whereas the shack-type dwelling is hardly capable of being improved without extensive alteration in basic design and structure.

If a flexible building program is adopted, in which only part of the eventual dwelling is erected at time of settlement, $500 should be the minimum cash outlay for materials, with an additional $500 expended at a later date. It may be noted that even this low minimum is considerably higher than the average value of dwellings of the new settlers included in the present survey. From a social point of view, however, it would be preferable to advance settlers sufficient long-term credit to permit construction of an adequate house immediately upon settlement, rather than holding to a bare minimum with expectation of subsequent improvement. Other farm buildings will depend upon livestock needs, but will probably average at least $600. Necessary machinery, livestock, and other items will cost at least $1,600 for a general type of farm. Some cash costs will be involved in clearing land. Farm operations the first year or two will probably be carried on at a loss, and cash is required for family living.

The absolute minimum of money required to develop new farms in new reclamation areas will vary with many factors, such as cost of land, type of buildings and machinery needed, size of farm, amount of livestock kept, and difficulties of preparing land. Careful study will be required in each area to determine this minimum. If farms vary considerably in size, so will capital requirements. Various unforeseen events, either on the farm or within the farm family, may necessitate capital in excess of the minimum.

It seems evident that certain principles should be followed in extension of credit to settlers on new land. If an agency is going to make any credit available to a settler, it should be prepared to make enough available. Insufficient credit will not result in an efficient productive unit, and both borrower and creditor will lose. If credit is to be extended, it should be available when needed, which generally means very shortly after settlement. The plan for repayment of the loan should be reasonable in view of the settler's probable income year by year. To set up a repayment plan which cannot be met gives the borrower a bad credit rating, tends to discourage him, and makes the creditor believe that he is being cheated. However, it should also be recognized that too liberal a credit plan is likely to destroy the initiative of the settler, result in high costs of other loans, and impair any attempt to select settlers.

The amount of loan repayment which can be expected each year depends upon probable income and upon settlers' willingness to repay debt. The obstacles to be overcome in getting farms in productive condition determine the rapidity with which farm income will rise. Sagebrush clearing takes some time, though lands previously dry-farmed can be put into cultivation more quickly. The amount of leveling necessary makes a great deal of difference in the time required to bring a farm into full production. Where the soil is largely sand and topography is rough, a great deal of work, considerable expense, and several years will be necessary to bring all the land into cultivation. Where slopes are not excessive and a true soil development makes extensive leveling unwise, less expense and time will be required. Transformation of raw land into a productive irrigated farm is a major undertaking, likely to encounter unexpected obstacles at any time.

The experience of new settlers on the Vale and Owyhee projects provides a valuable guide as to probable repayments. The first crop year and the settlement period which precedes it require considerably more outlay of money than is received in income. The second crop year also requires an outlay of money in excess of income, but much less than the first crop year. In the third and fourth crop years some farmers will still be expending money in excess of current income, while others will be paying off indebtedness or adding to cash on hand. Little principal will be repaid until after the fifth crop year. A few farmers may require additional investment credit even in these years. The amount borrowed and its repayment depend upon the level of living of the farm family. On the Vale and Owyhee projects it was very clear that new settlers were sacrificing their living conditions considerably in order to lessen the amount they needed to borrow and to increase the amount of repayments. While it is probably desirable that people heavily in debt should live frugally in order to increase their assets, it certainly is not socially desirable that the level of living should be too depressed. Public credit agencies would probably be severely criticized if they insisted on a repayment schedule which seriously impaired settlers' living.

A desirable credit plan for a new reclamation area would provide a repayment plan based on estimated income and expense by years. Such a plan should be conservative. Records should be obtained from both borrowers and persons able to finance their own improvements, and such modifications made in repayment plans as farm incomes seemed to justify.

In older settled areas a sound loan is one upon which interest is paid currently and on which principal payments are made frequently, often yearly. In new reclamation areas a new definition of "soundness" is required. A loan may be sound, even though no interest is paid and more is borrowed each year, if improvements are made to offset the increased loans and if the farm is being placed in condition to produce a larger income. Loans might well be made with requirements that certain acreages be cleared or seeded to some crop, or that livestock numbers be increased a given amount. Fulfillment of these objectives would be considered a satisfactory fulfillment of loan conditions. Supervision of such loans would be essential in order that the lending agency could be sure its equity was protected.

In general, a major part of the settlers will require some credit, and a large part of them will need public-agency credit. The comparatively low equities of many settlers, the relatively large debts, and the time interval between extension of credit and its repayment, as well as the fairly high risks involved, make it highly desirable that some public agency be in a position to extend the necessary credit. The needs of many settlers for advice and assistance make loan supervision desirable. The Farm Security Administration or some agency organized on similar lines seems particularly well qualified for credit extension to new settlers on reclamation projects.

Land and water policies.—The Bureau of Reclamation or any other agency responsible for the development of a new reclamation area can guide the course of development by its policies regarding the use of land and water.

One basic consideration, and one which should be introduced before settlement begins, is subdivision of the area into farms on the basis of natural boundaries and not on the basis of customary legal descriptions. Farms formed by the customary legal subdivision lines are not natural units; the oddly shaped fields, the problems of irrigation through one or more neighbors' farms, the necessity of circuitous routes from farmstead to field and return, are all handicaps which this method of subdivision imposes on farm operation. Their combined effect imposes a considerable hardship on the operation of some farms, with a consequent impairment of income and land values. There can be no doubt that subdivision of irrigated areas into farm units along natural boundary lines will increase farm operating efficiency, although it must be recognized that there will be many difficulties in such subdivision.

The present policy of the Bureau of Reclamation is to discourage speculation in land. This is done by requiring that at least one-half the excess sales price over appraised value must be paid in cash to the Bureau, to be applied on the indebtedness for construction of the irrigation system. Restrictions are also placed on the price at which raw land may be sold. Critics of the restrictions on raw-land price have pointed out that it is extremely difficult to know the price at which raw land is sold without much intensive investigation. There is nothing to prevent the sale of a tract of irrigable land at the established price with a simultaneous sale of nonirrigable land at a price far in excess of its real value. All provisions against speculation in land values should be continued and in many instances strengthened.

Government purchase of all irrigable land, with subsequent resale to actual settlers, would have many advantages. Raw land could be purchased at actual appraisals, completely stopping speculation of this kind. The area could be divided into natural operating units. Farm and area planning would be greatly simplified. Restrictions regarding land use and sale could be written into sales contracts wherever restrictions were clearly necessary; and, finally, raw-land cost could be added to reclamation cost, thus materially easing the credit problem of the settler. Raw land will rarely average as high as $10 per acre, while reclamation costs will generally exceed $100 per acre, so that the cost of raw-land purchase would not be large in proportion to other reclamation costs.

The Bureau of Reclamation or other land administering agency can do a great deal to promote desirable land and water use by the manner in which it levies water charges. The customary method is to levy a flat annual per acre charge which entitles the farmer to a given amount of water, then to levy a charge for all extra or surplus water actually used. If the base charge is reasonable and the charge for extra water is graduated steeply upward, the result of this method is promotion of efficient and careful use of water. If extra water can be freely purchased at a cost per acre-foot as low as or lower than the cost of water provided for the flat per acre base charge, there is no incentive to conserve water, with the result that much is wasted, a smaller area is irrigated than could be irrigated with better management, lower lands are ruined by waterlogging, and excessive leaching occurs. Water can be substituted for labor within wide limits. If water is cheap, there is a tendency to irrigate the quickest way, even when considerable water is wasted. This is particularly the case when labor is hired and the operator balances cost of water against cost of labor.

Type and size of farm.—What kind of farming is most likely to succeed? Two considerations enter here: The natural factors which determine what crops and livestock can be grown, and the economic factors which determine the crops and livestock that will be grown.

On the economic side it is somewhat easier to say which crops have the least chance of success than it is to say which have the best chance. Fruit has been grown on many reclamation developments in the past, but most established fruit areas of the West are now experiencing materially lower incomes, and some of them are in actual distress. Trees are being pulled more rapidly than they are being planted in many parts of the West. This situation offers little hope of success to large new areas of fruit. Small new areas might find a market for superior yields, quality, and out-of-season production for special markets. The situation for most truck crops is little better than for fruit. When established areas with established market outlets, where farmers fully understand the technical problems of production, are having difficulty in securing reasonable farm incomes, the outlook for new areas is not good.

Many past irrigation developments have produced feed crops for wintering range animals. Range lands of the West are fully stocked, and in many areas some reduction in range livestock numbers will be necessary in order to protect the range. Perhaps a shortened grazing season, with consequent lengthened feeding season, would relieve the load on range lands and also provide an outlet for farm-raised feeds. However, farm feeds are more costly than range feed, and possibilities of changes of this type will be severely restricted because of the costs involved. Fattening of range livestock for market may provide an outlet for feeds produced on reclaimed lands.

From a social standpoint it may be well to prevent the adoption of crop systems that entail sharp peak demands for labor. The surplus migrant labor problem which usually attends such systems will often offset any increase in farm incomes. Most newly reclaimed land will be used for feed crops such as hay, pasture, and grain, and for cash crops such as sugar beets, alfalfa, and clover seed; farm livestock will consume the feed crops produced. In most instances, reclamation in the next decade or two is going to mean increased farm livestock, particularly dairy cows, hogs, and poultry. Competition with established areas will be encountered for these products, but the market for them is Nation-wide and the volume of production is large. National agricultural programs may offer restrictions or inducements to certain products.

Physical factors such as the length of growing season, soil types, slope, and rainfall are generally recognized as important. In years past, development of farming on reclamation areas has taken place without adequate consideration of conservation of the soil. The topography of the land to be irrigated varies greatly in different parts of most reclamation projects, and farm size and cropping programs must be adapted to topography in order to conserve the soil.

On most reclamation projects there is some irrigated land which can be used only for pastures or other perennial crops, if severe soil erosion is to be avoided. A cropping system which will maintain yields will have to provide for weed control and maintenance of soil fertility.

Within the general pattern of farming as determined by market outlets and natural factors common to the entire area, individual farms should vary considerably in organization and type, in order to make the best adaptation to natural conditions of the particular farm.

Equally important with considerations of most desirable type of farm are those of best size of farm. Once subdivisions have been carried out in a new reclamation area, changes can be made only with difficulty and expense. Consolidation is particularly slow and expensive. Correct division into farm units in the original settlement is much more satisfactory than later efforts to adjust farm size. Public policy regarding farm size has been expressed fairly well in the various acts authorizing reclamation developments. The reclamation restrictions on maximum acreage per operator are assumed to limit farms to family size farms, and to exclude large commercial farming developments, with the assumption that the specified acreage is enough to produce an adequate living for the farm family.

A more fundamental consideration of minimum farm size than any acreage measure is this: Farms should be at least large enough to provide full employment for the farmer and his family during the peak season of work. If there is a sharp seasonal peak in labor demand, farms might well be large enough to provide full employment at other times in the year, and seasonal labor could be employed during the periods of peak demand. In some fruit areas, for instance, the desirable farm size is one that permits the operator to do most of the work except at picking time. If regularly established, dependable sources of employment are available off the farm, part-time farms may be satisfactory. Farms which do not fully employ the operator and his family at some season are definitely too small. This does not deny, but rather assumes, such other factors of good farm organization as well-designed cropping systems, efficient layout of buildings and fields, and use of livestock to consume farm feeds.

Farm income for a given type of farm was fairly closely related to P. M. W. U.[2] per worker on the farms in the Vale-Owyhee area. Judging by experience in that area, it is possible to set up some rather definite standards of minimum farm size. General farms with cash crops and livestock should be large enough to provide at least 175 P. M. W. U. per adult worker, and preferably 200 or more P. M. W. U. per worker. Cash crop farms should be large enough to provide at least 140 and preferably 170 or more P. M. W. U. per worker. Specialized crop farms, under conditions particularly well-suited to the particular crop, should provide at least 120 and preferably 150 P. M. W. U. per worker. These standards are on the basis of full-time adult workers. If more family labor than one full-time adult worker is available on a farm, the size should be increased accordingly.

In any program for subdivision of irrigated areas into farm units, some provision should be made for farms of different sizes (probably within limits of 40 to 200 acres) to fit the varying capacities of farmers. Some variation may be achieved by the farmers themselves in the intensities at which they can or will operate. Some farmers are good managers, employing their own time, hired labor, and capital to good advantage; others are able to accomplish materially less. Sometimes physical disabilities lessen the amount of work that a farmer can do. Size of the operator's family is an important factor. A family of growing boys may make dairying or sugar-beet raising both possible and desirable, when a childless farmer would not be interested in either. The most appropriate organization for a young, physically active, ambitious farmer who has had to incur considerable debt in order to get started differs greatly from that most appropriate for this same man in midde age when his boys are able to help with farm work and from that most appropriate in later years when the family is grown and gone, he is no longer so physically active, and the mortgages have all been paid off.

A 40-acre farm, all irrigable and nearly level, with perhaps 8 acres of sugar beets each year; some irrigated and highly productive pastures, with the remainder of the land mostly in alfalfa and with sufficient dairy cattle to consume the farm-raised feeds, would have 210 to 230 P. M. W. U., depending somewhat upon crop yields. This is a fairly adequate size unit for one man whose children are unable to help with farm work. A 40-acre farm which was not all irrigable, or one on which sugar beets could not be grown because of soil or slope conditions, would provide less opportunity for employment. If truck or fruit crops can be grown profitably, farms smaller than 40 acres will provide fairly full employment for one man.

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[2] P. M. W. U.=a productive man work unit. A 10-hour day of productive employment, at average rate of performance, constitutes a P. M. W. U.

A 40-acre general farm is the smallest unit that will provide full employment to one man, and will do so only when operated rather intensively and when all conditions are favorable. An 80-acre farm, with perhaps 70 acres irrigable, some of it rather steep, used for grain, hay, and seed crops, with some farm livestock but almost no dairy cattle, and with a large part of the crops sold, would have 175 to 200 productive man work units. This farm would actually be smaller, based on opportunity for employment, than the intensively operated 40-acre farm. There would be opportunities for additional employment by substituting alfalfa for part of the grain, or alfalfa for part of the clover seed, by feeding all of the crops on the farm instead of selling them, or by substituting dairy cattle for beef or dual-purpose cattle. If all these changes were made, this farm would have 330 to 360 productive man work units. It would provide employment for the farmer and two half-grown sons, and would require a small amount of seasonal hired labor. The possibilities of adjustment of the 80-acre farm, as compared with the 40-acre one, are considerably greater. Differences in family size, age, or ability of the farmer can be taken care of more readily on the 80-acre farm than on the 40-acre farm. A community with a large proportion of 80-acre or larger farms would have far greater possibilities for adaptation to different economic and population conditions than a community primarily of 40-acre farms.

The above examples are illustrative only. They do show that total acreage within the farm boundaries is a poor measure of economic size. Careful and detailed consideration of each particular situation is necessary before a judgment can be made as to appropriate farm size. An arbitrary decision to divide an entire area into one or two sizes of farms, along legal subdivisions and without regard for natural conditions, is certain to result in many uneconomic and inefficient units. Some general principles regarding farm subdivision can be laid down, but detailed study in the field is necessary for effective subdivision.

Settler selection and the settlement process.—Since a major objective of reclamation is provision of homes, emphasis will naturally be placed upon farm operation by owners. Even if all farms were settled by owners, some tenancy would normally arise as present owners were succeeded by sons, other heirs, or purchasers. Some tenancy, particularly of some types, is not undesirable and should be expected. Research directed toward equitable and satisfactory tenure relations may be needed.

Some degree of settler selection is desirable from the standpoint of settler, reclamation agency, and credit agency. A person unsuited to irrigation farming has not been benefited if he undertakes raw land reclamation and fails. Failures are undesirable to the reclamation and credit agencies and to the community at large. It is difficult to define and measure the qualities necessary for success in reclamation of new land. Farming experience, particularly under irrigated conditions, is desirable; so is a minimum amount of capital. Yet some persons succeed with very little of either. Ability and willingness to do hard work, managerial capacity, and a spirit akin to that of the early pioneers, are all valuable assets.

If irrigation water is provided by one public agency, credit by one or more public and many private agencies, and land is for sale by many private persons and corporations, it is virtually impossible to exercise a very large degree of settler selection. A large supply of prospective settlers provides the opportunity for settler selection and yet may actually defeat it. When many people are seeking a limited number of opportunities for earning a living, the poorest businessmen among them may bid up the price of land to the point where better judges will refuse to buy. Antispeculation provisions will partly eliminate this situation. When public agencies are furnishing both irrigation water and development credit, they are justified in exercising such selection of settlers as will result in the most successful development of the area. The whole process of settler selection would be greatly simplified and made more effective if the raw land were owned by the Government.

Settlement on a large reclamation project should be by districts or units, with virtual completion of settlement in one district before another is opened. Many of the earlier projects were opened for settlement over too large an area, with resultant scattered development. High road and school costs and high expenses of operating the irrigation system resulted. Development by districts is now generally accepted as sound.

In selection of settlers and in development of areas, some consideration should be given to essentially sociological factors. For instance, the most desirable age distribution of settlers in an area should be taken into account. If all settlers are approximately the same age, whether young or old, the community will be distinctly abnormal. The time will come when all farmers are old. School buildings will be overflowing at one time and empty at another. Settlement in an area should have an age distribution at least approximating that of old established communities. Another factor which should be given some consideration is that of community life. Race, religion, and cultural background all determine the pattern of community institutions. A considerable share of settler discontent on some projects is traceable to lack of satisfactory community groups. At best, the settler on a new area has many difficult adjustments to make; their impact will be lessened if some features of his community life resemble those of the area in which he formerly lived.

A valuable addition to community life would be the establishment of recreation areas. Such areas could be established with little expense in some of the gullies and canyons at the edge of the irrigated areas, where waste water from irrigation usually runs and willows and other trees naturally grow. If the local people were to provide some labor, a small cash expenditure would create very attractive grounds for picnicking, camping, and other recreation. The accessibility of these spots and the present lack of good recreation areas enhance the value of such an undertaking.

Special assistance to settlers.—In the settlement process special advice and instruction from public agencies are required. Many settlers are unfamiliar with irrigated agriculture; others will have had no experience with particular crops or livestock. The accumulated experience of the agricultural colleges, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Reclamation, and other agencies should be made available by some form of extension education and supervisory assistance. The amount of educational assistance in a new area should be several times that in an established area. The cost of such assistance would be negligible compared with the other costs incurred. Some of this assistance could be provided most advantageously by the credit agency, but settlers who were able to finance their own development would also require special assistance.

Organization of a farm for irrigation and the first few irrigations may require more knowledge and skill than many settlers possess. The possibilities of serious damage through unwise use of irrigation water are great. When the settler is erecting his farm buildings he is determining the farmstead layout of his farm for many years. A little advice at that time might later save him a vast amount of labor. Most settlers are anxious to construct the best buildings they can with the money available and frequently construct their own. Assistance in planning dwellings, barns, and other buildings would be very worth while. So might education in building construction. It is probably safe to estimate that settlers in the Vale-Owyhee area have had need for more special assistance and advice in the first 5 years of settlement than they will require in the next 20 years.

If proper assistance were available to all settlers, there would still be wide variations in family living owing to differences in the ability and willingness of the families to do things for themselves. Many settlers have previously developed skills in carpentry, plumbing, masonry, and similar trades which they can use in adding to their own conveniences and also in adding to their incomes by work on neighboring farms or in town. The family diet can usually be bettered if the family will raise a garden and preserve the products of the garden. Distinct differences will also occur in the ability of farmers to see and do the many odd jobs which can add to the value of the farm and the convenience of farming operations.

POTENTIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR LAND SETTLEMENT

By H. E. SELBY, Senior Agricultural Economist, and GILBERT G. STAMM, Assistant Agricultural Economist

There is practically no land in the Western States suitable for cultivation in its present condition that is not already in farms and in agricultural use. New settlers must therefore acquire: (1) Existing farms; (2) new farms created by subdivision of existing farms; or, (3) new farms made possible by development of new cultivable land through irrigation, drainage, or clearing.

Only a very small proportion of the immigrants to the Western States who are interested in farming have sufficient capital to buy going farms large enough to support a family. The purchase demand for such farms has not as yet been sufficiently great to cause any marked increases in land values.

POSSIBILITIES OF FARM SUBDIVISION

Considerable subdivision of farms has taken place in recent years. In some areas this has resulted in the creation of a large number of farms too small to support an average family at a reasonably adequate standard of living. In the three Pacific Coast States the census data show that from 1920 to 1935 the acreage of land in farms increased only from 56 to 62 million acres, while the number of farms increased from 234,000 to 299,000, giving a decrease in average size of farm from 240 to 209 acres. Even more significant, the number of farms of less than 20 acres increased by 90 percent, while farms of 100 acres or more decreased by 9 percent (table 1).[1]

TABLE 1.—*Change in number of farms of given size in California, Oregon, and Washington, 1920 to 1935*

Acres per farm	Number of farms		Increase or decrease	
	1920	1935	Number	Percent
Under 20	57, 666	109, 429	+51, 763	+90
20 to 99	88, 117	109, 737	+21, 620	+25
100 and over	88, 381	80, 401	−7, 980	−9
Total	234, 164	299, 567	+65, 403	+28

Source of data: U. S. Census.

The average acreage of improved land per farm in the Pacific Coast States decreased from 102 to 78 acres between 1920 and 1935. It is still slightly above the average for the United States (fig. 1), but the question is: How much lower can it go without also lowering average incomes and living standards to a point where a serious situation may be faced? In these States 37 percent of the farms reported a value of farm products exceeding $2,500, as compared with only 19 percent for the entire country. Larger farms are in no small measure responsible for this higher income and the higher scale of living that accompanies it. The 1930 census showed an average value of farm dwellings of $1,617, as compared with only $1,126 for the entire United States. The favorable situation with respect to the proportion of farms having electricity, running water, automobiles, telephones, and radios is shown in figure 2.

An example of excessive number of inadequate-sized farms is given by a survey which the Farm Security Administration conducted in a county in western Washington in 1939.[2] Of the 2,967 farms in the county, 932 had an average of 32 crop acres, while 2,035, or 69 percent, averaged only 3.9 acres. The rural relief load, excluding employees of the Work Projects Administration, was 1,350 cases. Of 300 families who were contacted in an area of about 98 square miles, only 72 were on self-supporting farms. Thirty-two farmers, with an average of 3.3 crop acres, were on direct relief; 71, with 5.6 acres, were on Work Projects Administration; and 42, with 4.7 acres, had Farm Security Administration loans. The remainder were engaged in logging or were commercially employed while endeavoring to develop their farms and homes.[3]

It is possible in some cases that by following a more intensive type of production equally large incomes per farm may be obtained from smaller as from larger farms. Because increase in the market for more intensive crops is limited by a relatively small prospective increase in population, however, there are very definite limits upon the amount of intensification of production that can take place without oversupplying markets.

It appears, therefore, that to the extent that additional land settlement is justified, public policy should be directed toward the accomplishment of all feasible development of new land to provide farms of adequate size before encouraging further subdivision of farms, with its attendant danger of lowered planes of living and overproduction of intensive crops. It is recognized, however, that there are some very large farms that could be subdivided to provide a number of adequate family-sized farms.

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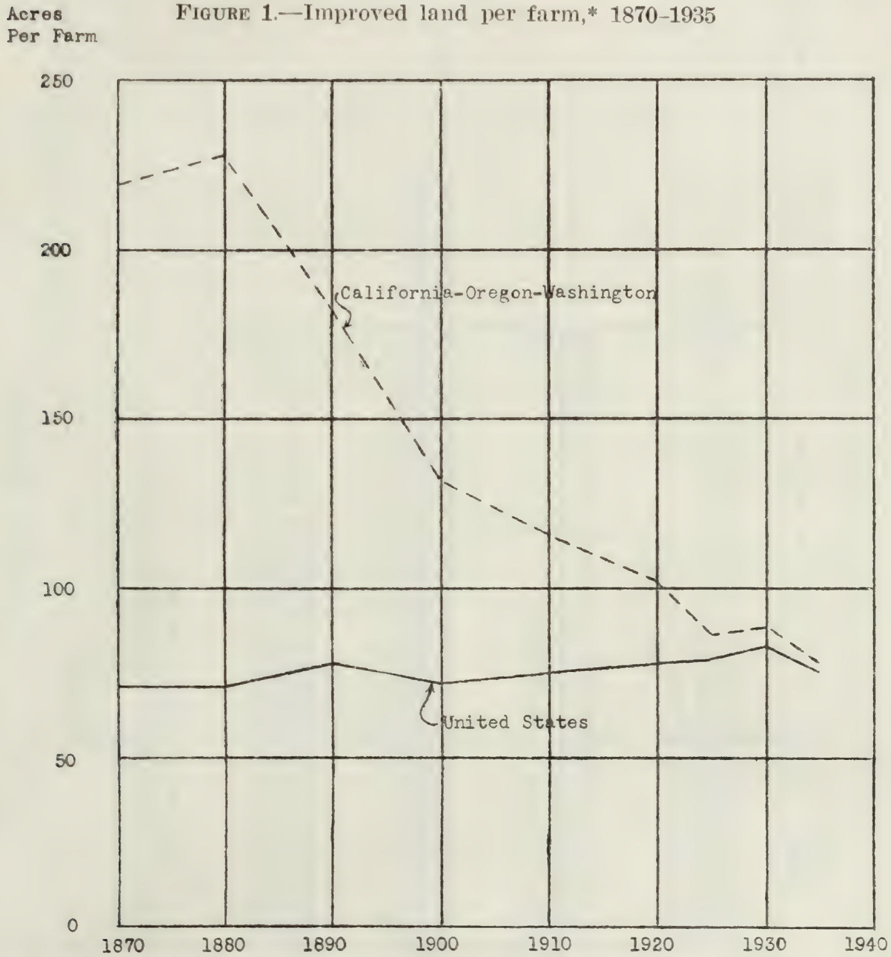
[1] Difference in census procedure probably accounts for part of the change indicated but there is a significant and substantial trend over and above the effect of this factor.

[2] H. E. Drew, discussion in Proceedings, Fifth Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Conference, Seattle, Wash., 1939, pp. 79–80.

[3] The excessive number of farms of inadequate size results not only, of course, from subdivision of farms but also from the establishment of small farms on new land or insufficient cleared acreage on farms on cut-over land. The inadequacy of the cleared acreage on recently settled cut-over lands is discussed in the section of this statement dealing with experience of settlers on such lands.

Many smaller farms, especially around urban centers, are part-time farms occupied by people whose main income is from employment or occupations off the farm. These are more rural residences than farms. They make considerable contributions of garden and other products to the family living, but produce relatively small amounts of commercial agricultural products. The desirability of further development of this type of farm depends upon the development of industries that will furnish dependable employment. Unless employment is available to provide the major source of income, the occupants of such farms soon become a perplexing public-relief burden and concentrations of such farms become rural slums. There undoubtedly will be further opportunities, however, for development of sound part-time farming in connection with seasonal industrial employment, especially in forest industries supported by sustained-yield forestry. The need for "retirement farms" as a result of social-security programs is an important consideration in this connection.

FIGURE 1.—Improved land per farm,* 1870-1935



*1925-1935, total of cropland harvested, crop failure, idle or fallow, and plowable pasture.

POTENTIAL LAND THROUGH IRRIGATION, DRAINAGE, AND CLEARING

As to the total amount of land in the western States that would be suitable for cultivation if irrigated, drained, or cleared, no reliable information based on accurate surveys is yet available. Various estimates have been made but they are little more than guesses.

The most recent and perhaps most reliable estimates are those made by the Soil Conservation Service in 1938 of lands in the United States suitable for continued cultivation. These estimates include land not now in cultivation that would be suitable for continued cultivation if the best soil conservation practices were used. They indicate that of such lands in the three Pacific Coast States there are about 1¼ million acres now in plowable pasture, 1 million in brush or timber, one-quarter million in need of drainage, and 2 million in need of irrigation, a total of 4½ million acres of potential new agricultural land (table 2).

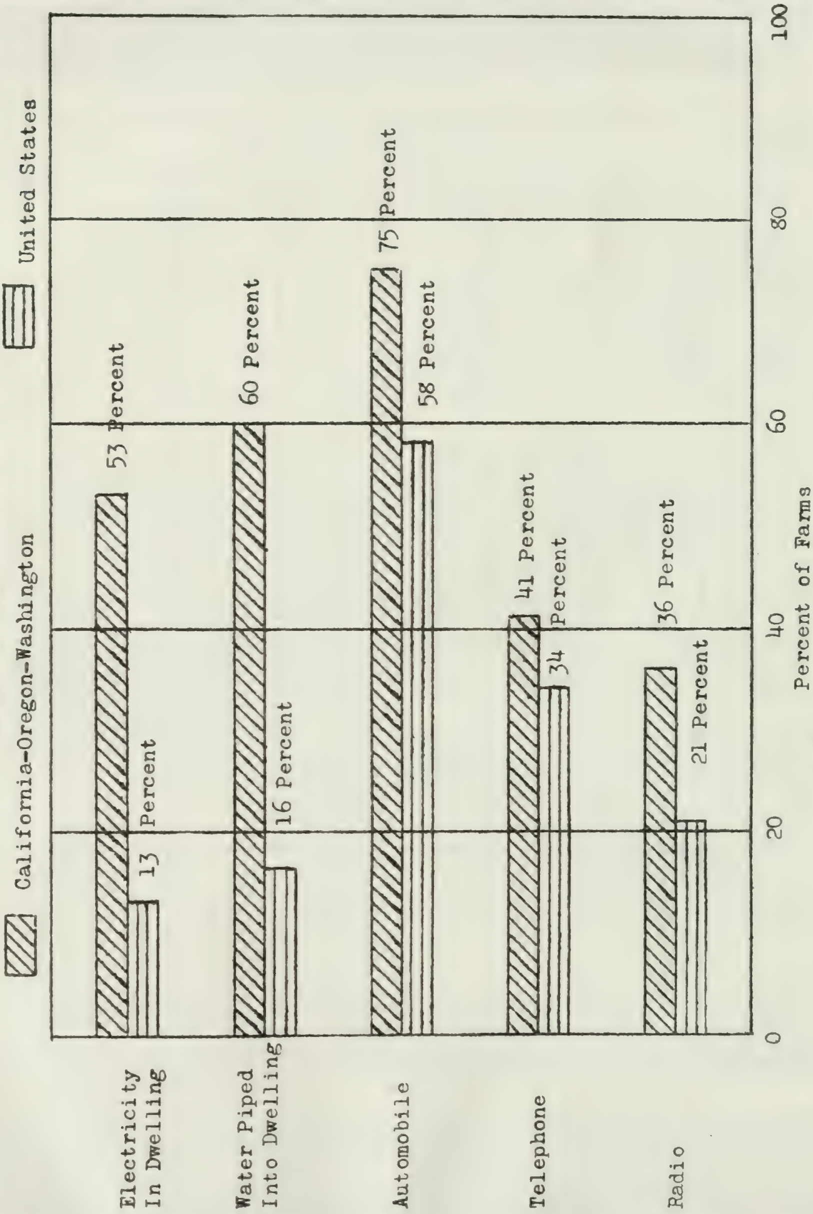


FIGURE 2.—Percent of farms having electricity, running water, automobiles, telephones, and radios, 1930

TABLE 2.—*Estimates of land suitable for cultivation in continental United States* [1]

Geographic division	Land now in cultivation (1935 census)	Land suitable for cultivation under present practices							
		In cultivation		In plowable pasture	In brush or timber	In need of drainage	In need of irrigation	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Acres	*Acres*	*Percent* [2]	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Percent* [2]
New England	4,303,401	1,736,646	40.4	103,143				1,839,789	42.7
Middle Atlantic	17,158,442	2,894,823	16.9	369,129	22,843	1,984		3,288,779	19.1
East North Central	64,758,999	38,009,771	57.8	6,568,996	3,127,172	678,496		48,384,435	74.7
West North Central	148,751,973	59,935,039	40.2	7,094,306	285,923	1,191,600	138,100	68,644,968	46.1
South Atlantic	35,099,820	9,943,499	28.3	1,015,910	4,003,802	1,873,609	600	16,837,420	47.9
East South Central	30,558,628	9,803,944	32.1	1,502,272	3,790,762	222,021		15,318,999	50.1
West South Central	65,222,331	21,828,643	33.5	3,347,079	8,238,937	1,994,323	790,706	36,199,688	55.5
Mountain	30,419,715	11,537,538	37.9	1,192,945	112,200	262,532	1,754,094	14,859,309	48.8
Pacific	19,031,622	5,258,800	27.6	417,900	274,600	205,000	236,000	6,392,300	33.6
Total	415,334,931	160,948,703	39.1	21,611,680	19,856,239	6,429,565	2,919,500	211,765,687	51.0

Geographic division	Land suitable for cultivation under best soil-conservation practices									
	In cultivation			In plowable pasture	In brush or timber	In need of drainage	In need of irrigation	Total		
(1)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
	Acres	*Percent* [2]	*Percent* [3]	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Percent* [2]	*Percent* [3]
New England	3,579,142	83.2	206.1	336,127				3,915,269	91.0	225.4
Middle Atlantic	12,910,992	75.2	446.0	1,620,920	73,276	1,984		14,607,172	85.1	504.6
East North Central	57,346,837	88.5	150.8	12,313,011	5,878,757	690,611		76,229,216	117.7	200.5
West North Central	128,410,635	86.3	214.2	20,248,118	599,393	1,213,900	349,800	150,821,846	101.4	251.6
South Atlantic	28,209,286	80.3	283.7	3,419,817	11,552,831	2,997,376	600	46,159,910	131.5	464.2
East South Central	19,727,870	64.5	201.2	5,138,369	7,203,114	222,021		32,291,374	105.6	329.4
West South Central	51,886,792	79.6	237.7	5,986,678	15,704,103	2,025,803	872,671	76,476,047	117.2	350.3
Mountain	21,658,006	71.2	187.7	2,497,136	181,670	292,426	2,538,658	27,167,896	89.3	235.5
Pacific	15,349,922	80.7	291.9	1,162,500	958,400	239,700	2,087,000	19,797,522	104.0	376.5
Total	339,079,482	81.6	208.5	52,722,676	42,151,544	7,663,821	5,848,729	447,466,252	107.7	278.0

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[1] The estimates cover land suitable for cultivation under prevailing price levels during the period from 1921 to 1936 and not subject to erosion injury under present methods of farming and, second, the amount of land in the United States, assuming the same price levels, that would be suitable for cultivation without erosion injury if the best farming practices and erosion-control methods were put into effect.

[2] Of column 2.

[3] Of column 3.

Source: Soils and Men, U. S. Department of Agriculture Yearbook, 1938, p. 95.

It is estimated, however, that of the 19 million acres in cultivation in 1935, about 3½ million are unsuited for continued cultivation even under the best soil-conservation practices. This land is rapidly being destroyed for agricultural use by erosion and if not taken out of production by land-retirement programs, it will cease to be cultivated within a comparatively few years because it will become unprofitable for such use. It is estimated that another 3½ million acres in the three States have been essentially destroyed for tillage already.[4]

Deducting the 3½ million acres of present cultivated land unsuited for continued cultivation from the 4½ million acres of potential new land gives a net increase of only 1 million acres, or about a 5-percent increase in the 19 million acres in cultivation in 1935. It would make possible an eventual future increase of only about 13,000 farms with 78 acres of cultivable land per farm, the average cultivated acreage per farm in the three States in 1935. The number of new farms doubtless will be somewhat greater, however, because they will be developed chiefly in humid or irrigated rather than dry-land farming conditions, and under such conditions an average of somewhat less than 78 cultivated acres will provide adequate sized family farms without undue intensification.

The figures that have been given refer to land considered suitable for continued cultivation. Probably there is considerable additional land suitable for intermittent cultivation in rotation with grass. Also, productivity of considerable land already in cultivation will be increased by irrigation, drainage, and other improvement. On the other hand, the productiveness of much of the present land in cultivation is decreasing under present soil-management practices, and it is possible that over a period of years this may more than offset any increased productiveness of other land.

OTHER ESTIMATES OF POTENTIAL AGRICULTURAL LAND

The estimates of potential agricultural land by the Soil Conservation Service that have been discussed are much more conservative than certain other estimates that have been made. For example, they indicate only 5,848,729 acres of suitable land in need of irrigation in the entire country, whereas the Bureau of Reclamation has estimated that an additional 10 million acres are feasible for irrigation under present standards[5] and the land-planning committee of the National Resources Board estimated that 26,000,000 acres are potentially irrigable.[6] The estimates of land suitable for clearing or drainage are likewise much lower than those published by the National Resources Board. Much of the difference can be accounted for, however, by differences in the basis of estimate. For instance, the Soil Conservation Service estimate of irrigable land is limited to lands not now in cultivation, whereas the Bureau of Reclamation estimate includes lands already in cultivation but not irrigated. The Bureau of Reclamation estimate is limited to projects feasible under present standards, while the National Resources Board estimate includes many projects of questionable economic feasibility. In the National Resources Board estimates there is inevitable duplication of acreage in the irrigation, drainage, and clearing categories because large acreages require more than one of these types of development, and probably less conideration was given to erodibility of the soil involved than in the more recent estimates of the Soil Conservation Service.

Development of such limited potential agricultural land as there is will require many years to accomplish. The Columbia Basin irrigation project, for instance, probably will require 20 to 25 years for complete settlement. Not even preliminary plans have been made for development of much of the potential new land included even in the conservative figures of the Soil Conservation Service.

There can be no question but that present immigrants to the Western States find much more limited opportunities for settlement than those of a few years ago. Even if the present rate of development of new land were greatly increased, only a small fraction of the number of new settlers who have found farms in the past would be able to do so from now on.

Perhaps the best opportunity to increase the chances for land settlement is through a public program of assistance in land clearing. Governmental assistance is given by the Bureau of Reclamation in development of irrigated land, but there is just as great or greater opportunity to provide new farm land at feasible costs through a comparable program of reclamation by land clearing. This could be done through large land-clearing projects, through financial assistance to individual settlers, or perhaps preferably by a combination of both methods.

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[4] Soils and Men. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1938., p. 90.

[5] National Irrigation Policy. S. Doc. No. 36, 76th Cong., 1st sess., p. 35. 1939.

[6] Land Available for Agriculture Through Reclamation, National Resources Board, 1936, p. 5.

LAND SUPPLY IN RELATION TO LAND NEEDS

Consideration of all of the arguments for and against the need for land reclamation is beyond the scope of this discussion, but a few relationships between prospective population and land supply may be pointed out briefly. The land-planning committee of the National Resources Board estimated the acreage of harvested crops that will be needed in the United States in 1960 to be 374,000,000 to 386,000,000 acres.[7] This, however, is only the needed acreage of harvested crops, without allowance for normal crop failure and crop land normally idle or fallow in any given year. Census statistics on crop failure and idle and fallow land were not obtained prior to the 1925 agricultural census. In 1924 and 1929, however, the acreage of crop failure and idle and fallow land averaged 14.3 percent of the harvested-crop acreage. This appears to be the best available figure on the amount of land normally used in this way. The acreage of crop failure in 1934 was so abnormally high because of drought conditions that it is not indicative.

Increasing the land-planning committee estimate by this 14.3 percent gives 427,000,000 to 442,000,000 acres as the total crop acreage that will be needed in 1960. These figures get pretty close to the Soil Conservation Service estimate of the total acreage suitable for continued cultivation—447,000,000 acres (table 2), which is an increase of only about 8 percent over the total acreage of cropland in the United States in 1930. A rather conservative population estimate for 1960 is 141,000,000 people,[8] an increase of 15 percent over 1930, nearly twice as great as the maximum possible increase in total acreage of land suitable for continued cultivation. These relationships are presented graphically in figure 3.

To have the estimated total acreage of land suitable for continued cultivation available by 1960 would require reclamation in the next two decades of 6,000,000 acres by irrigation, 8,000,000 by drainage, and 42,000,000 by clearing (table 2). This exceeds the bounds of probability and even possibility. The present public program of land reclamation is limited chiefly to irrigation and drainage development with comparatively little attention to land clearing.

Because available new land has become scarce, many settlers are undertaking to farm land not suitable for cultivation and upon which they have no possibility of making a living. Furthermore, settlement is occurring in isolated areas where provision of public services will be abnormally costly to local governments. There is greater need than ever for programs of land classification, and also for making available to prospective settlers information on the suitability for agriculture of all land in areas receiving immigration.

INVENTORY OF LAND DEVELOPMENT POSSIBILITY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

With the continued high level of migration to the Northwest in recent years, an intense need for comprehensive information regarding settlement opportunities has been felt. To meet this, various governmental agencies are expending considerable effort to locate and investigate lands potentially suitable for agricultural settlement through such developments as irrigation, drainage, and clearing.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in cooperation with the National Resources Planning Board, is conducting a study in the Northwest,[9] the objectives of which are: (1) To inventory all potential opportunities for land development and agricultural settlement as proposed or recommended by any qualified agency or group; and (2) to make sufficient analyses to permit an appraisal of the economic feasibility of the various proposals.

To obtain such an inventory of irrigation, drainage, and clearing opportunities, the cooperation of all agencies interested in the field, both State and Federal, is being sought. The principal sources of information include the investigational reports of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soil Conservation Service, Farm Credit Administration, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Bureau of Reclamation, United States Engineer Corps, State reclamation and conservation departments, and the recommendations of the county land-use planning committees. In addition, expert advice, based on personal knowledge and experience, is being offered by staff members of the foregoing agencies and groups, as well as the Extension Service, the experiment stations, and various planning boards.

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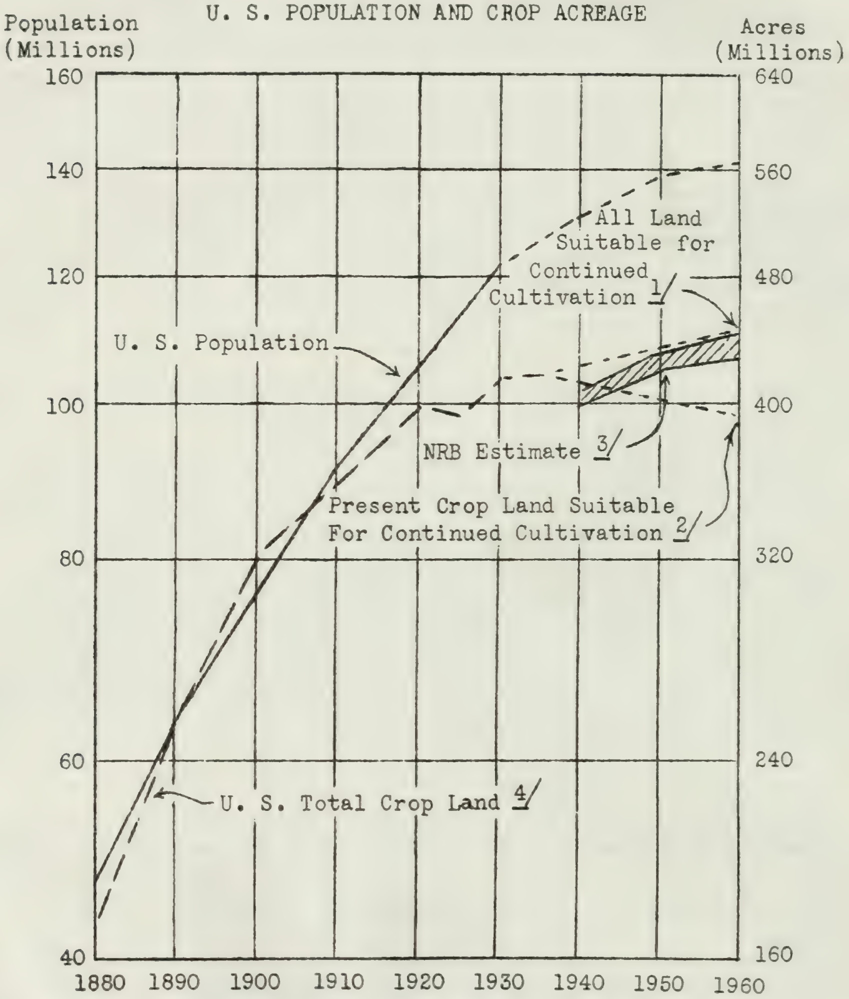
[7] Agricultural Land Requirements and Resources, National Resources Board, 1935, p. 27.

[8] Ibid., p. 29.

[9] The area of study includes Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and the 19 western counties of Montana ; however, the estimates included herein are exclusive of Montana.

FIGURE 3


U. S. POPULATION AND CROP ACREAGE

[1] Soils and Men, U. S. D. A. Year Book of Agriculture, 1938, p. 95.

[2] Ibid., present land in cultivation and plowable pasture.

[3] NRB Land Planning Committee estimate of crop land requirement multiplied by ratio total crop land to crops harvested, 1925 and 1930.

[4] 1925–1935, crop land harvested, failure, idle and fallow. Previous census years, crops harvested multiplied by ratio total crop land to crops harvested, 1925 and 1930.

While in the past some lands have been successfully irrigated by individual farm diversions or small group diversions, it is apparent that opportunities for future irrigation development, almost without exception, will require Federal financing under a lenient policy of repayment, and often will require an allocation of at least part of the construction costs to various public benefits other than irrigation. Likewise, many drainage developments are beyond the ability of farmer groups to finance and repay.

The outlook for clearing operations is changing. With the recent development and improvement of clearing techniques, based on the use of heavy mechanical equipment, principally the tractor and bulldozer, clearing costs per acre are being reduced, and it appears that cleared acreages will be greatly expanded. Farmer cooperatives, sponsored, to some extent, by the Farm Security Administration, are becoming one means by which to obtain the necessary clearing equipment at economic costs.

A preliminary and necessarily incomplete summary of potential development opportunities has been prepared, as shown in table 3. About 4¾ million acres of land, it will be noted, are listed as potentially suitable for new or additional land development. Over 3½ million acres of this is new land not now in cultivation. As the inventory of land development opportunities progresses, this figure undoubtedly will increase. However, it is expected that subsequent analyses of economic feasibility will place some of the potential developments into a deferred classification. As public policy changes, or as pressures of population and markets shift and increase, the doubtfully feasible proposals of today might conceivably become able tomorrow to bear the whole construction cost, or might become of sufficient importance to society that a portion of the development costs may be allocated to indirect benefits to society, thus reducing the financial obligation of the individual settlers to a point where it could be borne.

Table 3.—*Preliminary estimates of potential opportunities for agricultural settlement in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho through irrigation, drainage, and clearing.*

Type of development:	Acres
Irrigation of new lands	2, 956, 500
Clearing of cut-over, burned-over, or timber lands	563, 600 [1] (68, 000)
Lands in need of drainage	86, 600
Total, new land	3, 606, 700
New irrigation of land already in cultivation or supplementary water to present irrigated lands	1, 179, 500
Drainage of lands now mostly in cultivation	[1] (600, 000)
Total	4, 786, 200

[1] The figures in parentheses are for lands that have been included in the acreage to be irrigated but that also need clearing or drainage and are therefore shown separately to avoid duplication in the total.

Note.—These figures are preliminary and tentative, and also incomplete, especially for lands suitable for clearing and drainage. See page 11.

But neither the estimated 4¾ million acres of land suitable for new or further development nor the estimated 3½ million acres of new land suitable for development and cultivation represents a net increase in land suitable for sustained cultivation. It must be remembered that much land under cultivation at the present time is subject to various degrees of erosion and loss of fertility, even under the best soil conserving practices, and ultimately should be retired from cultivation. The exact amount of such land in the Northwest is not accurately known; however, it is estimated to approach 3,000,000 acres in the three States of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.[10]

Thus the desirable ultimate net increase in cultivated land appears quite limited, present figures showing a gain of little more than half a million acres with some further increase expected as the land development inventory becomes more complete. In addition, as shown in table 3, there are over 1,000,000 acres of land now in cultivation which are suitable for new or further development to increase their productivity and, thereby, in effect, to increase the agricultural base and provide additional settlement opportunities.

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[10] Estimates based on unpublished material supplied by the Soil Conservation Service.

Employment of Migrants as Hired Laborers in Western Agriculture

Supplementary statement by **Varden Fuller**, Associate Agricultural Economist

STRUCTURE OF OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

Employment as wage workers in the intensive farming areas of the Pacific States was one of the foremost of the restricted opportunities open to people migrating westward during the decade 1930–39. This was particularly true of those who migrated without either accumulated capital or occupational skill. During the thirties, the opportunity to obtain cheap land on which to develop farms was relatively restricted. At the same time, opportunities in nonagricultural pursuits were at a minimum; development and expansion of new industries was slow and many older industries suffered retrenchment. In general, but with specific exceptions, the Pacific States, like the rest of the Nation, experienced a surplus of labor throughout the decade.

Such opportunity as existed for employment in agriculture was not brought about by a shortage of agricultural labor in the absolute sense. Within California, demand for agricultural labor evidently remained approximately constant in the aggregate throughout the decade, although there was a small amount of shifting among the various types of enterprises. (See table 1.) Other intensive areas of the West have likewise not experienced any considerable expansion of labor demand. With demand constant, and with supply being augmented through migration and through unemployment in nonagricultural industries, the agricultural labor supply of California, even by the most conservative estimates, was continuously in excess of demand throughout the decade. In some years, moreover, there was an aggravated superabundance of labor (table 2). It can undoubtedly be safely said that problems of agricultural labor shortage would not have appeared at any time during the decade 1930–39 even though no workers had migrated from other States to the Pacific area.

TABLE 1.—*Index of estimated demand for agricultural labor in California, 1920–38, by type of enterprise*

[1909–14=100]

Year	Field crops	Truck crops	Fruits and nuts	Livestock	Total
1920	100	162	131	108	119
1921	92	137	136	104	117
1922	89	174	146	104	123
1923	85	190	152	106	126
1924	83	193	165	107	131
1925	85	222	177	107	138
1926	84	275	188	108	146
1927	83	303	193	114	151
1928	88	307	197	119	156
1929	93	365	195	119	159
1930	95	392	183	115	154
1931	91	378	182	115	152
1932	88	404	180	112	151
1933	89	365	175	109	146
1934	88	405	175	107	147
1935	88	448	171	106	147
1936	98	456	161	127	151
1937	116	440	165	130	156
1938	101	392	166	130	152

Fuller, Varden, "Wage Rates and Expenditures for Labor, California Agriculture, 1909–1935." Table 23 (typewritten manuscript on file at the library of the Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics, University of California). Data for 1936–38 compiled by author.

TABLE 2.—*Supply and demand situation for agricultural labor in California, 1920–40, as of Apr. 1* [1]

Year	Supply (as a percent of normal)	Demand (as a percent of normal)	Ratio: supply to demand
1920	84	104	81
1921	99	93	106
1922	107	96	111
1923	94	96	98
1924	102	85	120
1925	103	88	117
1926	100	94	106
1927	101	94	107
1928	104	91	114
1929	102	91	112
1930	105	87	121
1931	117	77	152
1932	122	69	177
1933	132	62	213
1934	108	78	138
1935	104	81	128
1936	95	88	108
1937	98	89	110
1938	105	80	131
1939	105	81	130
1940	103	86	120

[1] April is not necessarily the best time of year to measure labor supply and demand but it happens to be the only month in which continuous data are available.

U. S. Department of Agriculture. Agricultural Marketing Service Farm Employment Report.

The chance for newly arrived workers to get jobs on farms arose out of the nature of the agricultural labor market which was associated with a pattern of agriculture in which large scale and highly specialized types of farm production were of great relative importance.[1] This labor market and the peculiar structure of labor demand back of it made it possible for newly arrived workers to compete on substantially equal terms with longer established workers for the limited employment available. This has resulted in spreading a limited amount of employment over a large number of workers, which, in turn, created serious underemployment of those who were able more or less effectively to compete in the field.

With respect to labor demand, the requirements on individual farms and within specialized areas are intense for relatively short periods. Throughout the years prior to 1930, demand for seasonal labor on the part of the various specialized areas was generally in excess of the resident labor supply. Since the peak periods of labor demand in these areas do not all fall at the same time, it was possible for labor requirements to be met by seasonal migration from area to area of part of the agricultural labor supply. The great majority of seasonal workers were hired for short periods and in large numbers per employer. Many indeed were not hired directly by farmers at all but by labor contractors or association managers. Short-time employment of workers in large groups, with many being nonresident in the community, has tended toward highly impersonal relations between employer and worker. Most of the seasonal harvest work requires but little skill or experience; thus it was of no great interest to farm employers to preserve highly stabilized relations with respect to particular workers.

On the supply side, the seasonal agricultural labor group has always been a heterogeneous and ever-changing one. Foreign nationality groups from countries of a low level of economic opportunity—the Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Mexicans, and Filipinos—have, together with native Indians, at times constituted significant proportions of the agricultural labor supply in various parts of the West. Only during periods of general economic stagnation have efficient occupationally mature native white workers sought employment as seasonal agricultural workers in any considerable numbers. With the return of prosperous conditions in nonagricultural industries, those who could get other jobs have left the field of seasonal agricultural labor to the foreign nationality groups and to those who for one reason or another were unable to secure more favorable employment.

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[1] This discussion is based in part on another study. See Fuller, Varden, The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, 76th Cong., 3d sess., pt. 54, pp. 19777–19898.

This combination of circumstances with respect to supply of and demand for seasonal agricultural labor has resulted in a highly disorganized labor market. And it has been principally disorganization rather than active demand with respect to supply which has enabled workers newly arrived to the Pacific coast to compete for available work on approximately equal terms with longer established laborers.

To some extent, vacancies have been created through the return since 1930 of Mexicans and Filipinos to their native homes; the actual magnitude of opportunities made available through this occurrence cannot, however, be accorded any considerable significance.

In the last two decades, at least one-half and often more than three-fourths of all hired agricultural laborers in the principal intensive areas of the Pacific region have been temporarily hired for seasonal work. Of those employed at seasonal work, the majority prior to 1930 did not maintain any permanent domicile; others maintained a domicile from which they moved about among various farms, or crops, or adjacent areas. Those who were migratory with respect to both employment and domicile were before 1930 principally single men or foreign nationality families. Since white families were not theretofore involved to any great extent in migratory seasonal work, community-conscious observers were not widely concerned over the failure of migratory agricultural workers to establish normal social stability.

CHANGE IN THE AGRICULTURAL LABOR SUPPLY DURING THE PAST DECADE

With the entry of white family groups into the field of seasonal and casual labor in western agriculture, a different pattern has developed. Some of the new white family groups have remained continuously migratory; some of the old migratory workers still remain. But the great majority of the families who have migrated westward during the past decade and entered seasonal agricultural employment have established fairly permanent domiciles. With this domicile as a base, the workers of the family have pursued seasonal employment in immediately adjacent areas.

This tendency towards stability of domicile on the part of the white family groups who have migrated from other States to the Pacific coast and entered agricultural employment has brought an apparently ample supply of resident labor to most all major farming areas. Since nonresident workers no longer are absolutely necessary to most areas, and since resident workers have been able recently to establish some claim to local jobs, the volume of regularly patterned seasonal migration appears during the latter half of the past decade to have been materially reduced. Nevertheless, there is evidence that some of this seasonal migration still exists; one outstanding instance is that of laborers moving with large-scale operators and employment contractors whose activities are both interregional and interstate. In addition, there is the irregular movement back and forth of a group, made up largely of newly arrived people, who have not yet achieved permanent establishment in any community.

The domiciles of the newly established farm laborer families referred to above are not permanent homes in the usual sense. Relocating families employed at seasonal agricultural jobs have had to improvise the best shelters they could out of the very small means available to them. Many have purchased tiny cheap lots and constructed houses at a cost of $200 to $500. Such arrangements are to be found in the numerous new shacktowns located in the Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Salinas Valleys of California, and in the Yakima Valley of Washington. In general, the housing units of these new communities can be said to be inadequate, and to be creating new rural slums. Nevertheless, they represent endeavors to establish permanency by people who are trying to escape the hardships and the undesirability of a migratory and homeless existence.

Not all of the relocated migrants living in these shack towns are at present engaged as agricultural laborers. On the other hand, not all the migrant people who are engaged as seasonal agricultural laborers live in the shack towns. Some of them live in more acceptable housing units in longer established communities, some are living in housing provided by employers, and others live in the housing facilities made available through the Farm Security Administration. In addition, as indicated above, some small proportion are still moving about without any permanent domicile. These include families who have chosen to follow the crops rather than to endeavor to make a living in one place, and others who are still searching for an opportunity to settle down.

EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME SITUATION OF MIGRANTS ENGAGED AS AGRICULTURAL LABORERS

The situation of migrants to Pacific areas who have become agricultural laborers was investigated in the spring of 1939 by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. This organization conducted sample field studies in the Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Salinas Valleys of California and (cooperatively with Washington State College) in the Yakima Valley of Washington. Selection of families to be studied was made within the newly developing shack towns and was limited to only those families who had an agricultural background and who had migrated to the particular State since the first of 1930.

Although the great majority of the shack town residents had formerly been engaged in agriculture, they were at the time of the survey by no means exclusively occupied at agricultural labor. Of the 1,004 families studied in California, only 38 percent reported that during 1938 agricultural labor was their principal source of income. Nevertheless, the great majority of the shack town residents had received part of their income from agricultural labor. However, 299 of the 1,004 families reported that during 1938 they had been dependent on public assistance for the principal portion of their income, and for the majority of this group, agricultural labor was the only important source of income other than public assistance. When these families for whom agricultural labor was the principal source of income other than public assistance are grouped with the above 360 families, the total becomes 522, or over half of the entire group of families studied.

The cash income situation of the several groups of relocated migrant families engaged with varying degrees of success as agricultural laborers is summarized in table 3. It will be noted that 117 families received no public assistance whatever, and made an average income of $940 during 1938. Those families who were able to earn most of their income from agricultural labor, but who were dependent to some extent on public assistance, received an average income of $671, of which one-fifth was received from public assistance sources. It is evident from the remainder of the table that not only are earnings and public assistance inversely related but that as dependence upon public assistence increases, average total income declines. Finally, among all families for whom agricultural labor was the principal source of private income, the average cash income received during 1938 was $711.

TABLE 3.—*Composition of average family incomes for 1938: Three groups of recently settled migrant families engaged in varying degrees as agricultural laborers in California* [1]

Source of income	Group I [2]			Group IV–A,[3] 94 families	Group IV–B,[4] 68 families	All groups, 522 families
	Nonpublic assistance, 117 families	Public assistance, 243 families	Both groups, 360 families			
Employment:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Agriculture	84.9	68.8	75.2	30.2	8.6	61.2
Canning, packing, and processing agricultural products	6.5	4.1	5.1	1.5	.2	4.0
Nonagricultural industries	8.0	5.5	6.5	2.0	.3	5.2
Total industrial earnings	99.4	78.4	86.8	33.7	9.1	70.4
Total public assistance		21.0	12.6	66.0	90.4	29.1
Other income	.6	.6	.6	.3	.5	.5
Average income	$940.65	$670.80	$758.51	$646.26	$547.57	$710.81

[1] For 273 families the income year was 1938; for 249 families the income year was April 1938 through March 1939.

[2] Families with agricultural labor as principal source of all income.

[3] Families principally dependent on public assistance but with at least $100 in earnings from agricultural labor as principal nonpublic assistance source.

[4] Same as group IV–A but with less than $100 from agricultural labor.

For the remainder of this discussion, consideration will be limited to the 360 families of table 3 who earned the major part of their income from agricultural labor. This will enable an examination of the employment and income situation of that group which can be more strictly defined as being dependent on agricultural labor and which at the same time was able to realize significant earnings from that source.

As indicated in table 3, the average income of this group of 360 agricultural laborer families was $758. Three-fourths of this average was gained directly from agricultural employment; 5 percent came from employment in industries related to agriculture—canning, packing, and processing—while 6.5 percent was received from employment in nonagricultural industries. Approximately one-eighth of the average income came from public assistance sources.

Several significant points are indicated by the foregoing data. It appears that among workers occupied principally as agricultural laborers the amount of complementary employment in nonagricultural industries and in industries related to agriculture is not great. This group gained approximately the same proportion of their income from these other sources of employment as they did from public assistance. Another significant finding is that, although 12.6 percent of all incomes came from public assistance, a total of 67.5 of all the group participated in this assistance. This would mean that although the majority needed help at some time during the year, the amount of help required in each case was not large.

Although the average income for the group was $758, the most typical income was about $625. Twenty-one percent actually received less than $450, and only 24 percent received over $900. Variation in individual incomes is set forth in greater detail in figure 1.

Annual family incomes for 1938—360 migrant families relocated in California and engaged as agricultural laborers

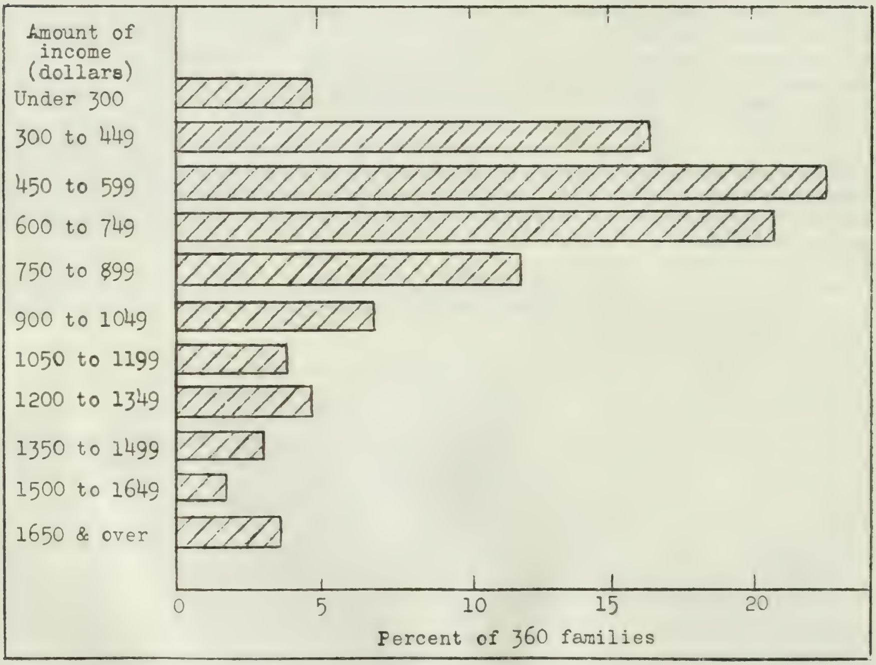

FIGURE 1.

The foregoing figures do not accurately portray amounts available for family living. There are both additions and deductions. As additions, there are services and commodities received free of charge from employers and from public agencies; these will be discussed at a later point. The principal deduction from cash income is the cost of maintaining an automobile. In working out at temporary seasonal jobs from an established headquarters, these workers have found an automobile almost mandatory. Nearly all families have them, and they are used for seeking work and traveling to and from jobs. The cost of operating such a conveyance is not known, but it evidently is not an inconsiderable sum and obviously cuts quite deeply into earnings.

Average annual income for 1938 by months and sources—304 migrant families relocated in California and engaged as agricultural laborers[1]

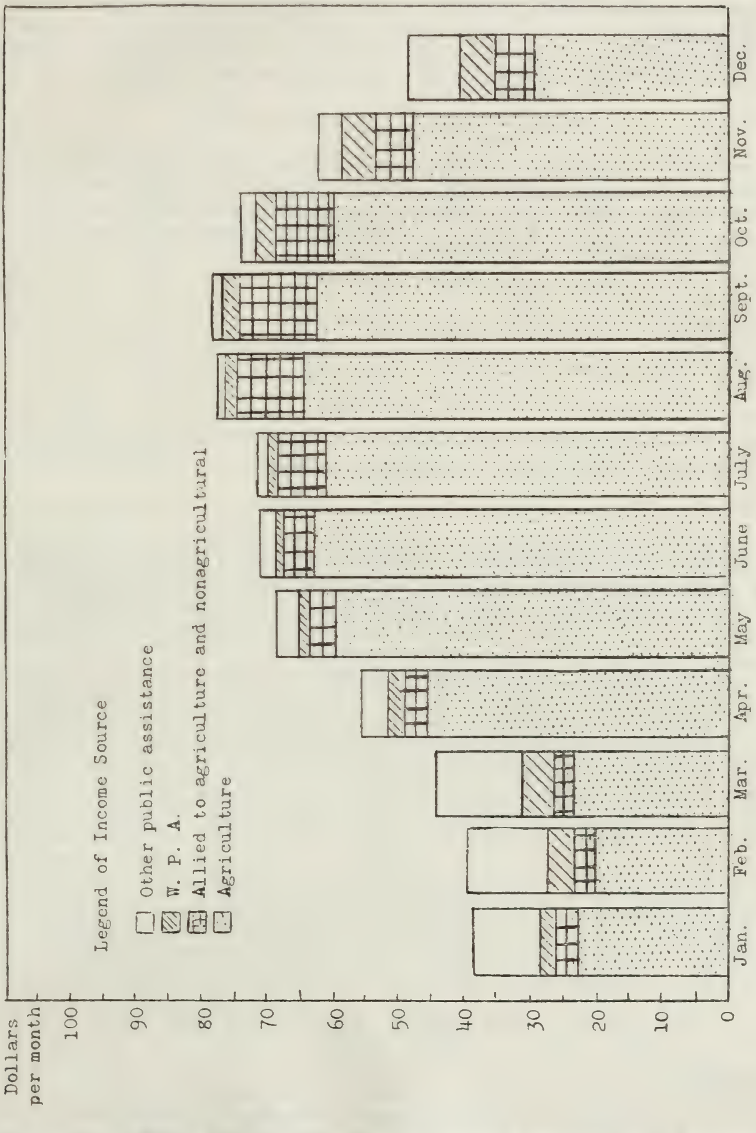

FIGURE 2.

[1] Incomes of 54 of the 360 families could not be classified monthly.

Another aspect of the income situation is that of seasonality. Figure 2 indicates that earnings from agricultural employment were subject to extreme seasonal variation. During the months of December, January, February, and March, agricultural earnings were only about one-third of the level of May through October. Agricultural laborer families received moderate amounts of income from employment in industries allied to agriculture and in nonagricultural industries. Unfortunately, however, this outside employment occurs mainly during the period of peak agricultural employment; hence, there is no dovetailing of earnings from agricultural and nonagricultural sources. This is inescapable because of the fact that a large proportion of the employment received outside of agriculture was in canning, packing, and processing of agricultural commodities, and activity in these lines is closely geared to activity in the fields. The only dovetailing taking place was in the receipt of public assistance, which was adjusted contra-seasonally with earnings and to a limited degree does compensate for the extreme seasonality of earnings from employment. This seasonal adjustment, however, is principally in cash relief (which comprises the major portion of the category labeled "other public assistance"). Income received by this group of families from the Work Projects Administration employment was relatively less flexible over the season than was cash relief.

TYPES OF AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT

Approximately four-fifths of the man-days employment in agriculture were on temporary seasonal jobs; only one-fifth of the man-days were in regular long-term employment. Of the seasonal work, the majority of the days were in the harvest; there was, however, considerable temporary employment in general and preharvest work.

Type of work:	*Percent of man-days*
Preharvest	8.7
Harvest	52.0
General (short-term)	16.6
Total temporary	77.3
Long-term (general)	20.5
Unknown	2.2
Total	100.0

Long-term employment was concentrated principally on livestock farms, which employed about one-eighth of all man-days. The small amount of preharvest seasonal work was mainly in deciduous fruits and in field crops. Deciduous fruits and field crops (principally cotton) provided the bulk of the seasonal work during harvest. Harvest work in citrus fruits and vegetables also absorbed a considerable number of man-days.

The significance of the foregoing proportions of types of work is the indication that employment of this group of recent migrants to California has been mainly in the more elementary processes of agriculture. That is to say, it has been mainly in those tasks requiring relatively little skill, experience, or training. The bulk of the employment has been in hand tasks where each worker is only part of a group or gang. There is but little opportunity to handle machinery or livestock. Since the jobs are specialized and routinized, there is but little opportunity for workers in such tasks as these to become familiar with all the processes of the crop or enterprise. Moreover, these types of enterprises, when conducted on a specialized basis, as most of them are, employ relatively few persons on a permanent basis. There is, therefore, but little hope for most of these workers either to learn and to save enough to begin an enterprise on their own or to advance to a higher level as hired workers within the forms of enterprise out of which they are presently earning their livelihood.

NUMBERS OF WORKERS AND MAN-DAYS OF EMPLOYMENT

Table 4 sets forth in detail the number working and the amount of employment month by month. Perhaps the most significant findings indicated by this table is that during the 4 slack months of December through March one-third to one-half of the agricultural laborer families had no member working. Even during the period of peak labor demand—June through September—approximately one-tenth of the families in this group had no member working within each of the particular months. During the busy season, many families have two to five employed members per family. The average number of workers per family rose from a low point of 0.7 person in February and March to a high point of 1.7 persons in September. At the same time the average man-days of employment per employed worker tended also to rise. This combination of increasing number of workers and increasing employment per worker resulted in rapidly increasing man-days of employment per family during the summer months.

TABLE 4.—*Average number of workers and man-days employment*[1] *per family during 1938*[2]*: 304 recently settled agricultural laborer families.*[3]

Month	Percent families having designated number of workers							Average number working	Average man-days employment per family	Average days employment per worker
	None working	One working	Two working	Three working	Four working	Five working	Total			
January	44.4	39.5	9.6	3.9	1.3	1.3	100	.8	10.4	13.0
February	49.6	37.5	8.2	1.7	1.7	1.3	100	.7	8.8	12.6
March	48.6	39.5	8.2	.7	2.0	1.0	100	.7	9.4	13.4
April	23.7	55.9	14.1	4.3	1.3	.7	100	1.1	18.6	16.9
May	13.5	60.2	17.8	3.6	1.3	1.3	100	1.3	23.4	18.0
June	11.2	57.6	20.6	5.6	3.3	1.7	100	1.4	25.4	18.1
July	11.8	56.6	19.7	6.6	3.0	2.3	100	1.4	26.1	18.6
August	11.8	52.7	22.0	6.6	3.6	3.3	100	1.5	27.3	18.2
September	9.6	49.6	22.7	6.9	5.9	5.3	100	1.7	29.5	17.4
October	13.5	46.7	25.0	6.9	4.3	3.6	100	1.5	26.8	17.9
November	22.0	43.7	21.1	7.9	3.0	2.3	100	1.3	22.5	17.3
December	36.8	40.1	14.8	5.6	2.0	.7	100	1.0	14.4	14.4
Average	24.7	48.3	17.0	5.0	2.9	2.1	100	1.2	20.2	16.3

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[1] Excluding Work Projects Administration and including all gainful employment whether in agricultur or nonagricultural industries.

[2] For 158 families the income year was 1938; for 146 families the income year was April 1938 through March 1939.

[3] Families whose principal source of annual income was from wage labor in agriculture.

It is significant to note that the variation in average man-days per employed worker is much less than is that in the average number employed per family. Thus, while the influences of both underemployment and unemploment are much in evidence, the latter is the relatively greater contributor to extreme seasonal variation in total man-days of employment.

As an average throughout the year, each agricultural laborer family had 1.2 employed persons who received an average of 16.3 days of employment per month, making a monthly average of 20.2 man-days of employment per family. Man-days employment per family during December through March was approximately one-third the number of the period June through October. Even with an annual average of 1.2 persons employed and a seasonal maximum average of 1.7 persons, this group of families received only an average total of 242 man-days of employment, which is considerably less than that which normally would be received by one fully employed worker.

The findings of the California survey indicate that additional workers per family do not contribute substantially to family earnings. The maximum employment per worker was received when there was only one worker per family. It was found that earnings tend to increase slightly in two- and three-worker families, respectively, but fail to increase after three workers. Four-worker families earned the same as three-worker families, and when five or more workers were employed, earnings fell below the three- and four-worker level. Average family earnings corresponding to specified number of workers were as follows:

Number of workers per family:	*Average annual family earnings*
1	$566
2	603
3	756
4	756
5 and over	656

In the foregoing discussion a "worker" is any person who is employed at any time during the year. Thus, most instances of multiple workers per family are cases where the wife and children are employed for temporary work. The employment of minor children, especially those under 12 years of age, was found to be particularly marked among the agricultural laborer families. Moreover, it has been found that as family income becomes smaller, employment of younger children not only increases but begins to extend into the period of the normal school year.

Taken in their entirety, the findings of this survey would seem clearly to indicate that additional family workers contribute but little to family incomes and actually are usually brought into the employment field only when the inadequate earnings of the principal breadwinner make it mandatory.

INCOME OTHER THAN CASH

Total income available for family living exceeded the cash income as heretofore summarized. Many families received free medical service; a still larger number received free commodities through the surplus-commodity program. Even more important sources of income enhancement were through home production and perquisites received from employers. Detailed information regarding values and quantities of items of income received from all of the aforementioned sources was very difficult to secure. Moreover, treatment in value terms would have involved much arbitrary value assignment. For these reasons, no value analysis has been undertaken. However, an endeavor is made below to summarize the contribution of items of noncash income to the level of family living.

Thirty percent of the families reported that they received some free medical service. The majority of those receiving such service reported that they had received it during 3 months or less of the year 1938. One-half of the families reported the receipt of some free commodities, the majority of whom, likewise, received such commodities only during a period of 3 months or less during the year. The quantities of free commodities received is unknown, but it can be presumed that limitations in choice and quantity allotted per family would prevent significant augmentation of income.

Perquisites received from employers consisted almost exclusively of fruit and wood. In a few instances families had been provided with housing by employers, but the method of selecting the sample precludes an occurrence of this which would be representative of all farm workers. Fruit was received more frequently in the interior valley communities of California than any other perquisite. The majority of families had received from 25 to 350 quarts of fruit, some of which had been consumed fresh and some conserved.

Such home production as was reported consisted principally of vegetables. In the Olivehurst-Linda communities of the Sacramento Valley area approximately one-third of the families had gardens from which they had realized produce in 1938. The majority indicated that it was their intention to have gardens within the immediate future. Approximately one-third to one-fourth of the families had cows or chickens—most frequently chickens, in numbers from 4 to 30. Occasionally families reported goats and rabbits. In a few instances the lots had fruit or nut trees already growing when the families acquired them. Most other communities of the interior valley conformed approximately to the situation described above for the Olivehurst-Linda communities.

The foregoing description of noncash income may perhaps give a misleading impression of the relative significance of noncash to cash income. Even though the typical categories of income in kind were quite widely experienced, the extent to which each was experienced was generally quite small. That is to say that only small quantities were received by the majority who received any at all. It is quite improbable that, if the noncash items were evaluated, they would be found to have contributed more than 5 percent to the aggregate income of the families in this study.

FINANCIAL PROGRESS SINCE ARRIVAL IN CALIFORNIA

The net worth at the time of arrival of the typical migrant family included in this study was only slightly above $100; approximately two-thirds had less than $200. Of average net worth, 38 percent was in cash, 34 percent in the value of the car, and the remainder in clothing, household goods, and incidentals.

At the time of the survey in the spring of 1939 these families had lived an average of approximately 3.5 years in California. In that time no financial progress whatever had been made as regards the total value of automobile, cash on hand, and household goods. Such small financial progress as was made was tied up exclusively in equities in small building lots and properties. Approximately one-half of the settlers bought cheap residence properties, the average price being $563. Since the time of purchase additional improvements have been made, bringing total average value to approximately $875. Deducting the average unpaid balances, leaves an average equity of $468. When this equity is spread over all families, the average growth in financial status, taking account of a negative change in other assets, becomes less than $200 per family. This is an average of approximately $50 per year per family.

Even this extremely modest financial improvement must be considered with reservations. As stated above, all financial progress is tied up in small real-estate equities. Maintenance or appreciation of these equities is dependent upon continuance of the shack towns in which they are located. And most of the shack towns will continue to exist only in the event that the low level of economic opportunity of the past few years is maintained or in the absence of social action to remove them.

Although the average experience of this group of migrants has been one of very modest financial progress, there have been marked individual gains. Certain families have done relatively well. Others, coming with a few thousand dollars of savings, now have almost nothing.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

The typical shack-house dwelling is improvised out of tar paper, secondhand lumber, crating, or other cheap material. It contains two or three small rooms—the average size being 2.8 rooms. Since the average size of family is 4.6 persons, the average number of persons per room is 1.6. Actually the space situation is even worse because the foregoing determination excludes instances of tents and trailers, which are mainly one-room units.

Most of the housing units were equipped with pit privies, which in many cases were shared with neighbor families. Only one-tenth were equipped for sewage disposal or with a septic tank. In only one-fourth of the cases was garbage collected—otherwise the principal means of disposal were dumping into a pit or hauling away. Approximately one-half of the families had an individual water supply from the city mains; 18 percent had their own wells; the remainder obtained water from neighbors, from a common well or faucet, and by miscellaneous other means.

Eighty percent of the families had the use of electricity; 40 percent were equipped with gas. Furniture was very sparse and largely improvised out of makeshift material. The one modern appliance possessed by almost all families was a radio, which, incidentally, provided one of the principal sources of recreation.

COMPARATIVE SITUATION IN YAKIMA VALLEY

A comparable study of migrants resettled as agricultural laborers in Yakima Valley indicates a similar situation. Employment was principally in casual and seasonal jobs. Seasonal variation in employment was, in fact, even more extreme than in California.

The agricultural laborer families in Yakima had more family members employed during the rush season and experienced more severe unemployment during the slack season. For the entire season the average number of workers per family and the average man-days of employment per family were about the same as in California. Yakima Valley agricultural laborers, however, earned substantially less per day of employment—the average earning being $1.75, as compared with $2.30 in California. This lower rate of earning has resulted in a smaller average annual income of $640, as compared with $758 for the California families.

The foregoing data for Yakima Valley represent migrant families who have resettled and are earning the major portion of their income from agricultural labor. Migrant families who have resettled in the valley and who receive incidental agricultural employment but who are primarily dependent upon some other industry or upon public assistance are not included in these figures. Yakima agricultural laborers were slightly more dependent upon public assistance—approximately three-fourths received aid at some time during the year and the group in the aggregate drew about 14 percent of their annual income from this source.

Yakima families received larger amounts of noncash income and have made slightly more rapid financial progress than have the California families. Such modest financial progress as has been experienced in both cases has been exclusively in the equities built up in cheap residence properties. Housing is approximately the same except that the Yakima shack houses are somewhat more substantially built.

PERMANENCY OF SETTLEMENT AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Despite the rather unfavorable experience as regards income and financial progress of these migrant families resettling as agricultural laborers, the majority regard themselves as permanently located. In contrast with apparent opportunities elsewhere, they appear to think of themselves as favorably situated. The structure of employment opportunities nevertheless leaves countless man-days of labor unutilized and hence wasted. While the loss of unutilized labor is not an insignificant matter to society, it obviously devolves most heavily upon the individuals experiencing the days lost from earning.

The structure of employment opportunities in most of the intensive agricultural areas of the West is such that any worker who depends principally upon seasonal agricultural employment cannot hope for much more than 200 days of work per year in agriculture. Moreover, the evidence would seem to indicate that workers have found it difficult substantially to supplement this with other types of employment during the slack agricultural seasons. Under present conditions of farm organization and as long as agricultural workers remain ineligible for social security benefits, public assistance performs a very great function in the economic stability of farm workers. It must be emphasized, also, that public assistance as it is received, is equally a subsidy to farm operators who employ seasonal labor. Assistance received by workers operates as a subsidy paid by the public in general to farm employers inasmuch as a pool of labor is kept constantly available to work at modest wage rates.

So long as agricultural labor remains the residual category of the national occupational structure, the lot of the farm laborer will never be a favorable one. Provided that new supplies of labor are not imported from foreign sources, the status of the farm laborer can best be improved through the indirect influence of a high level of economic opportunity in other industries. All present indications—changes in population and in markets on the one hand and changes in technique of production on the other—point in the long run toward a contracting rather than an expanding demand for agricultural labor.

A high level of employment opportunity in nonagricultural industry which drew away some of the agricultural labor surplus would benefit those remaining in several ways: Reduced competition for jobs would enable those remaining to realize a greater amount of annual employment than is presently being realized. It is conceivable, also, that a reduced labor supply would discourage some of the extreme specialization in production which at present appears to be based as much upon a plentiful and mobile labor supply as upon other productive advantages.[2] A tendency toward substitution of diversified for specialized production could be expected to reduce the seasonal variability of labor demand but not necessarily to increase the aggregate labor demand.

In addition, reduction in competition would possibly bring an increase in wage rates. However, as the situation is at present, underemployment rather than relatively low earnings per day of employment is the principal contributor to small annual incomes.[3] Hence, of the two, it can be said that increase in annual total days of work is of more immediate importance than increase in wage rates.

A high level of industrial activity, centering around national defense, may possibly bring considerable relief to agricultural laborers during the next 3 or 4 years. Optimism in this regard is not greatly supported by contemporary experience in Great Britain, however. After more than a year of defense preparations and active combat, unemployment remains one of the most pressing of Britain's domestic problems.

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[2] Fuller, Varden, The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, U. S. Senate, 76th Cong., 3d sess., pt. 54, pp. 19777–19898.

[3] This is to say that compared with other types of unskilled labor, average earnings per day of agricultural workers are not extremely unfavorable. But, as compared with full employment, the amount of employment per year received by agricultural workers is clearly unfavorable.

In the long run, the economic situation of agricultural laborers will be determined for the most part by the condition of the national economy. So long as any considerable amount of unemployment exists in the economy, there is little question but that agricultural laborers will remain one of the least privileged groups in the Nation. This is the result of the unusual vulnerability of agricultural workers to the competition of all persons who have no other employment alternative.

TESTIMONY OF VARDEN FULLER—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, I will say for myself and in behalf of the committee that we have enjoyed your statements very much. I feel that they have given us a new light on some of the things that have been brought out. We appreciate very much your presentation here today.

Mr. FULLER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fuller, as to whether migration will increase or decrease depends upon a good many different elements; isn't that true?

Mr. FULLER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It depends upon the weather, the rainfall. It depends upon the increase in mechanization. It depends upon how fast the soil will wear itself out, and it is almost impossible to tell about whether it will increase or decrease; is it not?

Mr. FULLER. That's right. With respect to those people who would be coming from agricultural areas, that is. However, I think we can safely say that for the other people, it depends on just how prosperous the nonagricultural industries are.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I noticed you said there that they are supposed to be citizens of all the States. In other words, you are a citizen of California and also a citizen of the 48 States under the Constitution. But the way the States are raising barriers, such as a year's residence and making it a crime to transport a destitute citizen across the State line, is a violent way to work it out, isn't it?

Mr. FULLER. I think it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fuller, I think you have presented a very interesting statement, and if there is anything additional you have, we will hold the record open for you.

Mr. FULLER. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., an adjournment was taken to 2 o'clock p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(After the taking of a recess, the hearing was resumed at 2 p. m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order.

Dr. Hopkins is the first witness.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM S. HOPKINS, DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS, STANFORD UNIVERSITY, PALO ALTO, CALIF.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, you will give your full name and address, please.

Dr. HOPKINS. William S. Hopkins, department of economics, Stanford University.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you, Doctor.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Dr. Hopkins, you are with Leland Stanford University?

Dr. HOPKINS. Associate professor of economics.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have submitted a paper that I have looked over rather briefly.

Dr. HOPKINS. Yes, sir.

(The statement submitted by Dr. Hopkins is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM S. HOPKINS, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS, STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIF.

MIGRATORY LABOR IN THE ECONOMIC SCHEME

The staff of the committee requested me to outline my views with regard to the general setting of the problem of migratory labor as it fits into the economic scene, with particular reference to California. It is not my task here to review all of the statistical data or the factual details of specific circumstances. Much of that information was brought out in the hearings of the La Follette committee, much more has been gathered by the staff of this committee. Rather I shall deal with ideas. I shall attempt to put the migrant problem in a proper perspective—to view it as a part of our economy rather than as a isolated problem.

The Nation has witnessed an intensive publicizing of the welfare aspects of the problem, which has been followed by an extreme amount of emotionalism. At the same time there has been an unfortunate neglect, on the part of all but the most careful students, of the harder economic aspects. In an effort to focus attention upon the latter, I shall try to organize the highlights of existing information around an economic idea in the hope of making possible a clearer view of the whole picture.

SUMMARY

MIGRATORY LABOR PROBLEM ONE OF DISORGANIZED LABOR MARKET

The migratory labor problem is primarily a problem of a disorganized labor market. The publicizing of the welfare aspects has been accompanied by a comparative neglect of the economic aspects. The migrants came to California chiefly because attracted by a disorganized labor market, which they, in turn, have helped to disorganize further. California agriculture is dependent upon a migratory group—we have hitherto left them to their own devices. Increasing complexity and increased workers have thrown this anarchic lack of system into chaos. The chief evils lie in recruiting methods, in the publicizing of false information about the State and its opportunities, including wage rates and relief allowances, in the growing breach between large and small farmers, in the cumbersomeness of attempted representative organizations, and in the decreasing market for agricultural produce. The solution is to be found in steps which will lead to a better organization of the agricultural labor market. The most urgent of these are: (1) Enlargement of the Federal Security Administration program, (2) revival of the Voorhis bill, (3) wage boards and arbitration boards for agricultural labor, (4) improvement of the United States Employment Service, and (5) extension of old-age security to agriculture.

The economic idea is that this problem is primarily a labor-market problem. The concept of the labor market is not a new one, nor does it imply any particular school of economic thought. It simply suggests the reality that the ability to perform work, and the performance of that work, are bought and sold in a market comparable to the markets for commodities. Potential employers are potential purchasers of labor; potential employees are potential sellers of labor. In a commodity market, the condition of both buyers and sellers depends in large measure upon the nature of the market, upon the rules under which transactions are carried on, upon the state of organization or disorganization within the market. If we carry over into the labor market the analogy of the better-known commodity market, we may be able to shed real light upon the former.

The labor market in California, taking the State as a whole, has never been steady. The comparative recency of the industrialization of our economy and the rapid growth in the population of the State have kept this market in a very real state of disorganization. The recent heavy influx of migrants has served to throw into extraordinary turmoil, therefore, a labor market which at its best has been highly unstable. If this turmoil can be understood on economic grounds, it is possible that it may be resolved on economic grounds, and the unfortunate necessities of physical altercation may be minimized.

For the migrants were attracted here in the first place largely because our labor market was disorganized, and their presence, in turn, has served to disorganize it further. This can be made more clear by an enumeration of some of the major factors in the California labor market which have contributed to its state of disorganization.

It is well known that California agriculture has for years required a migratory laboring group. Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Filipinos, Mexicans, and the native-born fruit tramps and bindlestiffs have harvested our crops, on a migratory basis, for generations. They developed their own routes of travel, they worked when and where they were wanted; they usually disappeared when they were not needed. In the comparatively simple economy of an earlier California, a complete lack of system seemed to the uncritical to work with sufficient smoothness. Such explosions as the Wheatlands riot of 1913 seemed to most observers to be isolated and unfortunate episodes, but few saw, as Carleton Parker did, that this riot was a symptom of maladjustment with the body economic. Our present troubles were brewing even then—their maturity has only been hastened by the wave of migration from the Dust Bowl.

But the lack of any system for providing the supply of labor in our agricultural labor market seemed, on the surface, to be quite satisfactory. And thus we built up, through the years, the tradition that a disorganized labor market was somehow desirable, Californian, and American. In those days before the turn of the century when we were bitterly denouncing the anarchists, we were insisting that anarchy must reign within our agricultural labor market. We are now reaping the harvest of that insistence—our disorganized labor market is so badly disorganized that it doesn't even seem to work well any more.

RECRUITING LABOR

It is perhaps unnecessary to inform this committee of the evils which have frequently resided in the practice and devices for recruiting agricultural labor. It is said that California farmers and growers have long since abolished the device of advertising for too many workers, a device designed to provide an abundance of labor and to prevent the exaction of a scarcity wage. More recently, reform is said to have taken place in Arizona. Texas boasts of the efficiency of her farm placement system. Although I am skeptical of any assertion that all is now perfect with the farm recruiting methods, there is no doubt that there has been much improvement. But the clearing out of vicious practices does not automatically produce good and efficient practices. It simply leaves a disorganized labor market. And that market is hedged in with spite and prejudices and traditional hatreds. Only the substitution of an active and effective market organization can eliminate these.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA

But the fact remains that one of the reasons why migrants have come to California is their belief that they can get jobs here. No matter where the responsibility for this belief may lie, the fact remains. Much has been said of the fine long-staple cotton grown in California and Arizona. This has attracted the dispossessed families of the Southwestern cotton areas. They were certain that their condition couldn't be worse, and it might be better. They have also been susceptible to the publicizing of our climate. I know of no method by which our booster bureaus can portray our climate attractively to industrialists and retired millionaires without making it sound attractive also to poor white sharecroppers and homeless harvest hands.

So also with wage rates. Our industrialists, in attempting to defend themselves against demands for wage increases made by their employees, have loudly and persistently announced that wages in California are considerably higher than elsewhere. Careful analysis will show that this is not always strictly correct. Wage data are highly complicated; wage statistics are often misleading. But the fact remains that the proposition is widely accepted in Oklahoma as well as in San Francisco. Thus this weapon which some of our employers have sought to use has proved to be a two-edged sword. As it has assisted various concerns in forestalling wage increases, so also it has increased the tax burden brought about by the necessity of caring for the indigent.

And so also with the differentials in the standards of public assistance. Whether or not California is unusually generous in its welfare program is immediately of less importance than the fact that so many people believe it to be true. For this also has been loudly proclaimed. When all of the restrictions upon relief in California are taken into consideration, and when the amount of benefits is cast into terms of purchasing power by correlating it with the price level, it is probable that California is not being as prodigally generous as is often assumed. But the carefully stated facts have not been broadcast to the world, rather we have advertised our generosity, and we must now bear the burden of it.

These are all factors in determining our labor supply; they have assisted in attracting migrants. But basically, the most important reason has been the search for work. One can easily find individual cases to prove that migrants came here for climate, generous relief, or for imaginary wages. But these will be isolated cases. Janow and McEntire, in an article in the Land Policy Review (July–August 1940, pp. 28–30) are certainly correct when they state that "the evidence is clear that, for the majority of families migration was a direct and purposeful move to places in California selected on the basis of former occupational experience as relatively promising in opportunities for employment." Overwhelmingly the evidence supports this conclusion. The migrants come here for job opportunities—a perfectly laudable purpose—even though those opportunities may not exist. The reason why the migrants come, and the reasons why the jobs don't exist, are found in this disorganized labor market which I have been attempting to describe so briefly.

CONFLICT BETWEEN LARGE- AND SMALL-SCALE FARMING

One of the major factors in the disorganization of the labor market lies obscured by the current confusion as to the changes in the size of farming operations. It is charged and denied that large-scale farming is coming to dominate the scene. Truth can be found on both sides of the current debate. The United States census figures, for the entire Nation, reveal that the number of farms comprising less than 50 acres increased by 19.6 percent from 1910 to 1935. But the number of farms of over 500 acres increased, during the same period, by 46 percent. The middle-sized farms—those between 50 and 500 acres, decreased by 6.8 percent. Thus it is apparently true that large-scale farming has increased, and also that very small-scale farming has increased by a lesser percentage, but that the medium-sized farms are fewer than they were in 1910. And yet it is these middle farmers who, in the American tradition, are typical. The figures just cited indicate a decreasing homogeneity of the farm population—a growing division between large farmers and small farmers.

This results in a growing divergence of interests as between the large and the small farmers. The reasons are complex and not simply stated, but may be discerned in a number of ways. For example, the increasing mechanization of agriculture is a potent factor. Large-scale machinery and the efficiency of business methods are most available to the large-scale farm. Evidence given before the La Follette committee and before the Temporary National Economic Committee make this clear. However, the very small farmer is also becoming able to avail himself of farm machinery. Light and inexpensive equipment is available, and the Department of Agriculture is encouraging the cooperative purchase of such equipment by groups. The tenancy program of the Farm Security Administration is also bolstering up the position of the very small farmer. I have discussed the significance of this in an article entitled "Our Agricultural Revolution," which, at the request of the committee staff, I am submitting for incorporation in the record. Since I presume that this will be printed as an exhibit, I shall not discuss the question further at this point. (See p. 2390.)

I do want to add, however, that the large and the small farmers approach the market for capital and the market for their produce in an entirely different way. The last market in particular is badly disorganized, a fact which greatly injures the economic stability of all agriculture, but which impinges with especial severity upon the small operator. It is one of the major factors which renders it difficult if not impossible for him to pay higher wages.

The small farmer is hampered also in his approach to the capital market. In California especially, capital is necessary to successful farming. In the East, a farmer could break virgin soil and raise a crop with very little investment. In California, however, he requires funds with which to provide irrigation and drainage. Water is life here, and the soil requires elaborate preparation before farming operations can begin. This fact increases the relative advantage of large-scale operations.

Resulting from this increasing divergence of interests between the two groups of farmers is a growing divergence in their attitude toward the labor market and to the crop market. The contemporary disputes about the prorate system are evidence of this fact.

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

For many years in California there have been organizations of farmers and of those financially interested in farming operations. Under American law and tradition, no one can dispute the right of those farmer groups to organize. But by the same token, no one can rightfully question the right of farm workers to organize. In fact, experience has shown that a solid and substantial organization among industrial employees tends toward a stable labor market. There is no valid reason why this same principle should not apply to agricultural employees. It must be borne in mind that there is some dovetailing of employment between city and country, that agricultural workers are never completely out of contact with industrial workers. This whole question of the relations between the two is badly in need of investigation. It becomes especially crucial as the farmer is increasingly faced with the loss of foreign markets, and with the indefiniteness of his position as a consequence of war conditions abroad.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The demand inevitably arises that some solution be found for the migratory labor problem. Obviously there is no panacea, no device which will solve the problem at one fell stroke. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that certain first steps are urgently required. These phases of the long-run program resolve chiefly about the problem of organizing a rational labor market. In my judgment, a number of courses of action are indicated.

First, the current program of the Farm Security Administration, and of other units within the Department of Agriculture, should not only be continued but should be enlarged.

Second, the so-called Voorhis bill should receive reconsideration by the Congress.

Third, the States should be encouraged to set up wage boards and arbitration boards for agricultural labor. In other words, agricultural labor is "labor" just as fully as industrial labor is "labor," and this fact must eventually be recognized.

Fourth, a greatly more efficient employment service must be provided for agricultural labor. An honest and competent effort should be made to bring the workers and the jobs together. The lack of such a service has been one of the major causes of disorganization in the market. The present efforts of the Bureau of Employment Security in this regard are laudable, and most of the officials of this service are deserving of high commendation. But they are pitifully lacking in adequate funds. It is my considered belief that the Congress should provide sufficient money for the proper development of the employment service, especially in rural areas.

Fifth, I believe that the old-age and survivor's benefit provisions of the Social Security Act should be immediately extended to agriculture, and that plans should be made for the eventual extension of unemployment compensation to the same group. At the present state of knowledge, it may not be feasible to extend the latter at the present time. But I am confident that the old-age benefits can properly be extended right now. On this subject I have just completed a research report for the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council, in Washington, D. C.; and if the committee so desires, I shall arrange to have a copy sent to it for its files.

I do not want to imply that the above list of five programs is exhaustive. But I do believe that those five courses of action are the ones of most immediate and pressing importance. Others are undoubtedly essential, but must follow later. I strongly urge that immediate attention be given to those five programs.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM S. HOPKINS—Resumed

EFFECTS OF DISORGANIZED LABOR MARKET

Mr. SPARKMAN. I notice the statement in the paper that the migratory labor problem is primarily a problem of a disorganized labor market. I believe that is a correct statement of your thesis; is it not? How do workers suffer from a disorganized labor market?

Dr. HOPKINS. I think the answer to your question can best be put in terms of the casualness of the labor which is obtainable in a disorganized labor market. In other words, I am referring in that portion of my statement, not so much to the level of wages as to the casual nature of the employment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean disruption of employment?

Dr. HOPKINS. The intermittent nature of the employment; yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. How does a disorganized labor market affect the opportunities of a migrant worker as compared to those of a resident worker?

Dr. HOPKINS. Well, the problem, of course, of the worker in any labor market is to find a job, just as it is the problem of the employer to find the worker. The migrant normally, being less well acquainted not only with people in the neighborhood but with circumstances in the neighborhood, is at a particularly great disadvantage as compared with the resident who is better aware of the job opportunities. And, of course, as was suggested in the testimony this morning, the migrant who is deprived of the ability to secure relief is further handicapped because of his inability to obtain some way of tiding over during the periods of unemployment, as compared with the resident worker who may be cared for on the relief rolls until he secures employment again. So there are several points to my answer.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, he simply does not have a fair chance to compete?

Dr. HOPKINS. When he is not working he is faced with starvation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do employers benefit from disorganized labor?

Dr. HOPKINS. In many cases they do. There are some ways, I think, in which they do not. It is, I think, an accepted axiom by American industry, if I may transfer from agriculture to industry for a moment, chiefly because our experience in the industrial field is more precise.

Let us take as an illustration a case where labor has traditionally been on the casual basis, and that is on the waterfront. Longshoring has been a very casual occupation, and even now in spite of many efforts to decasualize it, it still has many of those characteristics. The employer frankly admits, I believe, the necessity of what he calls a "labor reserve," that is a surplus above the average volume of labor needed. Obviously the operations cannot always continue if the average demand for labor is all which can be fulfilled. In other words, he needs available enough workers to handle the peak loads. This reserve of labor is faced with unemployment a good deal of the year, being usable only during the time of the peak operations, and yet the employers can't get along with only the number required for the average load available. The same is true in agriculture. So the employer requires available enough labor to handle the peak load. It usually comes in August, which is the harvesting time. He therefore requires that element of disorganization, that is, a considerable surplus of labor. He may also benefit, of course, through a disorganized labor market on the wage question, due to the fact that excessive competition on the part of unemployed workers may enable him to secure a competitive wage which is considerably lower than it would be otherwise.

Mr. Sparkman. I gather from your statement that it is wholly desirable to have a surplus of labor in order to take care of the peak loads, but there is such a thing as that surplus becoming entirely too large and unwieldy, and that is when the worker begins to suffer?

Dr. Hopkins. Yes. Although he may suffer and it may become unwieldy even before it is too large, if there are no means whereby the workers may find jobs. In other words, a state of disorganization in the market is so great that you may not have an actual surplus of workers if the surplus is only sufficient to take care of the peak loads. But in a state of disorganization with no adequate employment-service system, it is quite possible that the workers suffer just as badly, even though they are not present in greatly excessive numbers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. MORE EFFECTIVE FARM PLACEMENT SERVICE

Mr. Sparkman. How could you have a labor market organized so that the essential elements would be taken care of?

Dr. Hopkins. Well, as I stated in my prepared statement, I think perhaps one of the more important factors, one of the more important courses of action which would lead to a stabilization of this labor market, would be a more effective farm placement service in the United States Employment Service. It has, I believe it is safe to say, been notoriously understaffed, and in some isolated instances it has been notorious for other reasons; that is, for incompetence. I don't mean to imply that that is the condition in the whole United States Employment Service or the whole Farm Placement Service because there are competent men in it. It certainly has been handicapped by lack of funds. It has been difficult to secure cooperation of employers, until it sometimes became virtually a tool of the employers. It seems in many cases to have faced the alternative, to play with the employers or to remain ineffective.

Mr. **Sparkman**. If agricultural labor were unionized, what effect would that have on regular employment?

Dr. **Hopkins**. That is a little difficult to answer because there are unions and unions.

Mr. **Sparkman**. I wonder if I might change that question? Were you here this morning when Governor Olson testified?

Dr. **Hopkins**. Yes.

2. INCLUDE AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Mr. **Sparkman**. Did you hear as one of his recommendations that certain social legislation, among which he included the National Labor Relations Act, Social Security benefits, and the wage and hour law be extended to cover agricultural labor? What do you think as to the feasibility of that?

Dr. **Hopkins**. I agree with that thoroughly. And that is the way in which I would answer your original question regarding unionization. I believe that it must be clear and generally accepted throughout the country that the agricultural employer, just like industrial employers, have the legal rights to organize and so also have the employees, agricultural as well as industrial—in other words, that agricultural labor is labor just as thoroughly as industrial labor is labor. And the current exclusion of agriculture from the benefits of most of our social legislation, I think, is extremely unfortunate. I am thinking now largely in terms of Federal legislation. I am thinking in terms of the Wage and Hour Act, of the old-age provisions of the Social Security Act. Possibly in time the unemployment compensation provisions should be extended. At the present time I believe the old-age provisions could easily be extended to cover agriculture.

Mr. **Curtis**. You raise an interesting point there. When these various benefits are extended to laborers in industry, the cost is passed on in the price of the finished article; is that not right, generally speaking? High labor costs and social security taxes, and those things, do, generally speaking, increase the cost of the finished article?

Dr. **Hopkins**. There is a good deal of controversy among economists on just that question at the present time as to the ultimate incidence of social-security taxes. Among the more recent studies, however, the conclusion has been reached that in a few industries the ultimate incidence of the social-security tax goes upon the consumer, but that in the majority of cases it eventually moves back upon the wage earner.

Mr. **Curtis**. When you deal with agriculture, the producer of raw products cannot demand and receive more for his products because he has raised wages or has taken part in social programs for the benefit of his employees? He must sell on a competitive market, and the margin of the actual farm operator is so small, what is going to become of him when you extend certain of these things, these social benefits, to his laborers and at the same time organize them and increase their wages?

By asking that question I am not suggesting at all that the workers are not entitled to it, but under our system of marketing raw products what would happen to the farmer?

EFFECT OF COMPETITIVE PRACTICES ON EXTENSION OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION TO LABOR

Dr. **Hopkins.** Of course, you are suggesting something which I think is very pertinent, and that is the fact that not only is the agricultural labor market disorganized but so also is the agricultural commodities market disorganized. I believe that there are several forces at work in there now which must be considered in answering that or in commenting on that point. One, of course, is the encouragement now being given by the Department of Agriculture toward not only the cooperative marketing of crops but the cooperative financing and the cooperative purchase of machinery which will have a tendency to stabilize, I think, the marketing of agricultural products. I am not certain in your own State, but I know that it is true in neighboring States, in Kansas and Missouri, there has been considerable development of the cooperative purchase by small farmers of farm machinery and also of marketing devices.

Now, of course, what they are doing, by the cooperative device, in the market is approaching something of the semimonopolistic marketing in industry. I think that in industry where complete competition prevails, in those industrial occupations where competition prevails, that the same criticism follows as would be applied to agriculture.

Mr. **Curtis.** Well, now, if labor receives an increase in wages, taking the automobile manufacturing industry for example, it would perhaps follow that the price of automobiles would go up if it were a substantial increase?

Dr. **Hopkins.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** But under our system of economy, if all laborers employed by the raisers of wheat had their wages increased, it would not follow that the price of wheat would go up?

Dr. **Hopkins.** I think you are right.

Mr. **Curtis.** And our agriculture economy is in that pinch there?

Dr. **Hopkins.** I believe that the agriculture economy—I think that situation, as you describe, is essentially correct. But I believe it also applies to a number of industries. Let me suggest the textile industry for illustration, in which the same situation prevails, and yet upon which the taxes were levied and the industry is supposed to adjust itself. That is, I think these things are true of agriculture, but I don't think they are any more true of agriculture than of a number of industries which have been included in these laws. I think it is true of a number of industries, the same situation. But insofar as it is possible, you see, I don't believe there are very many cases. In the automobile case probably the reason the price of the finished product would go up to the consumer is because the automobile manufacturers could get it, if they got together, out of the consumers where the competitive industries cooperate. For that reason since the competitive industries cannot, it would eventually come, I believe, out of wages.

Mr. **Curtis.** Well, take the building trades. Doesn't that increase the cost of building?

Dr. **Hopkins.** You have a pretty monopolistic situation, I believe, there. Where a tendency toward monopoly is clear, I believe the price will go up to the consumer. Where competition is prevalent, the price to the consumer cannot go up. The employer eventually shifts as much of it as possible back upon wages. It may come about, not by deduction, or reduction, in the level of wages, but by a failure to raise wages when he might otherwise be able to do so. That is the way in which it goes back on wages normally.

So that as far as the social-security tax is concerned, that would fall upon labor in the form of compulsory savings which, in many cases, perhaps they couldn't afford.

Remember, however, that this relates to social-security taxes. I have only suggested the possibility of extending the old-age insurance. I think most of the social legislation to which we were referring does not involve taxes. The wage and hour law and the National Labor Relations Act do not involve any taxation or direct burden upon either the employer or the employee directly.

Mr. CURTIS. They involve an increase in wages, though; do they not?

Dr. HOPKINS. Oh, I see what you mean. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. With the producer of agricultural products the increase in wages is really a greater item than the social-security tax?

Dr. HOPKINS. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you think that the extension of these various benefits, or this social legislation, would tend to give a more regular employment?

Dr. HOPKINS. I think it would. I think it would tend toward——

Mr. SPARKMAN (interposing). A stabilization?

Dr. HOPKINS. Are you referring now to the social legislation?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. I said: Application of this social legislation to the agricultural workers.

Dr. HOPKINS. I think it would. One of them, the collective-bargaining angle, would probably bring about some development of unionism, although that is obviously in a turmoil at the present time. It is possibly a hundred years, historically speaking, behind the similar developments of organization in industrial labor. And I think that the record is very clear, that stability of a market has been brought about through industrial unionization.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Doctor Hopkins, are wages for agricultural workers higher in California than elsewhere in the United States?

Dr. HOPKINS. That question is a very difficult question to answer because the figures involved are themselves extremely difficult to interpret. The continuing series of figures maintained by the Department of Agriculture—I am quite certain of this—include only figures on wages by the hour, by the day, and by the week and do not include figures on piece-rate wages.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Which is the prevailing method of paying in California?

Dr. HOPKINS. The piece-rate wages and the Department of Agriculture figures relate to the hourly wages; and since in large-scale agriculture in this State the piece-rate wages prevail, the Department's figures, although accurate insofar as they go, do not convey any very real information as to what the scale of wages in California really is.

I might add that the Department of Agriculture is aware of this and so is the Department of Labor. I believe that they now have a joint committee of those two Departments investigating the possibility of building up a statistical service which would be more revealing, but the figures now in existence are quite inadequate to convey any accurate answer as to just what the comparative wages are as between different States in the Union.

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURE

Mr. SPARKMAN. Agriculture in California is not the same as it is back in Mr. Curtis' section, or my section. It is more industrialized; is it not?

Dr. HOPKINS. Yes, sir. It requires a much heavier capital investment on the part of the employer.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is very much of the agriculture here done by the individual family unit? I mean, operating a farm as an economic family unit?

Dr. HOPKINS. Compared to other parts of the country; no. Of course, taking the absolute figures, there are a great many. But although there are a very large number of such family farms, as compared to other portions of the country, the percentage is small.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has this industrialization of labor in California affected the stability of the labor market?

Dr. HOPKINS. Yes, it has. There has been in California—I think more than in other parts of the country—an increasing divergence between the large farmers and the small farmers. There are more large farmers. There are more small farmers and fewer middle-size farmers. And as the extreme positions change this way, more large ones and more small ones and fewer middle ones, the peculiar homogeniety of the groups disappears. So there is comparatively little in common between the large farmer and the small farmer, and of course the further this tendency proceeds the greater does that divergence become.

Mr. SPARKMAN. By the way, in that connection, going back to your reference, a few minutes ago, to extending social legislation, social security coverage, for instance, what class farmer would you say that should be extended to, how many employees; or would you extend it to all alike?

Dr. HOPKINS. I am a little reluctant to answer simply because I am not sure. I have been connected during the past year with a research committee and have devoted most of the year to that question, and I have worked on it so much that I don't know what I think about it.

So far as the Social Security Board is concerned, I believe that it could administer such old age coverage in all cases of employers of even one or more. For purposes, however, of progressing more slowly without making mistakes, it might be better to start with the same figures that are applied to industry. That is, they differ in States anywhere from one to eight. Of course, those standards, ultimately, are up to the States to determine.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well now, if I get that correctly, you advocate this: That where agriculture has been industrialized it should be treated as industry?

Dr. HOPKINS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where it is still conducted by the family as a unit to support that family, then you would treat it still as agriculture and probably entitle it to the exceptions that now exist?

Dr. HOPKINS. I think the distinction is a very clear one, and I think the distinction could be drawn rather easily in the law, too.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The one is where it is made a business and the other is where a person gets his living from it?

Dr. HOPKINS. That's right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What total number of the wage hands in agriculture in California do you estimate work in industrialized agriculture?

Dr. HOPKINS. My estimate would have to be based upon material which was given here last spring before the La Follette committee, and I believe the figures were that two-thirds of the workers in California are employed on one-tenth of the farms and that that one-tenth of the farms is the larger one-tenth; that is, the larger farms employ at least two-thirds or more of the wage earners. That is not merely the migratory workers. That is the total figure of wage earners.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do these big employers who use a great number of workers use the State and Federal employment service in recruiting their help; do you know?

Dr. HOPKINS. I think only occasionally. I can't, of course, speak as authentically as a representative of the State or Federal employment service could on that question, because I haven't the figures at hand. But I believe that they have used them very slightly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do they have a recruiting service of their own?

Dr. HOPKINS. Yes, sir; they do. There is an organization in the San Joaquin Valley with its offices in Fresno in the Chamber of Commerce Building. Mr. Palomares is the director.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you consider a private employer recruiting organization necessary or desirable from the public point of view?

Dr. HOPKINS. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a matter of fact, has it been that which has tended to create a surplus of migration?

Dr. HOPKINS. I think it has been, and I think that it has suffered from the same defects from which private employment agencies in industry have suffered and that public service is eventually necessary, and the sooner the better.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Doesn't that bring us right back to the point where we started, that the anxiety that these people have for a reserve labor supply makes them try to build that reserve ever larger, and then when they build it up, that disorganizes the labor market?

Dr. HOPKINS. That's right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. OSMERS. Dr. Hopkins, you pointed out that the farms in California were going in two directions, that is, they were becoming larger and larger or smaller and smaller. Do you not feel that that is representative of a Nation-wide trend?

Dr. HOPKINS. Yes, sir. In fact, the figures which I quote in my prepared statement are figures not for California but for the Nation at large.

Mr. OSMERS. For the Nation. Because we noticed in areas like the Delta area in Mississippi that there, too, the units were becoming larger, particularly as mechanization came in and required a larger amount of capital.

Dr. HOPKINS. Curiously, mechanization is also coming to the rescue of the very small farmer, I believe. That is, mechanization helps the larger and the very small, but not the middle class. The very small farmers are taking advantage of mechanization through the pooling of their purchasing of machinery. That is, one machine will be sufficient for a half dozen or more farms. And also, of course, the development of light and inexpensive farm machinery is a factor in that.

Mr. OSMERS. Of course, if you have small farmers joining together in using the same machinery, you then have an industrialized structure, whether or not they still remain as individual entities. So you would not say that that is aiding to keep the small farmer a small farmer; mechanization is industrializing the operations of the small farmer?

Dr. HOPKINS. That's true.

Mr. OSMERS. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, in other words, the picture has changed from the early days of this country when 85 percent of the people in America lived on farms and raised their own food, when there was the family unit. Now they are down to about 25 percent; that is, in ownership. The whole thing has changed, and you are up against a proposition, then, of food. In other words, if everyone in the United States today had plenty of food to eat, there would not be much complaint.

Dr. HOPKINS. That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you can take large ranches today. Why, you don't even find a vegetable patch, and that is the problem and it is an acute one. And, as you say, the larger units are on the increase. That is true; is it not?

Dr. HOPKINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think your distinction there on farms where they are industrialized is very valuable to this committee.

Dr. HOPKINS. I believe that we are undergoing an agricultural revolution which is comparable in magnitude to what the historians call the industrial revolution of 150 years ago, in the industrialization of our agriculture.

I did prepare some months ago an article on that subject which your committee staff asked me to submit as an extension of my remarks, and I, with your permission, will submit that for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We will be glad to have it. [Addressing the reporter.] Insert this statement here in the record.

(The article follows:)

OUR AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

By WILLIAM S. HOPKINS

The distress of the farmer, in one form or another, has become a chronic ailment in American life. During the past few years the reading public has learned a great deal about the problems of agriculture and of agricultural labor. The focus of attention, in the early years of the depression, was upon the small farm owner of the Middle West. It then shifted to the tenant farmer and sharecropper of the old South. More recently, and due largely to the popularity of Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath, the migratory agricultural workers on the Pacific coast have been in the spotlight. Each of these groups has had a measure of competent study, and each has been faithfully described in print.

FACTUAL SITUATION OF AMERICAN FARMING

I. A considerable body of basic fact is either well-known or easily available. Therefore it is necessary here to recall only a few of the high lights of the factual situation before proceeding to an interpretation of them.

American farming is poverty-ridden, and has been so since the early 1920's. One-half of our farmers receive a gross annual income of less than $1,000, which includes all goods sold, traded, or consumed by the farm family. About 3,000,000 of our farmers are farm laborers, employed on a wage basis, and owning neither land nor tools. They are precluded from raising anything for themselves, and with few exceptions are earning less than $800 a year. In California alone, in 1930, of all persons gainfully employed in agriculture, 57 percent were farm laborers.

Another 3,000,000 are tenants or sharecroppers, living a precarious existence and urged toward continuous exploitation of the soil. Few readers are surprised to learn that in Mississippi 70 percent of all farmers are tenants. But it is startling to know that in Iowa, the State which we think of as the heart of American agriculture, 50 percent of all farmers are tenants. And in half of the counties of fertile southern Iowa nearly 20 percent of all farms are yielding a gross annual income of less than $600.

Even of the farm land which is owned it should more properly be said that the farmer owns not the land, but an equity in the land. For, of all farm land in the Nation, over 11 percent is wholly covered by mortgage debt.

At times during the depression, the number of farm families on rural relief has risen to as high as 1,000,000. And each winter tens of thousands of agricultural laborers have received urban relief in the cities. The term "rural slums" has crept into our vocabulary.

Thousands of farmers of the southern Great Plains were dusted out during the drought years. Other thousands were tractored out; that is, their small farms were foreclosed, consolidated into large farms, and operated as highly mechanized units.

For some years agricultural economists have idealized a process which is described as the agricultural ladder. This ladder has a number of rungs: farm laborer, sharecropper, tenant, part owner, owner. Presumably the young farmer starts at the bottom of the ladder, and by diligence and industry climbs to the top rung. If there is any validity to the analogy, it must be observed that, while many individuals are slowly and painfully ascending the ladder, there are many others even more painfully descending. Even for those ascending, the rungs are now more widely spaced than ever before, so that ascent is slower where possible at all.

For the problems arising from these facts, a variety of solutions has been offered. Programs in line with these suggested solutions are now being conducted by various agencies, chiefly those of the Federal Government. In general, these programs all fit into the category of rehabilitation. That is to say, they propose to restore the small farmer to his former independence. Devices for liberalizing agricultural credit, for more economical marketing through coopeatives, for the resettlement of submarginal farmers on better land are all designed to restore the economic strength of those who are tottering on the upper rungs of the agricultural ladder. Housing and health programs and vocational training are in progress to aid those at the bottom.

The work being done in these programs is excellent. It has restored the self-respect of many of those whose morale has been broken. It has preserved the lives and health of thousands. But in the final analysis it is a temporary palliative. For it is now becoming clear, to many of those most actively at work in this field, that such a program is as vain as any other program which seeks to restore a dead past. The immediacy of our rural problem has focused attention upon rehabilitation. It is possible, however, that in seeking to restore a past status we are fighting an uphill battle which we must inevitably lose.

MYTHOLOGICAL CONCEPT OF AMERICAN FARMER

II. Our determination to return agriculture to the small farmer is the product of a point of view which is conventional with us. America has always accepted the tradition that the small farmer is the backbone of our democracy. It is true that he has been ridiculed as a "rube" and a "hayseed," but it is a loving sort of ridicule, and the "hick jokes" have not prevented the acceptance of the small farmer as the mainstay of our national strength. We have even dressed him in his Sunday clothes, labeled him "Uncle Sam," and held him up as a national symbol.

This is true, in part, because the farmer's children have so largely populated our cities. It is true because our farmers dominate so many counties and States. Our politicians listen intently to the cracker-barrel philosophy in the country store; in time of stress they return to the "grass roots." Therefore, in the speeches of our politicians, the statements of our editors, the writings of our novelists—in fact, in the whole national consciousness—we have created a mythological creature whom we call the American farmer. This imaginary person has taken quite definite form, as will easily be recognized from a description of him.

He is a sturdy, rugged individualist, independent in his thinking, honest, and sincere, and filled with homely wisdom. His wife, large in body and in heart, is noted for her "country cooking." His rather numerous children are the embodiment of health and normality. The head of this happy family tills the acres which are his by virtue of the patient and sweaty toil of several generations on the old farmstead. His place will some day be taken by his son, and his wife's place will some day be taken by her prototype, the daughter of a neighboring farmer.

The farm, according to our mythology, operates largely on a cash-and-carry basis. A great part of the family food is produced on the premises. Most of the farm work is done by the members of the family; the remainder is ordinarily done by a "hired man." This significant individual is more or less of a permanent fixture; usually he eats and lives with the family. Occasionally he marries the farmer's daughter and inherits the farm. During the harvest season, extra help is often needed. This is usually drawn from the near-by villages, or from a mysterious class of itinerant workers, generally believed to be incapable of being anything else.

All of this is simple and idyllic, and it fits in with our preconceptions of American history and American democracy. Our faith in this solid and substantial backbone to our body politic is comforting in its assurance of good common sense and of our ultimate security. When we pause to give it thought, we realize that the picture is inaccurate. A few such farm families may actually exist, but very few. We have described a myth, and we all know it. But we like our myth; it fits into our scheme of things and represents our ideal of agriculture in a democracy. Accordingly, we are bending our efforts to remake our farmers in accordance with this image. Our New Dealers are extending agricultural assistance in order to restore the farmer's economic independence. Our anti-New Dealers object that the program will destroy the farmer's self-reliance. All of our planning and all of our programs are geared to one or another notion as to how the real farmer may be made more like our mythological farmer.

The ultimate short-sightedness of these programs is revealed by a consideration of some further facts.

SMALL FARM OWNERSHIP DECREASING

III. In spite of all of our efforts to increase the extent of small farm ownership, it is constantly and steadily decreasing in comparison with tenancy. Between 1880 and 1935 the number of farms operated by owners increased by 32 percent, and the number of farms operated by tenants increased 180 percent. There seems to be no way of preventing a further acceleration of the movement to eliminate the small farm owner. Although exact figures do not exist, it is known that a great many farms are now subject to foreclosure. The only reason why they have not been taken over by the mortgage holder is that they are not worth owning. Low prices for farm produce in the future will continue the degradation of the farmer. High prices will render the farm attractive to the mortgage holder and will dispossess the farmer. Either way the price level goes, thousands of small farmers are doomed. Even those who can retain their farms will be forced to compete with highly mechanized large-scale farming, and in too many cases they cannot successfully compete.

There are at work in American agriculture two forces which, by the logic inherent in them, press continually toward the reduction of the importance of the small farmer. These are, first, the efficiency of intensive mechanization; and second, the efficiency of large-scale operation.

Developments in farm mechanization have come about, historically, at times when farm wages and farm prices were high. Machinery becomes cheap when labor becomes reatively dear, and vice versa. A practicable mechanical cotton picker is now available; it is not extensively used because labor is cheap; it will be introduced rapidly if and when labor costs go up. Mechanical contrivances have already come to dominate the harvesting of wheat, corn, and other grains. It is only a matter of time until they dominate the harvesting of cotton, sugar beets, potatoes, and many other crops.

Complicated machinery is expensive, and its cost must be distributed over the total units of its product. The more it is used, the cheaper it becomes in terms of its production. Therefore, it is seldom available to the small farmer, whose limited capital and limited productivity restrict his techniques to the relatively primitive.

It is true that many crops, as, for example, fancy-pack berries and fruits, do not lend themselves to mechanical harvesting devices. But, although the small producers of these crops do not suffer the same disadvantage as the small producers of extensive crops, the influence of mechanization is everywhere felt. The high-wheeled, rubber-tired tractor, for example, may be used in the cultivation of fancy garden products. It is efficient, but is seldom available to the small farmer.

In summary, the irresistible march of invention and machinery must foretell the doom of the small farmer just as it destroyed the small craftsman.

So also with the superior efficiency of large-scale operation. The size of optimum efficiency in farming varies with the nature of the crop and the geographical conditions. It is being discovered, however, that very few farms are large enough to be at their most efficient size. And with the progress of mechanization, the size of optimum efficiency increases. Only the larger farms can carry the overhead of expensive but efficient machinery. Ergo, create larger farms.

The most efficient managerial device for operating the larger farms is the corporation. Since the progressively increasing number of failures on the part of small farmers is throwing more and more farm land into the hands of financial concerns, these are free to establish corporations for the management and operation of the amalgamated farms. This tendency has already reached an advanced stage in California, and evidences of similar developments are visible in varying degrees throughout the Nation. Thus even the tenant farmer and the sharecropper will eventually become unnecessary. Their problem will be solved by their extinction.

We move, therefore, toward the elimination of a number of rungs in the agricultural ladder, and the eventual day when American agriculture will be characterized by only two great classes: large-scale, incorporated owners, and landless farm laborers, who, unlike the traditional "hired men," are laid off immediately upon the completion of their specific job. Thus agriculture will be mechanized as industry was mechanized. We may well expect to derive our food from great outdoor food factories, managed on efficient business principles, and worked by a mobile class of wage labor.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 1750–1830

IV. "The Industrial Revolution" is a name given by historians to certain events during the period roughly bounded by the years 1750 and 1830. The events were sufficiently important to recondition the whole mode of economic life of the civilized world. They probably outweighed in importance the whole career of Napoleon. These events may be summarized briefly.

The inventions of the spinning jenny, power loom, and a practicable steam engine gave a great impetus to textile manufacturing. They necessitated, however, that the work be done in factories rather than in farmhouses. Previously, spinning, weaving, cutting, and sewing had been apportioned out to the farmhouses for manufacture. The development of the factory meant that the work could no longer go to the workers—the workers must now go to the work. It meant further that the tools no longer belonged to the workers, but to the factory.

The growth of textile manufacturing increased the demand for wool. This led to an "enclosure" movement. The ancient Tory landholders were induced to put the peasants off the lands, to fence their lands and put them to sheep. Thus the picturesque hedgerows and stone walls of rural England are the manifestation and symbol of England's industrialization. They represent the displacement of men by sheep. These displaced tenants found support only by accepting employment in the rapidly growing factories. And the process was repeated over and over again, and in industry after industry. In England the final victory of industry was signalized by the repeal of the Corn laws.

Several elements in this historical process are of the greatest significance. First is the resultant growth of the industrial corporation, following the need for greater and greater capital concentration. Second is the creation of a new wage-earning, working class, almost entirely without land and without tools, and dependent upon jobs for a living.

The analogy must be obvious. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that we are now in the midst of an agricultural revolution as vast and epoch-making as the great industrial revolution. Agriculture is following the pattern of industry. The forces which determine this course are so deep and powerful that even world wars and European dictators may effect only temporary deflections.

A revolution is now in progress. There are no bewiskered, bomb-throwing revolutionists sitting in dark cellars plotting its course. Its dynamics are greater, more cosmic, than revolutionists. It cannot be stopped or driven underground by congressional investigations. It seems to be with us whether we like it or not. It is destined to change our whole way of life, our traditions, and our concept of the farmer as the backbone of American democracy.

The implications of this agricultural revolution are enormous. If we revert to the analogy of the industrial revolution, we can forecast certain probable developments. The factory acts, regulating industrial life and labor, may well have their modern counterpart in similar restrictions upon the "independence" of agricultural employers. The organization of unions by industrial workers became inevitable in the course of events, and an equally inevitable unionization of field workers may reasonably be anticipated. An insistent tendency toward monopoly required constant public scrutiny; the same may well be true in agriculture. The insecurity of the wage earner produced the insistent demand for social security; this will undoubtedly extend to our now-excluded rural population.

Our civilization is faced with two choices, as it was 150 years ago. It can follow the earlier course of "muddling through" with a maximum of human suffering and of social and economic waste, or it can meet the problem intelligently, step by step. Our present rehabilitation program may serve as a first step, provided it is recognized as such. But with such recognition, we must plan the second step. As yet we know too little of our problem, and cannot fully understand our revolution. But if we recognize its existence, perhaps we can learn how to live with it.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM S. HOPKINS—Resumed

Dr. Hopkins: That statement is a discussion of the point about which you were speaking.

The Chairman: That was the trouble this committee has run into, in this migration problem.

Of course, you will agree with me, Doctor, that they are many and varied, the causes of this mass migration from State to State, and there is no single solution therefor. There would be several approaches to it, as many as causes; is that not true?

Dr. Hopkins: Yes, sir, I think so. In fact, they seem to be infinite in number.

The Chairman: I was interested in the statement you made when you said you had conducted this research for the last year and you studied so hard on it that you don't know what you think about it. This committee is in the same position.

Dr. Hopkins. I might say that that study will be published by the Social Science Research Council, and if the committee so desires, I can have a copy of that sent to the committee.

The Chairman: I will be very pleased to have you send it to Washington.

Doctor, I think you have made a very fine contribution.

Unless there is something else——

Mr. Curtis (interposing). I have one or two questions.

Doctor, in arriving at any answer for possible recommendation, we have to keep in mind that we do not know what nature has in store for us in the next score of years.

Dr. Hopkins. That's right.

Mr. Curtis. And we do not know but what we may well be using in the years to come something we are throwing away now—we hope not—but there might be a tragic entrance into a war economy that would upset every recommendation that we might make here. Isn't that right?

Dr. Hopkins. That's right.

Mr. Osmers. Your studies have been very helpful.

The Chairman. Thank you very much, Doctor.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF GUY F. GULDEN, OF WATSONVILLE, CALIF.

The Chairman. Mr. Gulden, Congressman Curtis from your own State will interrogate you.

Mr. Curtis. How old are you, Mr. Gulden?

Mr. Gulden. I will be 49 next month.

Mr. Curtis. How much of a family do you have?

Mr. Gulden. Just my wife now. I had two children; they are dead.

Mr. Curtis. No children living?

Mr. Gulden. No.

Mr. Curtis. Where were you born?

Mr. Gulden. I was born in Gosper County, Nebr.

Mr. CURTIS. And Gosper County is more or less in the southwest part of Nebraska, about 200 miles straight west of Omaha, 240 miles?

Mr. GULDEN. It is 200 miles straight west of Lincoln.

Mr. CURTIS. Is your father living?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Where does he live?

Mr. GULDEN. He lives in Smithfield.

Mr. CURTIS. Smithfield is in Gosper County?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How much education have you had, Mr. Gulden?

Mr. GULDEN. Just the eighth grade.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you start farming for yourself?

Mr. GULDEN. I started——

Mr. CURTIS (interposing). About how old were you?

Mr. GULDEN. I was 19 when I started.

Mr. CURTIS. How big a farm?

Mr. GULDEN. 320 acres.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you rent that?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes; my father's.

Mr. CURTIS. You rented that of your father?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And you continued to farm for yourself?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Continuously from the time you were 19?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you ever acquire a farm for yourself in Gosper County?

Mr. GULDEN. I never owned one.

Mr. CURTIS. How much of a farm were you operating when you left Gosper County?

Mr. GULDEN. Two hundred and forty acres.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you raise?

Mr. GULDEN. Well, I didn't raise nothing.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, the farmer often goes forth to sow and no one reaps, but what did you plant?

Mr. GULDEN. I had 160 acres of corn, and some cane, and feed, and I sold the whole damned business for $7.50 in 1934.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, Mr. Gulden, did you have any cows on the place?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How many did you keep?

Mr. GULDEN. I had eight I milked, and then I had four stock cows.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you sell some cream now and then?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. About how much did your cream checks run a week?

Mr. GULDEN. Well, around $1.75.

Mr. CURTIS. What direction from the village of Smithfield was your farm?

Mr. GULDEN. The one I was on?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. GULDEN. Southwest.

Mr. CURTIS. How far?

Mr. GULDEN. Eight miles.

Mr. CURTIS. That is in the canyon country; is it not?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And it is somewhat removed from the Tri-County Irrigation District which touches the northern part of that county now; is it not?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Was your land quite rough?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How much of it was level for farming purposes?

Mr. GULDEN. About 90 acres. That was leveled. The rest of it should have been level, but it was all broken up; rough.

Mr. CURTIS. Did your pastures hold out?

Mr. GULDEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, during the 1920's what did you consider a pretty fair corn yield?

Mr. GULDEN. About 40 bushels.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you remember what you raised in 1930, what kind of a crop you had, just generally speaking?

Mr. GULDEN. I raised about between eight and ten bushels to the acre.

Mr. CURTIS. When was your worst crop failure; what year?

Mr. GULDEN. '34.

Mr. CURTIS. '34. And '33, was that very good?

Mr. GULDEN. No. I did get a little in '33, but not much.

Mr. CURTIS. What was the situation in '32?

Mr. GULDEN. I didn't farm. I was working on a farm.

Mr. CURTIS. But in '34 there was a devastating drought that took the feed and everything?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Just killed it?

Mr. GULDEN. Never had anything left.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you hold a farm sale there?

Mr. GULDEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. You moved your——

Mr. GULDEN (interposing). No. I just sold, you know, to the neighbors and traded around.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go then?

Mr. GULDEN. I went to Idaho.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any money when you left Nebraska?

Mr. GULDEN. I had a little.

Mr. CURTIS. Approximately how much?

Mr. GULDEN. About a hundred dollars.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you sell your cows?

Mr. GULDEN. Sold them to the Government. Sold a hundred cows for $18.

Mr. CURTIS. For how much?

Mr. GULDEN. Eighteen dollars.

Mr. CURTIS. That was in what year?

Mr. GULDEN. '34.

Mr. Curtis. During that time of widespread drought the herds were depleted rather than to have to bring feed into the area?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. How long did you stay in Idaho?

Mr. Gulden. Two and a half years.

Mr. Curtis. What kind of work did you do up there?

Mr. Gulden. I was on a dairy.

Mr. Curtis. Working as a farmhand?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Did you have work quite continuously up there?

Mr. Gulden. I worked until—the fellow I was working for traded and went to Oregon, and I went with him.

Mr. Curtis. What did they pay a farmhand?

Mr. Gulden. I got $45 is all.

Mr. Curtis. Did you get a place for you and your wife to live?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Did you get any provisions besides the $45? They didn't supply you with any milk from the farm?

Mr. Gulden. Oh, yes; got a quart of milk a day.

Mr. Curtis. Did you get anything else? Were you permitted to keep any chickens there?

Mr. Gulden. No.

Mr. Curtis. You didn't have opportunity for a garden plot?

Mr. Gulden. Just a little patch; raised a few beans.

Mr. Curtis. And you went to Oregon and worked for the same man?

Mr. Gulden. Worked for the same man.

Mr. Curtis. How long did you remain in Oregon?

Mr. Gulden. I got there in March and I left in October.

Mr. Curtis. And you got the same wages up there?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Where did you go in October, then?

Mr. Gulden. I came to California.

Mr. Curtis. Have you ever farmed any in Colorado?

Mr. Gulden. No. I just lived there. But I never did farm there.

Mr. Curtis. What years were you living in Colorado?

Mr. Gulden. I lived in Colorado from 1920 to '26.

Mr. Curtis. In other words, you left your father's farm in Gosper County, went to Colorado, and then did you return to the same farm in '26.

Mr. Gulden. I came back; yes.

Mr. Curtis. To the same farm in '26?

Mr. Gulden. '29.

Mr. Curtis. In '29. What did you do in Colorado during that time?

Mr. Gulden. Plasterer.

Mr. Curtis. Are you a plasterer now?

Mr. Gulden. I am, but I haven't been able to get a job.

Mr. Curtis. Can you qualify for the union?

Mr. Gulden. Yes, sir; but they say I am too old.

Mr. Curtis. You didn't try to farm in Colorado at all?

Mr. Gulden. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, then, it was in October 1939 that you came to California?

Mr. GULDEN. '37.

Mr. CURTIS. Oh, you have been in California since '37?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What part of California did you locate at?

Mr. GULDEN. I located at Las Lomas down here by Watsonville.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you find any work down there?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any money with you when you came from Oregon?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes; I had.

Mr. CURTIS. You had saved a little bit?

Mr. GULDEN. I had a couple of hundred dollars.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do at Las Lomas?

Mr. GULDEN. I worked at everything I could.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you get work most of the time?

Mr. GULDEN. I didn't the first winter, but after that I have been busy most of the time.

Mr. CURTIS. Since the first winter you have been busy most of the time, since the spring of 1938?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What line of work have you been doing?

Mr. GULDEN. I have been doing everything.

Mr. CURTIS. Has it been farm work or city work?

Mr. GULDEN. Well, mostly farm, yes, sir; farm and—I built three or four houses and picked cotton. I worked for a trucker for a while.

Mr. CURTIS. What has been your average income in California?

Mr. GULDEN. About $400 a year. They don't pay much.

Mr. CURTIS. Does Mrs. Gulden work?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What has she been working at?

Mr. GULDEN. Housework.

Mr. CURTIS. Where are you living now?

Mr. GULDEN. I am living at Watsonville, or out from Watsonville. We have a little home there.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you own that home?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. That is, you are buying it?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. From whom did you buy it; through the Farm Security or the Federal Housing?

Mr. GULDEN. Well, we bought the land from a man by the name of Porter and got a Federal Housing to buy the lumber; a FHA loan on the house.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. How large a house do you have?

Mr. GULDEN. 22 x 26.

Mr. CURTIS. Is your wife still employed?

Mr. GULDEN. Well, she isn't right now, but she goes to work the 1st.

Mr. CURTIS. She has been employed most of the time?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Has she had more work than you have?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes. She has been working steady.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you been able to get along, the two of you, or have you had to seek relief?

Mr. GULDEN. We made it, but sometimes it was kind of tough. We have to make a payment on our place, you know, every month.

Mr. OSMERS. How big are those payments?

Mr. GULDEN. $14.56 a month.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you erect the house yourself?

Mr. GULDEN. I built it.

Mr. OSMERS. You supplied the labor?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. I didn't understand your previous testimony, Mr. Gulden. Did you ever own a farm in Nebraska?

Mr. GULDEN. No, not in Nebraska.

Mr. OSMERS. You didn't own a farm?

Mr. GULDEN. No. I just farmed it for my Dad, rented it.

Mr. CURTIS. How much land have you in connection with this house you own out here?

Mr. GULDEN. Two and three-quarter acres.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have a job in sight when you left Oregon and came to California?

Mr. GULDEN. No. We came down here to visit.

Mr. CURTIS. I see. You have just been visiting ever since?

Mr. GULDEN. I wanted to go to the East, New York State, and my wife's folks was out here and she talked me into coming out here. I thought this was the darnedest desert I ever saw when I came out here. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. You are a pretty good man, to make a go on the desert.

Mr. GULDEN. Oh, yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, you don't think you would want to go back to Nebraska or any place in the Middle West and farm?

Mr. GULDEN. Not unless it changes. Although I believe a man can make a living better there if it wasn't for that wind. In normal years you could make it easier than you can here.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you feel that your place in life is on a farm? Do you feel more contented there?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. If you were going to confine your answer to one or two things, what was the principal cause of your failure to make a go of a farm in Nebraska?

Mr. GULDEN. Well, it just blowed me out.

Mr. CURTIS. The drought, in other words?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. You are familiar with all of that canyon country around Gosper County?

Mr. GULDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the situation in regard to the pastures? Are they pretty far gone, or will they come back if it rains?

Mr. Gulden. Well, they have got them plowed up mostly. They broke up the bottoms of the canyons, you know, the big flats. You have probably been there; the big flat bottoms.

Mr. Curtis. Yes.

Mr. Gulden. And when it rained, why, it made big ditches down through the center, and I don't know whether it will ever come back again or not.

Mr. Curtis. The soil there——

Mr. Gulden (interposing). Is practically gone.

Mr. Curtis (continuing). Has been hurt by both wind and water erosion; has it not?

Mr. Gulden. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Would you say, Mr. Gulden, if the State had been following a careful conservation program for a number of years previous to the drought that the situation would have been avoided?

Mr. Gulden. I think so. They plowed everything they could in that part there.

Mr. Curtis. When was that land broken up; in the World War time?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. When there was a great urge to produce all the foodstuffs we could?

Mr. Gulden. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. And to plant every acre in every corner?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. And the prices were high?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. The territory that you come from, that immediate locality, will never be reached by irrigation unless it is pump irrigation, will it, over in south of Smithfield?

Mr. Gulden. No.

Mr. Curtis. But there are places in your own county farther north——

Mr. Gulden (interposing). The north part of that county will probably be irrigated.

Mr. Curtis. Yes; and that is true of a distance for possibly 40, 50, or 60 miles east of you?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. When you get more in the level country?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Curtis: That is all.

Mr. Osmers: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question.

The Chairman. Go right ahead, Congressman Osmers.

Mr. Osmers. I was interested in your decision to come west rather than to go east. Why were you interested in going to New York State?

Mr. Gulden. Well, I think—you see, I got some literature on some farms.

Mr. Osmers. Yes?

Mr. Gulden. And they were run-down farms, see. And I figured that they get more rain there and I could build them up. I don't know. It might have been worked out.

Mr. Osmers. The reason I asked that, Mr. Gulden, is that nearly everyone in the Middle West who has been put off their farms because of weather conditions has come to the west coast, and I have been very curious to know why some of them have not gone east. You are the first witness that we have had who has mentioned going east.

Mr. Gulden. Well, my wife and me argued for 3 years.

Mr. Osmers. I have a farm in New York State myself, and I can't get anybody to run it, no one to farm it. There is lots of rain, fertile land and everything.

Mr. Gulden. I will go back and run it for you.

Mr. Osmers. All right.

Mr. Curtis. I think the Congressman from New York has been lacking in diligence.

The Chairman. Mr. Gulden, you mean you argued for 3 years?

Mr. Gulden. Me and the Missus.

The Chairman. It is quite natural she would win. Mr. Gulden, right now if you had a farm—owned a farm in Nebraska—you would never leave there if you could make it go; would you?

Mr. Gulden. No.

The Chairman. The testimony adduced before this committee indicates that there are thousands like you. A million left the Great Plains States in the last 10 years. They did not want to get out. They did not want to leave their homes, but there comes a time with soil erosion where you just can't make it go and you have to go because you are not going to starve sitting down; isn't that the truth?

Mr. Gulden. That's right.

The Chairman. American people will not do that?

Mr. Gulden. No.

The Chairman. So then they start out and come into this State and other States. What this committee is interested in is what are we going to do about them. Are we going to treat them as outcasts? They talk about the refugees in Europe. We have hundreds of thousands of them in this country. They have lived along the highways, had their babies wrapped up in newspapers, and they are doing the best they can.

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. I understand that you are a plasterer?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. I believe in answer to Mr. Curtis' question you said that you were efficient enough to be a union member?

Mr. Gulden. I was a union member in Denver, Colo.

Mr. Sparkman. I believe you said you have tried to get work and they said you were too old?

Mr. Gulden. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Have you tried in connection with this national-defense program?

Mr. Gulden. No.

Mr. Sparkman. I notice the Civil Service Commission is asking for all kinds of proficient workers, and I am certain that in all of the construction work around our Army posts there is considerable plastering, and I am just wondering if you had that in mind. I don't believe 49 is too old in the civil service.

Mr. **Gulden**. I tried to get in down at Camp Ord, or Fort Ord.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Camp Ord.

Mr. **Gulden**. And I can't get in there. Of course, I have got an application in there. I may get called, see, but I don't know.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Well, I am wondering if you have ever taken it up with the United States Civil Service Commission?

Mr. **Gulden**. No.

Mr. **Sparkman**. I would suggest to you that you do so, because I think that you can get a place.

Mr. **Gulden**. Yes.

Mr. **Curtis**. At that point, how long ago was it that the union denied you entrance because you were too old?

Mr. **Gulden**. About a year and a half ago.

Mr. **Curtis**. You were only 47 then?

Mr. **Gulden**. Forty-seven. But, you see, I had a card when I came here and they wouldn't transfer me from Colorado here, see, on account they had too many men, as they told me before. They said they could transfer me and take my money but they couldn't guarantee me a job. So that way I—they told me if I would go out and get a job, they would take me in the union.

Mr. **Curtis**. I have heard the charge that employers are eliminating men past 45, but the unions are rejecting these people?

Mr. **Gulden**. They want them around from 25 up to 35.

Mr. **Curtis**. Do they have a reason for it, that it lessens the efficiency of them as craftsmen, or is it because they have too many plasterers already?

Mr. **Gulden**. Too many plasterers. That's the main thing.

Mr. **Curtis**. In other words, they are operating a "closed company" plan?

Mr. **Gulden**. Yes.

Mr. **Curtis**. And they didn't want you in on it?

Mr. **Gulden**. Yes.

Mr. **Sparkman**. I understood you to say that they did not object to your membership; they simply could not guarantee you a job?

Mr. **Gulden**. Well, they told me first that I couldn't get in because I was too old, see. I went out and got myself a job, and they came out and told me then that they would take me in, but I would have to get my own job, see.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Yes.

The **Chairman**. Thank you very much, Mr. Gulden.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

The **Chairman**. Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, Hollywood, Calif. I will let that good Democratic Congressman from Alabama interrogate you.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Mrs. Douglas, you have not submitted any statement to this committee, but it is my understanding that you are going to discuss for us the family life of the migrants and tell us something about your experiences.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Just what I have seen. You have plenty of statistics.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, you just proceed in your own way.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I think a person who has led the kind of life that I have, of necessity, has lived a rather dour existence. You sit at the piano for many hours a day and you rehearse and the doors of the theater are closed.

GROWTH OF MIGRANT SITUATION, 1930-40

When we first came to the coast, one night in '32, we went out toward Arizona, and we ran into the migration that was taking place as a result of the depression, as a result of '29 and the thing that happened in '32. We were deeply moved by the sight of this migration. We were disturbed by its implications. We followed along the trail over which it had come and was coming. We found that they were coming out to the West in boxcars, crowded in. We found that the citizens of the communities through which they passed were closing their eyes to the whole situation. We talked to the railroad station men and learned that they were leaving the stations open at night so that these wandering people, if they got off the trains or changed trains, would have some place to sleep. We talked to the hotel people in Las Vegas and found that they were leaving the first floors of all hotels, restaurants, and gambling houses open at night so that the people in this migration, who were in Las Vegas, would have some place to sleep. They left them open just as the station men had left the stations open because they were frightened. They left the first stories open because they felt these desperate people would climb to the second story if they did not. We talked to the people in this migration, to fathers who had left their families because they could not endure to look at the faces of dear ones whom they could no longer support, to boys who did not want to be a drag on fathers and mothers who were desperately hunting for work.

Well, that was a pretty shocking thing. We went back home and told people what we had seen but people weren't overly concerned about it. A very dear friend of ours wrote a play that was put on in New York called Children of the Road, that told about a lot of young people who had come out here, the kind we had run into. The play depicted the jungles in which these children lived and from which they would sally forth in search of some way to obtain food. When the play was produced in New York, one of the critics said, "I don't believe this exists, and if it does, it doesn't interest me."

We were so shocked we felt that if, in the world today, democracy was to survive at all, we had to take a more responsible part in it, just as citizens.

I tell you this as a preliminary.

From '37 on—I had just come back from Europe—I again began hearing people talk about the "migrants" and about the "migrant problem." Then again, on the other hand, I would hear people say, "There is no such thing as a migrant problem." Now, I was brought up in a family where if you were asked a question, you were expected to answer a definite "yes" or "no." I suppose that in a way this has helped to condition my mind. It seemed utterly incredible that there could be people in California who knew full well that there was a migrant problem and yet would deny it. There is or there isn't a migrant problem. So, I went out to see. I was not surprised to find that the worst that I had heard was all too true. As I say, I was not surprised because I had already met with migrants in regard to that other migration that I had seen, and not very many people seemed to know about that. Yes; we had migrants in the State of California, and we have them now. So I began hunting for the causes and later for the remedies, if possible. There was no question about it. There were migrants.

The State was not prepared for this influx of people. At first, the State could not absorb them. There wasn't enough work and at the beginning there were very few techniques worked out to give aid of any kind to these families who were desperately in need of it. For instance, there were many cases of typhoid. A study was made, and it was found that the root of many illnesses was malnutrition. In 1938 the F. S. A. set up their Agricultural Health and Medical Association as a result of the study that had been made. This association has been a godsend to the migrant people. It has helped greatly to check the spread of disease. The grant program of the Farm Security Administration was set up at the same time to help fight the battle against malnutrition.

I began to go out into different parts of the State, into the F. S. A. camps and to really sit down and know these people. They are of the same kind of American stock as the people who helped build up the Middle and Far West regions of this great country. It was their forefathers who went out and helped open the West. They have the same courage as their forefathers had before them—their courage is unbelievable. I have always felt that the public should be made to know these people. The public can be proud of them.

When the migrants suddenly overran a community, it was difficult for all concerned, difficult for the schools, the hospitals, the churches, the welfare agencies, difficult for all societies that help make up a community. There were usually too many workers to pick a certain crop. The local people would become hysterical and frightened of them. It was difficult for all concerned. Yes; it was difficult for the migrants too * * * not to be wanted, to be pushed from county to county, to feel that you were disliked, and yet to meet all of this with fortitude, to be able to live on ditch banks, to keep up their self-respect, and to try to keep themselves and their children clean in every possible way they knew.

I think water symbolizes these people. You see them on a ditch bank or you see them in a muddy place trying to sweep the floor of their tents, trying to wash. I have gone into tent after tent and there would be nothing but mud floors, not a bed or anything, some kind of a mattress perhaps or no mattress at all. But if there was a mattress, there would be snowy white sheets on the bed, or whatever they had to sleep on. That takes an enormous amount of fortitude and resiliency, to go on with life in that way. They come from small villages or small country places, and they want desperately again to connect themselves with community life. They are very religious. You feel that when you go amongst them. They are extraordinarily religious, and my feeling has sometimes been that if that religious feeling were to be lost and there was nothing to take its place, we might find a rather difficult situation. It is something to think about pretty seriously.

One's reaction in going around and talking to them as a class is that they are well-educated people. One is struck with how young the group is as a whole. These people did not come to California to get relief checks. They were driven through desperation to do something for themselves.

I have always felt, from my experience with them, that they made this treck because they didn't want to sit down and take defeat. They said, "Now, here this thing has gone bad. Let's get up and go. We'll make a go of it some place else." They did the thing all of our forefathers did before us.

You know you don't willingly take your children and sleep on the side of the road. You don't willingly take children out on the road in the winter with the rate of pneumonia high, just to get a hand-out some place.

I have talked to men who have been with the Farm Security Administration camps from the beginning. One of the things that has been the most difficult to cope with has been the pride of the migrants, a pride which prevents them in many, many cases from admitting that they are literally starving to death because they do not want relief. No; they didn't come to California for relief. They came because there was nothing for them back there.

The chamber of commerce gives figures of a million, two hundred thousand of these migrants that have come into the State from 1930 to 1940, and the whole load of relief in California as of July 1940, was 409,000. That is not cases. Those are people, 409,000.

PARTIAL ABSORPTION OF MIGRANTS

Well, now, where are those other people? You see, gradually large numbers of the migrants have been absorbed. They have found places for themselves. I would like to give an example to prove my point. One case is a college down south, Occidental College. One of the boys that has the highest standing in the college is an Oklahoman. His mother was able to obtain work, and the rest of the family found work elsewhere. Then, you can go around the gas stations throughout the State, not the big stations, but the little ones, and the garages, and you will find they have Oklahoma accents and thick Arkansas accents. So there are a certain number that have been absorbed, that have been able to make this transition.

The feeling that we give everything to them and they don't contribute anything, I feel, also, is erroneous. Just from a purely monetary point of view, the F. S. A. made a study and they discovered in the labor homes that these families spend about $5 a month for gas. Those are the people in the labor homes, that are more permanent than a great many more of the families that move more rapidly than those in labor homes. If you multiply that by 12 and multiply it by 40,000 families, which is a low estimate of farm families in the State, you get $2,400.000. Well, the entire program of the F. S. A. from March 1938 to July 1940 spent only $2,182.292, and of that $1,778,318 was for medical care and the rest was for lunches, nurses, and the nursery schools. So there's something.

If you figure there are 40,000 families and they make as low as $200 a year, only taking a very low average, every cent of that money is spent in the community. Aside from the fact that you need a certain proportion of them in your agriculture, there is something that they have to give.

MIGRATORY LABOR IN DEFENSE PROGRAM

There is something that I would like to read, if there is a moment here, that Mr. Gross, who is president of Lockheed Aircraft, said in a speech before Town Hall on July 26, 1940. When we think of these people in the State and say, "We'll, we need so many for agriculture, but the rest of them are a burden and we should get rid of them." it is a very great mistake. There is only a small portion of them on relief rolls. The State has not finished growing. There are certain elements in this thing where the national picture comes in, and there are certain responsibilities. I feel that the picture should be considered by the National Government. There are certain places in the State where these migrants will be helpful, and this report, I think, of Mr. Gross' is very interesting.

He says (reading):

> Can we get skilled men to operate the national-defense industries?
>
> In my opinion the answer is unquestionably "Yes." It is all very well to talk about big appropriations and big orders for machinery and bricks and mortar, but after the national-defense industries have lapped up the apparent supply of topnotch skilled labor and, in my opinion, they already have, we then have to go out and manufacture the men to manufacture the material. The point I want to make is that we can manufacture the men. We already have the tools to manufacture these men. These tools are groups like the nuclei of some 75,000 men we already have under employment in the airplane field. I happen to feel that there has been a great deal of defeatism practiced and expressed by industry all over the country on this question of getting men. In my own case, I have had some practical experience with this one and I know it can be done. Of course, it can't be done over night, and you have to make a business of training. You have to make just as much of a business of training as you make of building the cannon, the tank, the airplane, or the automobile. The company I work for at the present time has 10,000 people on its pay roll and over 3,500 of these people are engaged in some form or other of training to better their minds, their jobs, and their futures. Not only that, but some 2 or 3 years ago, there was an industrial company in this area that had 1,500 men. Overnight, it secured work that multiplied its backlog fivefold and required an additional 5,000 men. The skeptics and public generally said it couldn't be done, but 8 months after the order was accepted the company had the 5,000 men and went on to do the work on time.
>
> Training was the answer—training was the only answer. Training can make a first-class aviation metal worker out of good green material in 4 months. Training can make a first-class riveter and metal assembler out of good material in 4 weeks. Training can make a template maker out of a good metal worker in 4 months. Training can make a tool maker out of a good machinist in 6 months. Yes; and I'll go further—training can make something out of everybody. The press has been full of rumors and reports that factories were

going to have to move to the Middle West, not just because it would be harder to drop a bomb on one in St. Louis than it would in Los Angeles, but because we can't get personnel here in our present locations. This one isn't so either. What is important is not where you find the men but the training you give them wherever you find them.

And then he goes on a little further to say that he feels that no matter what defense council we set up, or anything else, we must go along with a training program for men. I think we should use the migrants in such a training program. I would like to point out to you that there is already talk of the possibility of bringing needed men into the State for the defense program. What is the sense of that when you already have the men of the migrant group who are available. They are as clever as can be. Their ingenuity in housing themselves with nothing but tin cans, with pieces of paper, is simply unbelievable.

EFFECT OF MIGRATION ON FAMILY UNIT

But to get back to migration and some more of the bad effects it has on the people who are a part of it. These people as a group have a very close family life. Their family life is more strongly marked than in any other group I have come in contact with. Migration has a tendency to break up this family life in their search for work. Also, to be a migrant is to be set apart, which is terrible. It is terrible for them. It is terrible for the communities into which they go.

I have heard complaints from mother after mother that their children are not being educated as well as they had been. This they deplore. The education of the children is interrupted because of constant traveling. In some cases there is no schooling at all. Sometimes it is because the children haven't the proper clothing to wear, and sometimes it is because there isn't any way to get them to school. Sometimes because they are just too frightened to go.

Then in moving around from place to place, you will realize in talking with them, that they have to live in the most expensive way possible. Everything is done in the most expensive way. The first thing the Agriculture Department does is to set a minimum, to teach the migrants to can, to save things. But a woman working in the fields can't do this. Every moment of her time is taken and when the time comes for them to move, they have to jump up, throw their belongings together and go. Everything is done at the last minute, therefore, they do live in an expensive manner.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The implications of whole families living in one tent are very grave and very bad, especially over a long period of time. I think that in trying to cope with the situation, the first thing that should be done with migration, as a citizen watching it, is to see that there is no migration—any more than is normal, and more than would normally take place in the growth of a country. If we hadn't had this migration and we started our defense work here and we needed more people and had this migration, that would be natural. But this is unnatural migration, and everything should be done to check migration of this sort. The only way we can do that, it seems to me, is by a wider understanding in the public mind, of citizens in the cities, of the laboring man, of manufacturers, merchants, and everybody, as to what the problems of the farmer are. I think the programs that have already been undertaken by the Agricultural, Department are wonderful, but they should be enlarged.

The income of the farmer should be brought up to the income of the city man, so that he isn't on the ragged edge and doesn't "go over" with the first misfortune that comes along. Soil conservation and all of those things which have been done at the source, seem to me imperative if you are going to stop this migration.

There should have been a study made long ago to study the sudden stopping of industry and to soften the shock of unemployment.

I went back to Oklahoma City to see where some of these people came from and the things that sent them out on this long trek. I was shocked at what I saw. I don't know if you went to see the camp outside of the city that was under a bridge. Well, I just gagged until I could get out of the place.

Well, it seems to me that planning ahead, as far as we can, would prevent some of these things; that is where the effort should be made, Of course, we should assimilate them when they come, insofar as we can, so that the children of these people can grow to be useful citizens, as they have every indication of being. They are rare people. If we incorporate them into the life of California, we have a fine addition to the growth of California. But the great step to be made is to stop these things at their source—to think a little ahead and stop them, if we can, before they hit us on our heads and we are out like a light.

I think that uniform residence laws throughout the States would do something miraculous. For instance, in Oklahoma and in some of the other States you hear tales all the time, from the relief people, that people have been put on the train to Alabama and some of the other States and shipped back to their own States, but, alas, when they arrive they have ceased to be residents of their States. They tell me of the case of some children that weren't eligible for relief here. The mother and father had died. The children were sent back to Oklahoma. One child was 6 and the other 8. They had to be fed cream for 10 days for fear that they might not live because they were suffering so terribly from malnutrition.

With the best will in the world operating the relief agencies that we have, they fall between these walls of widely varying relief laws. It would greatly simplify things if we had uniform relief laws and if we had grants from the States so there would be some kind of regulation in the amount of relief and vocational guidance.

I think the health of these people is absolutely essential; if we don't take care of them now, we will have to care for them after they are broken down. It is just a question of when you are going to do it. Are you going to do it before or wait until the plague breaks out?

I think the Agriculture Department's health and medical program is wonderful and should be enlarged wherever it is needed. These people, in their desire to be part of the community, I think, ought to be aided. They want to settle down. I have been on plots of land in 1940, just a few months ago, up around Bakersfield, where they pay from $3 to $8 a month for rental ground, just ground to stick a tent or a house on—a home that they have patched together. You have a toilet here and a pump right next to it.

Well, you know anything can happen as a result of that. And there are little plots of ground so small you can just get the house and the car on it and the next house and car, and so on. But you can't grow anything on it! I can't help but feel that a housing program in the rural districts is something desperately needed. It would make business good, from every point of view. If you encourage these slums to grow it is as though you allowed a disease to spread. It is going to be more costly to treat at the end than it is to stop at the beginning. It would also tend to eliminate segregation—"Okies" on the other side of town. I'll tell you what segregation means. It is a very serious thing psychologically. When these children go to school—maybe the father, through one of the programs here, has gotten a piece of land and settled down—they will not admit that they are "Okies." They feel that it is a stigma. These are serious things when they grow up in a country, things that you are going to have to cope with later on. A housing program would tend, automatically, to do away with a lot of that feeling.

We have a program here for loaning the farmers money, to settle down on the land, those that want to, and I think that ought to be enlarged. I heard a discussion a little while ago of the employment service and the greater responsibility the United States Employment Service could take. It would certainly ease matters if it functioned better, and the migrants didn't pile up in districts where they weren't wanted. It would be better for the growers, and it would be better for the citizens in the community because the migrants wouldn't come in and overflow the schools. Often there are no provisions for them, and it frightens the life out of the citizens, and it certainly is not good for the migrants. If the unemployment service functioned better, they would not go through the thing that they now do.

The migrants are not able to believe, especially, in any group because when they are told there is work "over there," and they go where they have been told to go, they find there is no work. There are cases when the migrants have gone to a suggested place for work, have been stranded and haven't been able to return.

But over the whole thing is their amazing good nature, politeness, and resistance to hardship and their belief that the next morning they are going to make it; that they are going to find a piece of ground; that they are going to settle down and be part of the community. As this man suggested here, they are willing to do anything.

I have felt, since I have gone out and tried to understand the whole thing, that maybe this is a great opportunity, this migration; that otherwise we couldn't have gone into the States from which these people have come. Now we are able to help them, to throw some light on what has happened to the farmer. Industry has gone far ahead, and the farmer often was left behind. It is a chance for us to help them pull themselves up by their bootstraps. I feel the whole agricultural program, in its educational policies, has done a wonderful job along such lines and should be continued and enlarged. It is a program that is very sound, very sound.

And then in the camps, if you refer to the F. S. A. camps, everything has been done to make a community relation possible. As one example, they have baseball games for the children, and they play against the children in the city. The effort is being made to bridge that gap in many ways.

Mr. **Sparkman**. We haven't visited any of the F. S. A. camps. We are going to this week. But Congressman Curtis and I did go out and visit a couple of those camps at Oklahoma City that you referred to. To me it seems rather hopeless to try to work out any community or civic consciousness among people living under such conditions as we saw there.

Mrs. **Douglas**. Yes; well, that's something special—the condition of those camps in Oklahoma. I would like to point out, however, that although the migrants coming into California have gone through some pretty hard times, because the State wasn't prepared to take care of them, because there wasn't enough work for them, nevertheless, I really have never seen anything in California to equal the degradation of the camps outside of Oklahoma City.

Mr. **Sparkman**. You and I probably would agree that that ought to be discouraged and broken up as soon as possible.

Mrs. **Douglas**. I certainly do. But I want to make it clear. You say you can't absorb a whole camp. May I point out that as you travel through California you see mushroom groups. The migrants are settling down even if it is only on a rented piece of land where they pay a dollar to $5 a month, trying to get by with only a piece of board here and there with which to build their homes. We are getting all over California these mushroom rural slum communities. In other words, a kind of absorption is taking place, but it is not a good one.

Mr. **Sparkman**. By the way——

Mrs. **Douglas** (interposing). So it isn't altogether a question of the camps. A large proportion is gradually settling down because they desire to settle down. Why not have a program so that this movement can be given some kind of long-range planning?

Mr. **Sparkman**. My understanding is, then, that you would advocate camps as a transitional——

Mrs. **Douglas** (interposing). Definitely.

Mr. **Sparkman** (continuing). And purely temporary arrangement?

Mrs. **Douglas**. That's right.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Hoping for the time when they will be absorbed?

Mrs. **Douglas**. Absolutely.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF MIGRANTS IN CALIFORNIA

Mr. **Sparkman**. By the way, awhile ago I was interested in your statement that the figures showed that during the last 10 years there had been 1,200,000——

Mrs. **Douglas** (interposing). Those are the chamber of commerce figures.

Mr. **Sparkman**. They are the Bureau of Agricultural Economics figures, too, and so I believe they are probably reliable.

Mrs. **Douglas**. Yes.

Mr. **Sparkman**. I wonder if you knew also that their studies showed that 80 percent of those people had lived in the same county ever since they came into the State? In other words, you haven't got more than 20 percent of that number who have even moved one time during the time that they have been here, and I presume that this migration problem has been more definitely a problem during the last, oh, 4 or 5 years from the time——

Mrs. **Douglas** (interposing). From 1935.

Mr. **Sparkman** (continuing). When the great drought started in the Middle Western States.

Mrs. **Douglas**. Of course, you didn't have families before the drought started. You didn't have families. You had bindlestiffs, fruit tramps, Mexicans, and Filipinos.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Well, you have always had that.

Mrs. **Douglas**. That varies. They were single. You didn't have this family migration.

Mr. **Sparkman**. You stated, I believe, that you regard a certain amount of migration as normal and desirable?

Mrs. **Douglas**. Absolutely.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Well, I think so, soo.

Mrs. **Douglas**. I am a migrant.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Well, I suppose we all are.

Mrs. **Douglas**. My father's family started in Ohio, and then we went to New York, and later I went to Europe and then came out here.

The **Chairman**. Lincoln was a migrant, too.

Mrs. **Douglas**. And that kind of thing is normal and healthy. What we don't want is to have the applecart turn over every so often and have the whole thing start moving.

Mr. **Sparkman**. I was very much impressed with the statements that you made, and let me see if I understand you correctly.

EMPHASIS ON STABILIZATION AT HOME

You think that the major emphasis should be placed upon curing so far as possible those evils back home——

Mrs. **Douglas** (interposing). That cause migration.

Mr. **Sparkman** (continuing). At the place of origin which set them out on the migratory trek?

Mrs. **Douglas**. Yes.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Well, I fully agree with you. And then you would use the remedies at this end of the line, in order to relieve the situation temporarily?

Mrs. **Douglas**. And to assimilate them. And I think we should not have 48 different kinds of residence laws and ways of giving out relief. I think it is just insane.

Mr. **Sparkman**. It is because of those variations and because of the fact that these people have shifted from one State to another, that we all recognize it as a Federal problem and it is because of that that you would have the Federal Government go into it, recognize it and do something about it.

Mrs. **Douglas**. I think it would help stabilize it, too. If there were Government help and the same help given in each community and if you were at the same time trying to alleviate the original causes of migration, it would have a tendency to stabilize the situation. If a man didn't want to go, he would have stayed there if if there had been a possibility of any help from any source, back in his home community.

Mr. Sparkman. Down in my part of the country we have an excess birth rate. Our people have to move out. We can't support them.

Mrs. Douglas. That's another thing.

Mr. Sparkman. They have to move out. Nevertheless, that income level could be raised there, and we could better take care of our people. And over in Congressman Curtis' section, if they could get irrigation and some relief from the dust storms or whatever pests they may have over there, there would be no problem. So your first argument would be to extend the services such as the Farm Security Administration, the W. P. A., the—I believe you mentioned Soil Conservation, Social Security, and all of those things; would that be your idea?

Mrs. Douglas. That, everything that has been done to make the income of the farmer more nearly equal to the average city person's income.

Mr. Sparkman. And of course, you mentioned the idea of grants-in-aid to the States.

Mrs. Douglas. The tenant-purchase farm program.

Mr. Sparkman. I am glad to hear you say that.

Mrs. Douglas. It should be enlarged.

Mr. Sparkman. What about your grants-in-aid to States? You know most of these grants-in-aid that we make now are made upon the basis of required matching by the States. You certainly would not follow that same procedure with reference to this, would you—require the States to match dollar for dollar?

Mrs. Douglas. In your State——

Mr. Sparkman (interposing). Where the need is greatest, we get the least benefit.

Mrs. Douglas. Yes; I think it should probably be the same throughout the country. Let the Federal Government make up the difference.

Mr. Sparkman. To be on the basis of need rather than ability to match?

Mrs. Douglas. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. I feel you have made a very definite contribution to our hearings.

I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Curtis. Throughout the history of our Republic the march has been westward, of people wanting a new chance; isn't that right?

Mrs. Douglas. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Do you think it was a continuation of that trend that has been partly responsible for the focusing of the result of this problem on the Pacific coast here?

Mrs. Douglas. I think that is probably so; and then California, whether you like it or not, has become a glamorous concept in the minds of persons in the East. It is kind of like going to paradise. The idea of a wonderful, beautiful, golden place has kind of permeated the minds of people all over the country. They are told that here in California you pick the fruit off the trees and don't have to slave all the time.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, I think you have a lovely place out here, but the point——

Mrs. DOUGLAS (interposing). I am not selling it. I am just trying to find the psychological approach on the part of the people.

Mr. CURTIS. I am not a psychologist. I am just a poor politician. But the fact is that when formerly people met up with the vicissitudes of life they went to a new frontier and got a new start, and now our frontier is facing the ocean. Formerly, rather than face and solve some of the problems of years gone by, we were able to run away from them by settling people on a new frontier.

I was very much impressed with your thought that insofar as possible the remedy lies at the beginning of the exodus. And in that connection, is it not true that the migration of destitute persons who perhaps just start to wander is the result of a problem rather than the problem iself? It shows something is wrong.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Oh, sure.

Mr. CURTIS. And every time one family moves out of a territory that is losing 25 percent of its people, that same condition that caused one family to move is still prevailing against those that remain?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Unless something is being done. I feel that a great deal has been done these last few years to check this thing, but it was started pretty late.

It's all along the right lines, but we need more of it. That's been the part I thought the citizen could play. We need more understanding on the part of everyone—even by people such as you, sitting behind a desk, you who can get it through Washington. There isn't much real understanding now, and the program can't be put through because of this lack of understanding on the part of the public. Whereas, if the public were aware of the problems, they would demand that Congress do something about putting through much-needed programs.

Mr. OSMERS. Mrs. Douglas, in all of the discussion that we have had about California no one seems to have given the Midwest the credit for the great flow of capital that came here before the migrant farmer came.

Now, I believe that that was a great contribution in building up the State of California into the attractive place that it is, but it was also a contributing factor toward tearing down the economy of our Midwestern States when people, elderly and retired, prosperous people, pulled up stakes, sold everything, and brought their wealth to California.

Now, a previous witness, I believe while you were here, has pointed out that agriculture is becoming more industrialized in California. Do you subscribe to that, that it is becoming more industrialized and is being conducted on the basis of big business?

(No response.)

Mr. OSMERS. This is factual. Is it or isn't it? I don't mean whether it should or should not, but is it or isn't it?

Mrs. **Douglas**. Yes. Certainly; you see in California a kind of farming that you don't see when you go through the Middle West. We have small farms, too. But I mean there are great companies and we have great packing houses. It is a different kind of farming here.

Mr. **Osmers**. The reason I have brought that element into our discussion here is because the remedies that you have suggested, or a great majority of them that you have suggested, are anesthetics rather than cures, in my own opinion. You have suggested giving them relief, keeping them in clean tents and camps, and caring for their health, and so on, and to help them purchase small farms wherever it is possible.

Now, that prolongs the agony, in a sense. I mean, we must do those things. I am for doing those things. But we will not approach, in my opinion, a solution for the basic problem of the migration of agricultural labor to California by doing so because we are getting them to set up small farms, which in the testimony of the witnesses here today, are not economic units.

Mrs. **Douglas**. You mean they can't support themselves?

Mr. **Osmers**. That's right.

Mrs. **Douglas**. On these farms?

Mr. **Osmers**. They would be competing with great industrialized agricultural organizations.

Mrs. **Douglas**. Well, I know of a few farms where they have been set up by F. S. A., where they have been able to make a living.

I have come before you not as a farmer or a professor or an industrialist, but as a plain citizen, and I have tried to picture to you what will happen to these migrants if we allow them to be segregated and put into a class by themselves. I would also like to say that I feel something ugly will happen to us, the citizenry, unless our mental processes are right toward these people. Do you see?

Mr. **Osmers**. Yes.

Mrs. **Douglas**. As to the solutions, there have been many advocated. I just don't know enough about them.

Mr. **Osmers**. I think that——

Mrs. **Douglas** (interposing). But I do know that the farm program as it has been worked out in the States of origin from which these people come, from everything that I have been able to see first hand and everything I have been able to read and to gather, has helped to stop migration. Now what is to be done with these people as they arrive? First, I feel that uniform residence laws are a necessity.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is good business, good procedure.

Mrs. **Douglas**. Absolutely. And then I feel that housing is a fundamental thing. I tried to show that some of them are settling down, and what I tried to show is a concrete thing, that they are not all on relief; that they are able to be assimilated, a certain number of them. Where are they? They are not on relief. Where are they?

Mr. **Osmers**. If I could interrupt you right there—I was very much interested in the figures you brought up showing the comparison between the number now on relief and the total number that migrated here in 1930. I tried to get that information from the Governor, who testified here this morning, but he didn't have it available then.

It shows me that because of the great wealth of California they are able to absorb a great many of these migrants and, of course, they will continue to get a great many more of them.

Mrs. **Douglas.** But we are growing all the time. When we first came here in '31, Hollywood was one thing, and today it is another. It was no problem getting around in traffic then, and today you think you are in the heart of New York City.

You know we need these migrants for certain services in the agricultural fields; and because we need these kinds of services that only the migrants can give, we should do the best that we can for them.

Now, if they are going to settle down, I think the United States Housing Authority or the State housing authority might greatly help the whole situation. I also feel that they have a contribution to make outside of agriculture, as suggested by Mr. Gross. We may find ourselves forced to import men for the defense program. It is just possible that the migrants may turn out to be a godsend. That has been my feeling all the time.

These people are an extraordinarily fine type.

Mr. **Osmers.** I found that to be true myself.

Mrs. **Douglas.** Yes; I think it would be wonderful, if it were possible to be worked out, to have the Social Security Act enlarged so that these people get old-age compensation, aid under the child-welfare program and aid to the blind. I think anybody would approve of that.

Mr. **Osmers.** The thing that I am trying to get at, or get your opinion on, is this: Let us mentally skip the next 5 years—let's just jump right over it—and these people have become residents of the State of California, legal residents, have established homesteads of some kind.

Mrs. **Douglas.** Yes?

Mr. **Osmers.** I want to know what, in your opinion, their basic place in the economy of California will be? Will they be individual farmers? Will they be workers on large industrial farms? Or what is their future?

Mrs. **Douglas.** Well, take, for instance, the camp at Mineral King which they have set up. That has, I believe, 17 families or 19 families where they raise cotton and they raise some kind of——

Mr. **Osmers.** Vegetables?

Mrs. **Douglas.** Yes; vegetables. They all have vegetable gardens, and they have cows. They have been able to pay back the loan to the Government, and they get along very well working as a group. Farmers selling in groups is one solution. But I think that you can't make a blanket statement at this time. It might be possible to group some of them and thus work out some of the problems, but we are not sure that is the solution to all of the evils. The F. S. A. and the Department of Agriculture have been going very slowly. We know that when we get 42 percent tenancy in the country and you have only 25 percent of the people living on the land, something must be done. I think that there is danger in going too fast, however, by saying dogmatically that this is the solution for that. We don't really know yet.

Mr. Osmers. Here is the point that always has impressed me—it probably has you, too: That the profitable employment of one individual, any individual, generally represents an investment of capital of from $2,000 to, I think, $9,000 in industry. In other words, in your airplane plants at Los Angeles, each employee that is working there for $25 to $35 a week must have seven or eight thousand dollars invested in plant and tools and material before he goes to work.

Now, should California encourage the migration of some capital to this State so that the capital will set up attractive employment opportunities for these people who have come here?

I might say, speaking as one who knows nothing about California, that the outside impression of the State is that it is not a good place for capital.

The Chairman. Is that because you are on the Atlantic coast? [Laughter.]

Mrs. Douglas. I don't know. I'm not equipped to answer that question. I feel that, watching these people, if they are given a plot of land and just a little something to do, they can make ends meet.

Mr. Osmers. They can make the two ends meet, but is that their future in the economy of California?

Mrs. Douglas. It's a darned sight better than living in a tent under a bridge.

Mr. Osmers. It is a temporary basis, but are they forever and ever to live on a—we will call it a one-horse farm to distinguish it from anything else?

I think that subsistence would be a marvelous improvement; for all of them to have a farm of their own and to raise as much of their own food as they can and have the Government add the difference. But is that their future in the economy of California, or should we encourage them to form groups and set up cooperative farm units?

Mrs. Douglas. Well, that's what they are doing in this State. They are being encouraged as far as it seems feasible. There are, now, farmers who market cooperatively.

Mr. Osmers. I mean, really all working together. I don't mean the present cooperative farm system, but I mean all under one business or corporation, or whatever you want to call it. I am trying to distinguish between the individual farmers working as a group and a group of them working as one entity.

Mr. Sparkman. You are thinking of industrialized farming?

Mr. Osmers. Quite right.

Mr. Sparkman. Whereas I assume that Mrs. Douglas had in mind a unit such as she mentioned under the tenant program, and the law specifies that they do be economic units. So, it seems to me, that the family living as a family on a small, as you described it, one-horse farm, if that farm is sufficient to give them a living, is much better off than they are out on the roads looking for jobs.

Mr. Osmers. I was just making the comparison between cooperative farming, as represented by the F. S. A. and industrialized farming, as represented by your large packing industries in the State of California.

Mrs. Douglas. The tenants that are able to get land have made a wonderful showing for themselves everywhere, a wonderful showing.

Mr. OSMERS. Oh, yes. I have seen some of the results.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. And a great many of those people wouldn't want to farm with other farmers as a group. Now, I think you can't lay out a rule and say "you are going to have to farm this way." It is the same as men who go into business in groups and others who set up a business by themselves. I don't believe a rule should be laid down at this time. We must approach the farm problem with good will, and we must develop and enlarge upon the solutions that we know are already now helping to solve the problem.

Mr. OSMERS. Of course, no one knows the solution, and, if they did, we would not have this committee.

Referring to a statement you made previously in which you said that the Government should plan ahead, to plan ahead we have to have some idea what we are planning for. Now, if we plan ahead, we have to know whether we are planning ahead for industrialized farming, subsistence farming, or cooperative farming.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. You never can turn the clock of time back, can you?

Mr. OSMERS. Never.

MECHANIZATION

Mrs. DOUGLAS. So you are going to have industrialized farming.

Mr. OSMERS. I am quite sure of that.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Absolutely. So the thing to decide, I suppose, is how large these units should be. A man is able to run his acreage without tenants, or maybe with 2 tenants, where before he had 10 tenants, or 12 tenants or sharecroppers, as the case may have been. Now he can put on a tractor and some other machinery and work it without these people, and then maybe his income grows.

Mr. OSMERS. If I may interrupt again, that has not been the result of mechanized farming in the Delta area. The number of people involved in agricultural pursuits remains the same, even though it was mechanized.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. It did not mean that they put a tractor on the farm and threw out five farm hands. It didn't work out that way.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Yes. I think a lot of those things depend on the will of the people. I mean, what do the farmers want to do? Do they as individuals want to farm individually, competing with this kind of industrialized farming? Or do they want to get together and have machinery that will enable them really to compete?

Mr. OSMERS. You mean it is not, then, a question of planning; it is a question of what the farmer wants to do?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I am not trying to contradict what I said at all. I think, for instance, soil conservation and the water that needs to be brought to the land, all such things, certainly need planning. It needs planning to enable farmers to have the help.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, I think that most of them are primarily interested in living as decently as they can. I think that is the interest of all of us probably. And that is what they vote for, the best living possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Douglas, I am only going to take a minute or two of your time. I think you have contributed a very splendid presentation.

Mr. OSMERS. It has been a very fine contribution to the committee, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I have lived this thing for so many months, that probably I do not know much about it. But I have tried to think this thing out and see just what the issues are in this case.

The issue in the first place is that for 150 years we spent billions of dollars through the courts and through the Congress to fully protect the free flow of iron and steel and other commodities through the States; have we not?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, in trying to take similar care of the migrants, we find that our problem has grown. Your first suggestion there about keeping them at home in the States of origin is a splendid idea, but it is not the full answer. In other words, the causes of migration in the 48 States are many and varied, and the solutions will be many and varied. There is no single answer. But there is one thing we can do, Mrs. Douglas. We can do better than we are doing now because they are already on the roads by the hundreds, and 4,000,000 of them in the different States are homeless and Stateless. It is striking at the morale of the people. We certainly can improve that condition a little bit; can we not?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this is the only thing I want to say to you, and I think you will agree with me: There are two approaches to this proposition. One, a short term, which means that when they leave, whether it is drought in Nebraska or the Dust Bowl in Oklahoma, when they leave there shouldn't be barriers, from a misdemeanor in some States to a felony in North Dakota, to transport them across the line. They should be treated as our people, not just "people," and that means the short-term approach will be grants-in-aid to States, or something like the social security; the long term will probably be many other things, the chief of which I think is resettlement, advocated by Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. Hoover as probably one of the long-range plans. But, I think you are to be complimented on interesting yourself in this great human problem. It is true that one-third of these people are children, and again I repeat it strikes right at the morale of our country.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. And beautiful children. I think as a class they are the most beautiful children of any group in the country. Of course, I am prejudiced. I think they are magnificent people. I have set down with them with water up to my knees, and I have watched them sitting up all night because they were afraid their children would have pneumonia, and even then they were good-humored. Their fortitude is the quality that has helped make America. It has been a difficult problem for California. It is a hard thing to have these people dumped here, but there are psychological elements to be considered. No matter what you do for them, these psychological elements are going to play a big, big role.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mrs. Douglas.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. We are happy that this committee has come into existence. We have been praying for its existence for a long, long time.

(Witness excused.)

I think that is about all, except—I wish to stress the fact that it is unfortunate to live on ditch banks.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Douglas, we were all very much interested in your narrative and there are a few things I would like to question you about, and probably other members of the committee would want to ask you some questions, too.

Now, one statement that you made that impresses me very much—in fact, I think it is a serious matter, with reference to these migrants—was that about setting them up more or less in a class to themselves, contrary to their desire to become a part of the community?

The thought strikes me that if you have a family migrating as an individual family unit and they find a place in a community, still as a family unit, they will be absorbed by that community. But how are you going to absorb a whole camp, maybe with a thousand or fifteen hundred people living in it? In other words, how are you ever going to avoid this setting them aside as a class?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Well, as I say, I think that where those migrants want desperately to settle down on land, and there is land still to be had, that they should be aided, that that program should be enlarged here in the State. If there were a rural housing program, they could settle down in houses and move from those houses for the crops. I mean, that is possible; isn't it?

TESTIMONY OF HORACE E. FRYE, SANGER, CALIF.

Mr. CURTIS. Give you full name to the reporter, if you will, please.

Mr. FRYE. Horace Elza Frye.

Mr. CURTIS. What is your address at the present time?

Mr. FRYE. It's 932 K Street, Sanger, Calif.

Mr. CURTIS. Where were you born?

Mr. FRYE. I was born in Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. What is your age?

Mr. FRYE. Forty-two.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have a family?

Mr. FRYE. I have six children; yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How old is the eldest?

Mr. FRYE. Eighteen.

Mr. CURTIS. And the youngest?

Mr. FRYE. Three.

Mr. CURTIS. How many of them are in school?

Mr. FRYE. Three.

Mr. CURTIS. Is your wife living?

Mr. FRYE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What was your business in Missouri?

Mr. FRYE. Well, I did a little bit of everything in Missouri; farmed.

Mr. CURTIS. Where was that?

Mr. FRYE. At Douglas and Ava, Mo.

Mr. CURTIS. Was farming your principal occupation for a number of years, then?

Mr. Frye. I farmed off and on all my life up until the last 3 or 4 years.

Mr. Curtis. Are you skilled in any other work?

Mr. Frye. I am a stone mason, concrete finisher, stucco; work like that.

Mr. Curtis. When did you come to California?

Mr. Frye. I came here in 1937, November the 5th.

Mr. Curtis. Why did you happen to come?

Mr. Frye. Well, I didn't intend to come to California when I left Missouri. I was burned out the last few years there in the failure of the crops, and I got down, my wife and I, sick with malarial fever, both of us, and I lost my job on the W. P. A., and I couldn't make a living.

Mr. Curtis. And you started out?

Mr. Frye. And I started out.

Mr. Curtis. Did you know where you were going?

Mr. Frye. I was going to Yakima, Wash.

Mr. Curtis. Did you go to work there?

Mr. Frye. The next day after I landed there.

Mr. Curtis. How long did you stay?

Mr. Frye. I stayed until the hops and apple seasons were over, and then I came to California.

Mr. Curtis. When you arrived in California did you have any job in sight?

Mr. Frye. No, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Had you been able to save any money up in Washington?

Mr. Frye. Well, I saved a little, but at the time the season was over, I thought I had better move to where I could pick up some other work.

Mr. Curtis. You were a tenant farmer in Missouri?

Mr. Frye. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. You never owned your own farm?

Mr. Frye. No, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Did you sell out your equipment when you left there?

Mr. Frye. I didn't have any equipment. The equipment was furnished. I sold all of my household goods, what little I had left, and started.

Mr. Curtis. What is the present condition of your health?

Mr. Frye. Well, as to my present condition of health, the doctors pronounce it tuberculosis.

Mr. Curtis. What has brought this on, if you have an idea?

Mr. Frye. I have no idea, Although, when I worked last winter for the Consolidated Ditch Co. of Fresno County, I worked in the fog and rain and I had a cold all winter and I worked up until June 6 of this year.

Mr. Curtis. Have you worked any since June?

Mr. Frye. Not since June 6.

Mr. Curtis. Do you receive any relief?

Mr. Frye. Not now. I did until I got—I went to my doctor. I figured there was something wrong because I was getting weak and couldn't do a day's work, and I went to him and told him the situation, and he says, "Well, if you haven't got the money, I had better commit you to the county hospital and let them take an X-ray." They committed me to the county hospital to have an X-ray taken, and after that, why, I went back for the diagnosis. They found I had tuberculosis. And the State of California S. R. A. Relief found it out. They cut me off. I got my last check on the 20th of August, 1940.

Mr. **Curtis**. They did not——

Mr. **Frye** (interposing). You have got to be an able-bodied man to work for State aid.

Mr. **Curtis**. I see. And you hadn't been here long enough to qualify for aid as a tubercular patient?

Mr. **Frye**. No.

Mr. **Curtis**. Have you been able to get any assistance from the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. **Frye**. I got some aid from them the first year, but after that I wasn't eligible.

Mr. **Curtis**. Are you getting any medical assistance now?

Mr. **Frye**. None whatsoever.

Mr. **Curtis**. Are your children in school?

Mr. **Frye**. They will be as long as the funds hold up.

Mr. **Curtis**. Have any of them got tuberculosis?

Mr. **Frye**. I don't know.

Mr. **Curtis**. Have they been examined?

Mr. **Frye**. No.

Mr. **Curtis**. You haven't been able to pay for an examination yourself?

Mr. **Frye**. No.

Mr. **Curtis**. What kind of place are you living in now?

Mr. **Frye**. I am living in a little three-room house.

Mr. **Curtis**. Is it in a camp?

Mr. **Frye**. No. It's not a camp.

Mr. **Curtis**. How do you get your provisions?

Mr. **Frye**. At the meantime I run a bill, a grocery account when I was working on W. P. A., and then I would pay it. I did this until I got off the job. I owe about a hundred-dollar grocery bill now.

Mr. **Curtis**. And they tell you you are not a resident of California?

Mr. **Frye**. That's right.

Mr. **Curtis**. Do you have any plans for the future?

Mr. **Frye**. No; I haven't.

Mr. **Curtis**. And you have been gone from Missouri now how long?

Mr. **Frye**. I left Missouri on the 23d day of August 1937.

Mr. **Curtis**. And you have nothing to prove a residence back there either?

Mr. **Frye**. Oh, no.

Mr. **Curtis**. Well, Mr. Frye, this committee is primarily gathering facts about these people going from one State to another. It is not within our jurisdiction to advise in your case or to administer anything, but we are glad to have these facts as an example of how a number of people in your circumstances are now being dealt with, and we appreciate very much your coming here.

The **Chairman**. Thank you very much.

Mr. **Curtis**. That will be all.

(Witness excused.)

The **Chairman**. Is Mr. Arpke here?

Mr. **Frederick Arpke**. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF FREDERICK ARPKE, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, BERKELEY, CALIF.

Mr. CURTIS. Give your full name to the reporter, please.

Mr. ARPKE. Frederick Arpke.

Mr. CURTIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. ARPKE. I am with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Mr. CURTIS. Where are you located?

Mr. ARPKE. Berkeley.

Mr. CURTIS. How long have you been in Berkeley?

Mr. ARPKE. A little over a year.

Mr. CURTIS. How long have you been with the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. ARPKE. Just a year.

Mr. CURTIS. You are an economist?

Mr. ARPKE. That's right.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you take your training?

Mr. ARPKE. Stanford University.

Mr. CURTIS. What degrees do you have?

Mr. ARPKE. I have a B. A. and have nearly completed requirements for Ph. D.

Mr. CURTIS. You have a paper that you are submitting, have you not, for our record?

Mr. ARPKE. Yes. Copies have been submitted already.

(The paper submitted by Mr. Arpke is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF FREDERICK ARPKE, ASSOCIATE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMIST, BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, BERKELEY, CALIF.

Recent Distressed Migration to California and the Trend of Public Expenditures

One of the first points that I should like to call to your attention is the highly questionable value of any attempt to demonstrate a unique relationship between the rate of in-migration and an increase in public expenditures.

It is undoubtedly true that over a long period of time an increase in population, whether due to migration or natural increase, will be reflected in higher public costs; in fact, past experience has shown that we must expect higher and higher per capita costs as population increases. But if we are concerned with a shorter period, say somewhat less than the normal length of a business cycle, then the causal factors which rise to primary importance as far as public expenditures are concerned are such things as (1) the changing income status in the political subdivision under consideration, (2) urgent need for capital outlays due to unwise postponements in the past, (3) need for unusual expenditures due to severe unemployment or other emergency, (4) shifts in the inter-governmental responsibility for certain accepted public services such as education or highways. (5) the acceptance by government of completely new responsibilities which may or may not have any relationship with changed economic or social conditions, or population growth.

Every one of these factors, and many more, have been operating in California during the past decade to produce a different situation with respect to the size of public expenditures in almost every community that one might care to investigate. The fact that during the same period California has experienced a rather distinctive type of immigration should simply serve to introduce one more element into the total situation but should certainly not lead to the conclusion that in this factor of migration we have the major explanation for the trend of public expenditures.

COUNTY DISBURSEMENTS IN CALIFORNIA, 1935–40

There are several very important recent developments in the field of taxation and public expenditures in California which need to be understood in order to place the problem under consideration in its proper setting. In the first place, while public expenditures of all kinds and by all levels of Government have risen considerably during the past decade, particularly during the last 5 years, their importance is diminished when viewed in relation to previous trends and the unusual circumstances of the time.

Perhaps the best index of expenditures in California is that of county disbursements, since this figure includes the expenditures for those functions of local government that have grown in importance and which are also very sensitive to economic conditions and political pressure.

From 1930 to 1939 total disbursements for all counties in the State rose 27 percent during the same period that population was increasing 18 percent, resulting in a per capita increase of only 7 percent (from $63.31 per person in 1930 to $67.85 per person in 1939).

It is interesting to compare these changes with those of the preceding decade, the Twenties, during which period population increased by 65 percent and county disbursements by 198 percent, or a per capita increase of 80 percent (from $35.20 per capita in 1920 to $63.31 per capita in 1930). Nothing approaching such a rise in either population or public expenditures has taken place during the last decade.

In some respects the trends of expenditures in the various counties during the last decade were much alike. In almost every case they dropped substantially during the early years of the depression and rose again from 1934 on, so that much of the increase in expenditures during the period of heavy immigration was simply a return to normal. This is particularly true of such an important item as education.

FOR EDUCATION

Education is also an excellent, perhaps the best, example of an expenditure which is always particularly responsive to the factor of migration or population growth.

But, surprisingly enough, total expenditures in California for elementary and secondary education in 1938–39 were only 11 percent greater than they were in 1929–30. During this same period the per-pupil costs for elementary education rose only about $1—from $106.90 to $107.97—and the per-pupil costs for secondary education decreased from $328 to $274.44, reaching a low in 1933–34 of $217.60. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the increase in expenditures for education during recent years has not been excessive.

FOR CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS

The most phenomenal increase in county disbursements occurs in the items of charities and corrections, which includes the three most rapidly increasing expenditures: Old-age pensions, aid to needy children, and the county hospital and physician. The annual expenditure for this classification rose from $25,080,000 in 1929–30 to $91,374,528 in 1938–39, where it is second only to education as a major item of expense and in all probability will continue to grow at a more rapid rate than education.

CHANGES IN METHODS OF FINANCING PUBLIC EXPENDITURES

Much more significant than the moderate rise in public expenditures are the various changes that have taken place in financing these expenditures. The most important changes here are: (1) A very significant change in the method of financing public schools whereby a State-collected sales tax has been introduced, resulting in a substantial reduction of the tax burden on local property for education, and (2) the rapid growth of State and Federal subventions under the social-security program.

During the period from 1930 to 1939, while total county disbursements rose 27 percent, State and Federal subventions, disbursed through the counties, rose 240 percent—from $42,000,000 in 1929–30 to $143,000,000 in 1938–39. In Kern

County, for example, where county disbursements rose 77.6 percent—from $6,700,000 in 1929–30 to $11,900,000 in 1939–40—the increase in the amount of local taxes collected was only $2,625,874, an increase of 50.8 percent.

In Yuba County during the same period, the amount raised by local taxation actually decreased 9.6 percent, while total expenditures were increasing 16 percent. (Report on Yuba County held in committee files.)

The difficulty of establishing any definite relationship between in-migration and a rise in public costs should not imply that distressed migration has not had its effect upon certain specific costs. If a distressed migrant is defined as a migrant in need of and securing public assistance of some kind, then obviously there is a direct relationship between the number of these distressed migrants in any one locality and public costs. Some of the costs so affected may be made up largely of State or Federal subventions, but there are bound to be other substantial increases on the part of the county government.

The costs most directly affected by new arrivals in an area are definitely those for "education" and the classification of "charities and corrections." Fortunately, as far as education is concerned, a large share of the operation and maintenance costs are met by means of State subventions. The local district, however, is still responsible for capital outlay and there are many instances where the influx of distressed migrants has necessitated very substantial building programs.

It should be pointed out in this connection, however, that much of the increased expenditures in recent years for bond payments is not an altogether accurate reflection of recent building construction but represents also a definite change in the method of financing these capital outlays. A detailed examination of the methods of financing school construction in Kern County over the past 30 years reveals the following facts:

(1) There has been a tendency to shorten the payment period from an average of 15.2 years during the period 1911–15 to 11.4 years for the years 1935–39.

(2) There has been a large increase in recent years in the size of the first payments thus creating a heavy tax burden immediately and moving forward the year of midpayments.

(3) No construction necessitating bond issues was undertaken during the years 1931, 1932, and 1933, which precede the period of so-called distressed migration from 1935–39. During this latter period, however, new construction under a heavy repayment schedule, as described above, was resumed and it has been easy to fall into the error of identifying all of these increased costs with distressed migration.

It seems fair to assume that many other counties may have undergone similar experiences.

CLASSIFICATION OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS

The classification of charities and corrections, mentioned as being sensitive to the influx of distressed migrants, includes such items as old-age pensions, aid to needy children, the county hospital, aid to blind, burial of indigents, indigent relief, and probation and detention.

No important expenditure in the State is rising as rapidly as that of old-age pensions. However, the 5-year residence requirement has, so far, precluded the possibility of recent distressed migration having any effect on the growth of this item of expenditure.

Aid to needy children is another activity that has developed rapidly under the encouragement of the Social Security Act. A study of the 1940 case records reveals that 29 percent of the needy children receiving aid in Yuba County were born outside the State of California. However, whether they arrived in California during the last 5 years could not be determined. It is probably fair to assume that not more than 25 percent can be identified with recent distressed migration.

FUNCTIONS OF COUNTY HOSPITAL

The function of county government, which in my opinion merits the most careful attention, is that of the county hospital. If our investigations in Yuba County are at all typical, few institutions in the State have undergone such a complete change of function in the last 20 years and are more in need of State or Federal assistance in order to perform more adequately the obligation thrust upon them. Before 1931 the county hospital was principally an old people's home; to be more exact, an old man's home, as well as a place for single male residents and transients to obtain medical care. In 1919–20, 95 percent of the cases were men and the average age was 53 years. In 1939–40, 40 percent of the cases were men, 40 percent were women, and 20 percent were children; also the average age dropped to 35 years.

In 1940, 56 percent of the women or 23 percent of all cases admitted to the hospital were obstetric cases while in 1920 there were no such cases.

The proportion of patients who had been in the State 5 years or less did not change appreciably between 1920 and 1930 but rose from 15 percent in the latter year to 26 percent in 1935, and to 45 percent in 1940.

The county hospital in California is supported entirely by local taxation and it is a sizable and growing item in nearly every county budget. In 1939 Kern County spent $685,000 or $5.13 per capita in operating the county hospital and there would seem to be no question that the size of operations at this institution has some relationship with recent distressed migration. In the same year, Fresno County spent $533,000 or $3 per capita and Madera County $61,000 or 2.47 per capita. By way of comparison, Marin and Napa Counties, ranking low in the amount of in-migration, spent 85 cents and 32 cents per capita, respectively, in 1939.

In the nature of a conclusion it might be repeated that our studies reveal no direct relationship between distressed migration to California and public costs in general. This is to say that ordinary population increase and the normal demands for increased public services, ignoring all questions of the destitute condition of immigrants, could readily account for the major portion of the increase in public expenditures. Only when one examines the specific services of a welfare nature does the impact of destitute migrants on public costs become evident. While the cost of this type of service is not the largest item in county budgets, it is sizable and has grown rapidly.

TESTIMONY OF FREDERICK ARPKE—Resumed

Mr. Curtis. Well, now, Mr. Arpke, this is a Nation-wide investigation, and we are holding hearings in many places, and in the final analysis we will be drawing on these written papers very much. But there are a few questions that I will ask you that might emphasize some of the things that you have said in your paper.

Your paper deals with the public expenditures relative to migrants in California; does it not?

Mr. Arpke. That's right.

Mr. Curtis. What specific items in county public expenditures would you say are directly related to the migrant problem?

Mr. Arpke. Well, I would like to qualify my answer on that by saying that with regard to any expenditure that we might pick out that we would designate as being distinctly related to the migrant problem, it is more accurate to say that it is related to a general problem of unemployment, and the migrant problem, inasmuch as it enters as part of the unemployment problem, will amount to a significant influence. I am speaking now of county costs, local costs which don't include relief costs, which in California are handled by the State. Those county costs are principally education and charities and corrections, which includes several minor items such as old-age pensions, aid to indigents, aid to needy children, aid to the blind, and the county hospital which is financed by the county alone.

Mr. Curtis. Now, in reference to education, what figures in your paper do you wish to call our attention to or emphasize? What is the general picture in regard to increased cost in education?

Mr. ARPKE. Well, if you want to take the time, it is illustrated on the chart here [indicating]. (See figure 1, opposite, referring to Yuba County.) As far as education is concerned in the State as a whole, the increase in the cost of education has not been phenomenal. I have indicated in this paper that the increase on a per-pupil basis, for example, rather than on an average daily attendance basis, has for elementary schools been only $1 per elementary pupil.[1] As far as high schools, there has been a substantial decrease per pupil.

Mr. CURTIS. There have been other things that have caused the increase in tax costs for education, besides, of course, the addition of students, due to the coming of the migrants?

Mr. ARPKE. That is quite true. And I tried to point out in the paper that it is very dangerous to overemphasize simply the migrant influence itself, because there are so many other things that have been taking place at the same time. The condition of general unemployment, for example, the changes in the income status of a county or the whole State, changes in the type of responsibility that the State shares for education or that the county shares in education. We have had some great changes in those things in California.

Mr. CURTIS. Building programs, and the length of time that you spread out the cost?

Mr. ARPKE. And the postponement of building programs during the depression and the catching up during the last 4 or 5 years. In addition to that, the assumption of completely new responsibilities on the part of Government which may or may not have any direct relationship to migration. In most cases they do not have a direct relationship, but of course the existence of migrants amongst unemployed and destitute people has brought them into prominence.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you had to enlarge your building program for schools to any great extent in this State because of the migration of destitute persons, or would you have to enlarge about the same amount in planning for the future, anyway?

Mr. ARPKE. As far as the total costs throughout a large area, I think that the influence of migration of destitute people, if that is what you mean——

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ARPKE. Has been very minor. Now, you can find easily, certain school districts where there has been substantial capital outlay due to the migrant influx, and due to that alone.

There are several very fine instances of that in a few of those counties that have enjoyed a large increase.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, has the old-age benefit costs been affected, if in any way, by your inward migration of destitute people?

EFFECT OF MIGRATION ON OLD-AGE BENEFITS

Mr. ARPKE. Well, now, there again if you are thinking about the migration of people during the last 4 or 5 or 6 years who have come in as a result of the drought, there has been very little effect due to the fact that we have a 5-year residence requirement in this State. We made an investigation of the case records of the old-age-pension recipients in Yuba County, which is a county that has had quite a large migration in ratio to the population, and found what one would expect

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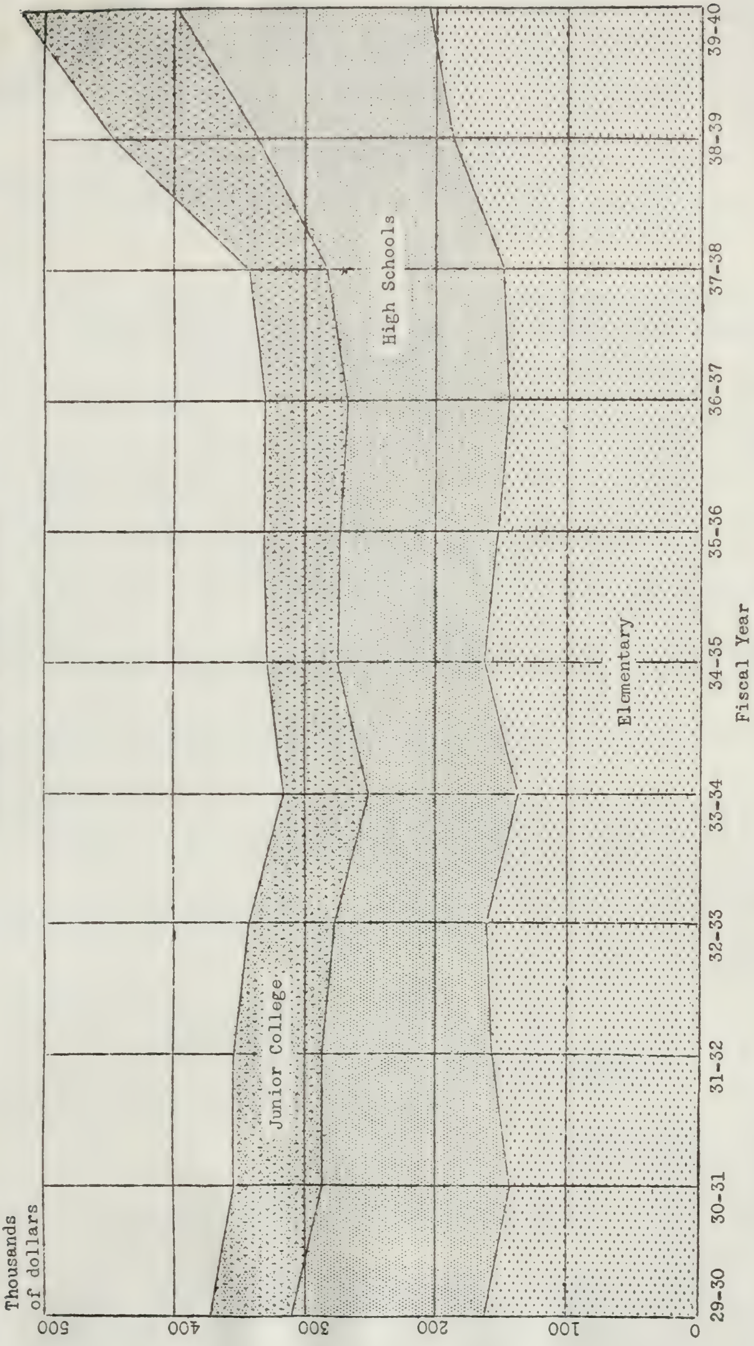
[1] See statement of Frederick Arpke, pp. 2442–2445.

FIGURE 1.—Public expenditures for education in Yuba County, 1929–30 to 1939–40, expressed in actual numbers



to find, namely, that there are no people receiving pensions who entered the State in the last 5 years. That would be quite obvious, of course. Now, as time goes on and they are able to establish a 5-year residence, you will probably find something quite different.

Mr. CURTIS. For your old-age pension do you require a 5-year self-sustaining residence, or any residence for 5 years?

Mr. ARPKE. I believe the law reads 5 years, "5 years out of the last 9."

Mr. CURTIS. It is your best recollection that they do not have to prove that they were self-sustaining during those past 5 years?

Mr. ARPKE. Well, I wouldn't want to be quoted authoritatively on that, but it is my recollection that it is simply the last 5 years.

COUNTY HOSPITALS

Mr. CURTIS. Here in California, are your public charity hospitals operated by the State or by the counties or by the cities?

Mr. ARPKE. They are operated by the counties.

Mr. CURTIS. Has the burden of this inward migration fallen on some particular county rather heavily in regard to this?

Mr. ARPKE. Well, before answering that question, I would like to make one other qualification, and that is that the relationship between migration and what a county spends on the county hospital is one thing. On the other hand, the relationship between migration and what, perhaps, they ought to spend is something completely different. Some counties have recognized the problem and have met it and have spent increased funds. Others have not. So if you worked out a relationship between migration and county expenditures for county hospitals, I am not so sure that it would mean a great deal. There are some counties that have had a high migration and have spent substantially of their funds. Kern County has spent a hundred thousand dollars a year down there to maintain a county hospital, and they have on the whole a fine institution. There are other counties which have had very large increases but perhaps haven't had the high assessed valuations as Kern County and haven't been able to put out the funds for such expenditures.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you any State-wide figures showing the percentage of people who have been here only a short time admitted to your county hospitals?

Mr. ARPKE. We have no State-wide figures on that question. There are no State-wide figures gathered on that question. We have figures for Yuba County, where we made an intensive study.[1]

Mr. CURTIS. Where is Yuba County?

Mr. ARPKE. Yuba County is in the northern part of the State, the north-central part.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the county seat?

Mr. ARPKE. The county seat is Marysville.

Mr. CURTIS. What type of industry or agriculture do they have around there?

Mr. ARPKE. Largely fruits—apples, and peaches.

Mr. CURTIS. Is there any industrial activity there at all?

Mr. ARPKE. No; there is practically no industrial activity there; a little mining.

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[1] Report on Yuba County held in committee files and not printed.

Mr. **Curtis.** Now, what are the figures that you have in reference to Yuba County? Just generalize them a little bit.

Mr. **Arpke.** If I recall, I have them stated specifically in the body of the report I submitted, but it ran something like this: The percentage of people who had been in the county 5 years or less and who were admitted to the county hospital ran from 14 percent in 1920 and around 14 percent in 1930, to about 26 percent in '35 and 44 percent in '39 and '40.

Now, I wouldn't want to generalize on that for the rest of the State, but those are the figures that we found there.

Mr. **Curtis.** What provision, if you know, does California make when a person dies who is entirely destitute? How is the burial handled?

Mr. **Arpke.** There is a provision for that. The county takes care of that under a burial-of-indigents program which is in this charities and corrections item that I spoke about.

Mr. **Curtis.** Do you know whether you have had a great many such items among migrants?

Mr. **Arpke.** I don't have figures on it, but I know from working with the figures that there have been a substantial number of migrants buried by the county.

Mr. **Curtis.** Do you know what the cost is per burial here?

Mr. **Arpke.** No; I wouldn't want to venture a guess on that.

Mr. **Curtis.** I see. Well, now, you have submitted some figures in your paper and you have mentioned Yuba County.

Is that sort of an extreme case in reference to their hospital, or do you think that that might be somewhat of an index for the entire State?

Mr. **Arpke.** Well, on this whole question of the migrants, Mr. Congressman, it is pretty hard to get a typical county.

Mr. **Curtis.** Yes?

Mr. **Arpke.** It is very difficult, and I wouldn't want to use Yuba County as typical at all. I think it is pretty fair to say that in Yuba County the expenditures for the county hospital are low. Those costs have not risen nearly as rapidly as they have in some other counties, and yet it has been a substantial item of cost.

Mr. **Curtis.** Now, the entire paper will be admitted for the record, Mr. Reporter.

(See pp. 2269.)

I think I have covered the items that I had in mind, but if there is any reference you wish to make to that chart or any other chart, we will be glad to give you a few minutes' time.

Mr. **Arpke.** No. 1 chart [1]—I may take time for that one alone. This chart is an illustration of the trend of public expenditures, county disbursements, in the State as a whole.

Now, this includes all counties in the State; not just this Yuba County we were speaking of.

Mr. **Osmers.** Is this expenditures by counties and districts?

Mr. **Arpke.** By counties and districts; that is correct, counties and the school districts. I think it is of some interest primarily because it indicates the general trend of all expenditures that you always have during a depression period. But the trend here from 1933 and '34 and on—it is this rise from here on that the taxpayers are particularly concerned about [indicating].

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[1] In this testimony "green" means Federal, "orange" means State, and "blue' means county.

I should explain first that the reason for using county and district disbursements here is that the county and district disbursements include all the subventions of the State and Federal Government. So

DISBURSEMENTS BY CALIFORNIA COUNTIES, 1929-30 TO 1938-39, BY SOURCES OF FUNDS.
(CITY & COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO NOT INCLUDED) SOURCES: FIN TRANS OF MUNIC & COUNTIES, BIENN REPT OF STATE CONTROLLER

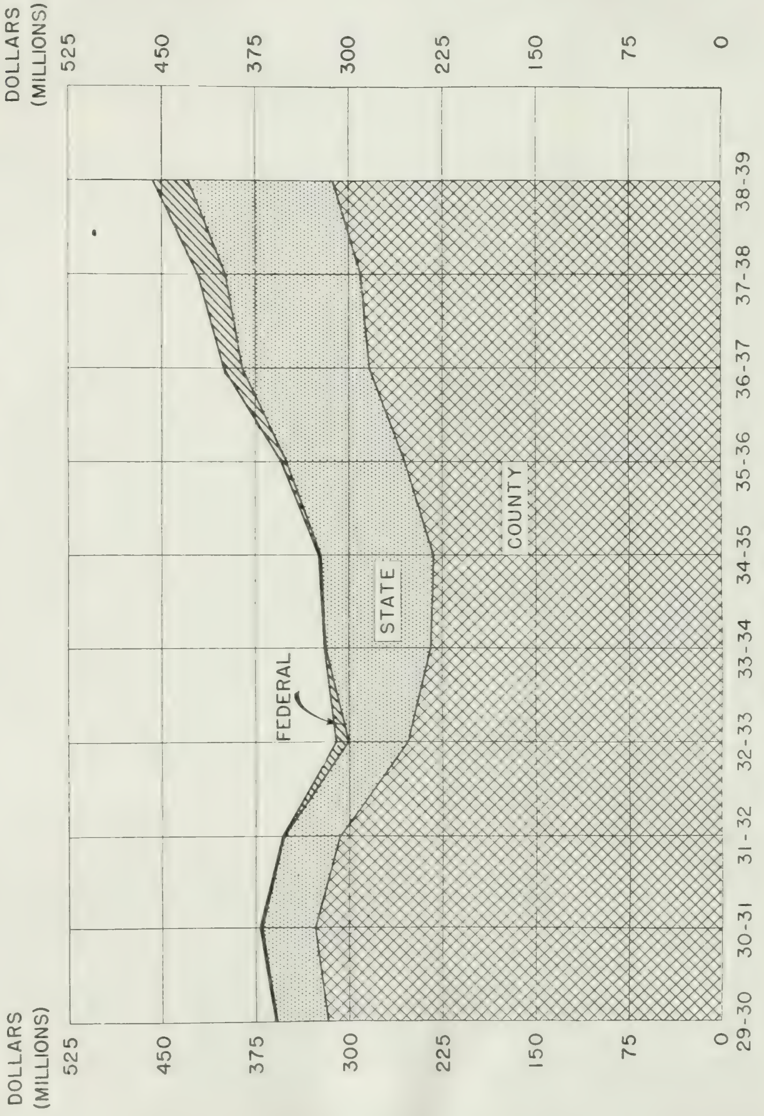

CHART 1.

you see they not only include the expenditures as such but the most important items you would expect to gain as a result of migration. I think you can regard it pretty largely as a return to normal spending up to this point [indicating] and this addition here you might attribute to the rise in population [indicating].

Now, when these two items above here [indicating] are separated from the rest of the items—that is, education and charities and corrections—then the curve down here of normal expenditures—that is to say, of ordinary expenditures—rises simply back to where it was previously in 1930 [indicating].

It is this addition, of course, of education and charities and corrections including the social-security functions, which raises the figure higher than it was in 1930.

Mr. **Osmers**. Your education is not very much higher?

Mr. **Arpke**. I mentioned before you came into the room that I didn't consider that excessively high. The per-pupil costs have risen in the elementary schools $1 per pupil, and in the case of high schools they have decreased. I had better check on that. There has been a substantial increase in average daily attendance.

Now, you might be interested in this other chart, which is a representation of those same costs by sources of funds. This presents the expenditure of State funds which are disbursed through the counties [indicating]. The green represents the increase in Federal expenditures, and the blue represents the funds that are raised in the county, which is, of course, pretty largely the property tax.

Mr. **Curtis**. For all county purposes?

Mr. **Arpke**. For all county purposes.

Mr. **Curtis**. Then your counties are paying a lesser amount now than they were 10 years ago?

Mr. **Arpke**. That's right.

Mr. **Osmers**. But they are paying the bigger portion of it?

Mr. **Arpke**. They are paying a lesser amount in the form of a property tax. Of course, the sales tax is raised in the county, too.

Mr. **Osmers**. But the sales tax is in your chart?

Mr. **Arpke**. Yes.

Mr. **Curtis**. And it is fair to say when the State undertook to introduce new forms of taxation, such as various sales taxes and the like, one of the purposes was to relieve and prevent the increase of property tax; is that not right?

Mr. **Arpke**. Yes. That is usually the purpose of the sales tax.

Mr. **Osmers**. May I ask whether the green shown on this chart as "Federal"—does that include W. P. A. and——

Mr. **Arpke** (interposing). No. You see, W. P. A. and relief are neither included in these expenditures, because they are administered directly by the State. These are county disbursements, local government disbursements.

Mr. **Curtis**. What item is included under "Federal" on this chart?

Mr. **Arpke**. It includes the assistance that the Federal Government gives to vocational education, for example; the assistance that they give also in the form of Social Security payments, which are administered through the counties. It doesn't include W. P. A. or State relief, because that has a separate administration by the State alone.

Mr. **Curtis**. Now, this chart shows a marked increase in State taxes.

Has that been in the form of new taxes, or has your levy on general property tax increased?

Mr. ARPKE. We have no State tax levy. We haven't had since 1911. It is entirely new taxes, primarily sales tax and the use tax together along with it, of course, and an income tax.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, this chart shows an increased Federal expenditure for county purposes back in 1932 and 1933, and then it drops for the next 2 years or so, and then it increases. What explains that?

Mr. ARPKE. You mean the drop right here [indicating]?

Mr. CURTIS. Right here, your Federal expenditures [indicating].

Mr. ARPKE. Oh. The expenditure right here represents an unusual situation, because this is the point at which the Federal Government, through the F. E. R. A., gave direct aid to the counties at the beginning of the depression. They later switched over and operated through the State, so from here on those would occur in the State [indicating].

Mr. CURTIS. Well, your paper is going to be one of the papers that will have a definite future value, and we will want to refer to it in connection with conclusions that the committee might draw.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other questions?

Mr. OSMERS. Nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Your full statement——

Mr. ARPKE (interposing). Well, the statement you have there was regarded more or less as an oral statement for these hearings. We intend to prepare a written statement in addition to that.

Mr. CURTIS. You have a written statement?

Mr. ARPKE. The written statement is not completed yet.

Mr. CURTIS. You will submit it?

Mr. ARPKE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will want that.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. We want you to send it in.

(The statement was received and appears on p. 2269.)

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. WALTER A. KNAPP, CALIFORNIA CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS, MERCED, CALIF.

Mr. OSMERS. Mrs. Knapp, will you give your full name and official position to the reporter, please?

Mrs. KNAPP. Mrs. Walter A. Knapp. I am representing the California Congress of Parents and Teachers.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, you have submitted a statement, Mrs. Knapp?

Mrs. KNAPP. Yes.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF MRS. WALTER A. KNAPP, OF THE CALIFORNIA CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

MIGRANT CHILDREN AND THE EFFECT OF MIGRATION ON CALIFORNIA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Following the White House conference on child health and protection, the California Congress of Parents and Teachers pledged itself to the support of the Children's Charter. Expressed briefly, a few of the provisions were: (1) For every child a dwelling place safe, sanitary, and wholesome; (2) for every child a community which recognizes and plans for his needs, protects him against physical danger, moral hazards, and disease; (3) for every child the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living; (4) for every rural child, as satisfactory schooling and health service as the city child; (5) for every child these rights, regardless of race or color or situation, wherever he may live under the protection of the American flag.

When California became the receiving line for people from the Dust Bowl and the Old South, our ability to approximate these standards was greatly reduced. Especially so since the migrations seemed to have centered, in many instances, in rural areas least able to provide for this great influx. That our organization might better understand and appreciate the enormity of this problem, a chairmanship, that of migratory childen, was added to the health department of the California Congress. The aim of the committee has been to understand the problem and to assist school authorities, the State and county welfare departments, health departments, and other agencies interested in the migrant families and to meet their needs as they arise.

The fall of 1938, 110 units made surveys of the conditions of migrants in their communities. Incomplete reports showed that over $416,000 had been spent assisting children in school, mainly in the form of hot lunches. We had no way of distinguishing between what was used for migrant children and other needy, except that the previous year the reports showed that only about $162.000 had been spent by local Parent Teacher Associations on their relief program.

The State chairman conducted a general survey. Twelve counties responded to the over 300 questionnaires sent out, but no county returned a complete report. The following is a compilation of some of the items on these reports representing approximately 400 camps.

Seven thousand one hundred and sixty families were reported with 22,257 children, 18,879 of whom are in school; 1,602 of these chaildren worked in the fields after school hours.

Two thousand nine hundred and fifty-five families lived in tents, 1,026 in 1-room cabins, 789 in 2-room cabins, and 259 families lived in 3 or more rooms.

Twenty-six were reported as having electricity, 30 having running water. All Federal camps and most growers' camps have some showers.

Only five camps were reported to have Sunday school, church, and library services available. Only three had adult education classes.

Motion pictures were taken of two Federal camps, three grower's camps, two squatter's camps, five shanty towns, and one emergency school.

From July 1936 to June 1937 Dr. Anita Laverman of the State Department of Health made a study of 1,000 children of migratory agricultural laborers in California. A comparable survey was made on 1,000 resident children in rural centers. The following are a few conclusions briefly stated:

Migratory American children, 85 percent of whom have been in the State less than 3 years, were found to have medical and hygienic defects in 23 percent more cases than resident American children examined in the rural areas of California during the same year. Furthermore, facilities for the correction of medical defects in these children through private medical care or county hospitals is limited to a very small number of them.

Over 27 percent of the children have nutritional defects, many of which cannot be corrected because of the low-family income. In the school-age group only 10½ percent of the children were getting 1½ to 2 pints of milk daily, the amount considered optimum for growth and development, while 15.8 percent were getting no milk. The suggestion has been made elsewhere that "a quart of milk or a bowl of vegetable soup given in school may be a more necessary part of our educational equipment than gymnasiums or libraries." Certainly this need must be seriously considered with these children who, in addition to other educational handicaps, face the mental dulling which occurs with constant inadequacy of food and frequent lack of it.

Nurseries to care for preschool children and infants, whose mothers are working, have been in use for many years in industrial areas of large cities and were found in one or two of the large camps in the fruit area. These should be extended to other areas where the small-family income depends on both parents working.

One of the major problems confronting the public schools in California today is that of the education of children of seasonal workers. The compulsory school law forces these children into our schools but it does not provide the means to keep them housed, clothed, and fed so that they might with safety to themselves and to the more fortunate children, attend our schools.

In order to have definite information as to varying local conditions regarding the education of migratory children, letters were written to county and city superintendents whose school districts are affected by this problem. In response to certain pertinent questions, excerpts from their replies are submitted.

Theo. R. Nickel, superintendent of schools of Tulare County, says: "In general, the tests show that the rating, or rather the standard of the children's work is very nearly the same as that of other children but they are much older for the same grade. In other words, in general a sixth-grade child in a migratory camp will rate almost as well as a regular sixth grader but on the average is about 1 year older.

"I have very definite suggestions to make especially where we have these large Federal migratory camps. In our county, both camps were and are being built in small rural districts. This means that the superintendent's office must come to the assistance of the district. Since there is no A. D. A. to assist in this matter, it becomes the expense of the local county. The teaching costs plus supplies, and in some cases the building costs are too heavy for the county to carry.

"I would definitely suggest that wherever the Federal Government puts up a camp and concentrates the children, they should put up the building and pay for the cost of the operation of the school for the first year. After the first year the attendance of the previous year will help lighten the load. This helps but does not entirely solve the problem because a school district cannot operate on the State income alone. Therefore, it becomes necessary that the local district must pay a continuous extra tax in order to care for the migratory children."

Mr. Leo. B. Hart, superintendent of schools for Kern County says: "As you know, we conduct an emergency school in the Arvin Federal Camp, which is located in the Vineland School District. Children are housed in temporary school buildings on land leased from the United States Government. We have good equipment for the children, excellently trained teachers, and what I think will prove to be an outstanding educational program designed for their specific needs. We are attempting to give them the very best educational opportunities possible.

"Since there is no Federal aid at the present time, we feel that the fairest method of meeting this expenditure is through the unapportioned elementary school fund.

"I think in all fairness that the Federal Government should provide for the capital outlay necessary for the maintenance of these migratory camp schools. I believe that this school should be operated by the county superintendent of schools and the cost of instructional material and other operating expenses of the school should be borne by the unapportioned elementary school fund, thus spreading the cost of operation over the entire county and not shouldering the burden on some local district.

"Personally, I think we owe it to these youngsters to give them the very best possible education advantages. Their handicaps are great enough without shouldering them with an additional handicap of an inferior educational program. As superintendent of schools of Kern County, I have and shall continue to exert the influence of this office to the fullest to give these children the advantages to which they are entitled.

"I hope that the Tolan committee will find it within their power to advocate legislation making possible aid to counties through the office of the county superintendent of schools for the education of the migratory child. To that end this office stands ready at all times to assist."

Blanche Schmidt, principal of the Dos Palos schools, says: "About 4 years ago I made a survey with our county superintendent to determine as nearly as possible the number of children living in camps in our own area. This was done with the idea of placing migratory schools. We estimated, rather accurately, that there were 2,500 people living in our school district who were definitely migrant.

"What is true of this community is true, with variations, in the State. Seen from a local angle it is easy to see that a community cannot care for an additional community at least half its own size. This is equally true in the State.

"To my mind Federal aid is the only equitable solution to a gigantic problem. I realize that the farther removed the source of administration is from the problem, the easier it is for the funds to be badly administered. I realize, too, that the human touch is not present: but it seems as if there should be some way to handle the problem so that the actual decision might be made by people who do know the families applying for aid.

"If Federal aid were offered, the trek to States which are more generous in giving relief might be stopped.

"With all its limitations I feel Federal aid to be the best solution. It is probably better that some people on relief be penalized than that the stable people of a State and a community should be. The tax burden for relief is becoming very heavy and bids fair to become unbearable."

Emmett Berry, district superintendent of schools, Potterville, gives the following information in his "Report on the Education of Children of Migrant Families, Porterville Elementary School System, February 19, 1940:

STATISTICAL DATA

"On February 19, 1940, all teachers of the Porterville elementary school system compiled data secured from a questionnaire relating to the number of children of migrant families at that time enrolled in our schools. The following interesting facts were secured:

Total enrollment	1,960
Children of parents coming to California since Jan. 1, 1931	718
Percentage of children of migrant families	36.6

"In a study of the transfer problem it was found that many of the children of the migrant families are late enrolling for the term. This means that they miss several days out of the school term.

"It was also found that children of migrant families often leave the system before the end of the term. Apparently these children fail to enroll in another school and additional days are lost.

"Some rooms in the school system have as many transfers into the system and out of the system as they have total enrollment.

"During the last 3½ years the Porterville system has had an increase of 33⅓ percent of its total enrollment. This increase has largely consisted of children of migrant families.

"Migrant families come into the Porterville schools from all sides. They do not settle down in any one well-defined area although there are sections where great numbers have established camps.

"The administration of the schools has made no attempt to segregate children of migrant families from children of the district who are permanent residents. Every facility of the school system made available to the students is available to all alike. The only segregation allowed is segregations for educational purposes.

"Children of migrant families, mental tests have proven, do not lack mental ability. Generally speaking, they have mental ability comparable to the children of permanent residents of California.

"Migrant children are often not adjusted to the grades of the classrooms in which they are placed. Many of the students are over-age chronologically and are found weak in fundamental subjects. These out of adjustment problems are attributed to environment and not to a lack of mental ability. Among the environmental causes contributing to the maladjustment of the migrant children are:

"1. Insecurity caused by economic conditions of the parents.

"2. Loss of school time because of transferring from place to place or because the parents neglect to keep the children in school.

"3. Physical conditions impairing the health of the students.

"4. Lack of environmental experiences in the homes that lead to educational improvements, such as lack of magazines, newspapers, and books.

"The school system has attempted to absorb the children of migrant families in a democratic way. Failing to segregate them leads to enrolling them in classrooms with all other types of children. When educational adjustments are necessary, the migrant child receives exactly the same individual study as do other children in the school system.

"The school system has made certain that every child in the system has the proper amount of books, supplies, and educational equipment. All classrooms have regulation furniture, and the administration has been able to insure adequate supplies and equipment to date.

"The Porterville School District is not a rich one. The school board has found it impossible to keep a building program going that would properly house the rapidly increasing enrollments. On that account classroom enrollments have increased excessively and in many cases are much too high. When a classroom enrolls 50 or more some adjustment is made. Emergency teachers have been employed, and for the past 2 years this system has been forced to employ three more teachers than for which we had planned and for which we had budgeted.

"Heavy enrollments have lowered standard achievements of all students in fundamental subjects. The only possible correction for this would be additional classrooms and more teachers. How this will be done remains an unsolved problem of the school board. The district is faced with a building problem that promises to be a load much too great for the taxpaying property owner to carry."

W. Max Smith, district superintendent of the Merced City elementary schools, says: "During the past 5 years there has been an increase in the enrollment of the Merced union elementary schools of approximately 20 percent, of which about 10 percent can be classed as migrants from the Dust Bowl area. During this time it has been necessary to construct seven new classrooms.

"Most of these newcomers have located on the outskirts of the community in small settlements, thus creating a transportation problem as an added expense.

"Due to the smallness of the house which they can afford to occupy and the size of the family, there is a definite health problem involved, thus our nurse and attendance officer of necessity devotes a great deal of her time to these people.

"Tests and teachers' reports reveal that the children of these migrants are retarded from 2 to 4 years, a fact which makes their education difficult because their academic has not kept pace with their physiological development.

"Investigation shows that a great number of these people are on relief and have worked on Work Projects Administration projects since they arrived, and my experience with them leads me to believe that they are gradually accepting relief as a career.

"Many of them demand the best of services and in return show the least appreciation and fail to cooperate by neglecting to send their children to school regularly.

"Many of the peculiar attitudes shown by these people may be due to the fanatical type of religion which seems to flourish in these little nearby communities.

"No doubt many of the children of these less fortunate people will become good citizens in our community, but it will be necessary to spend more money for housing, health, and educational services before this can be accomplished."

DeVere A. Stephens, B. S., M. S., says: "I wrote my master's thesis to University of Southern California last spring on the subject of An Analysis of the School and Home Problems of the Migratory Children of the San Joaquin Valley.

"From a questionnaire answered by 1,425 migratory boys and girls between the ages of 9 and 16 years of age, I found that approximately one-half of the boys and girls help support the family. The boys who help support the family stay out of school an average of 14⅝ days for this purpose, while the girls stay out on an average of 11½ days per school year. With the help of all members of the family, the income is not always sufficient to insure a satisfactory living.

"The social, financial, health, educational, and moral problems of migratory children are aggravated by the contempt of the public in general for migratory families; proper respect for them and their work would lessen the friction between migrants and the general public. The harvesting of crops is necessary for the general welfare of all. The San Joaquin Valley needs the help of the migrants to help in the cotton and fruit crops at certain times of the year, but the burdens accompanying the presence of the migratory families are almost more than some localities can carry. If the migratory children are given proper advantages and respected as regular children, they will grow up into useful citizens."

Respectfully submitted.

Bessie M. (Mrs. Walter A.) Knapp,
Chairman of Migratory Committee,
California Congress of Parents and Teachers.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. WALTER A. KNAPP—Resumed

DISEASE AMONG MIGRANT CHILDREN

Mr. **Osmers.** I have just gone over that statement hurriedly. I wonder if you would tell the committee what kinds of medical and hygienic effects seem most prevalent among migrant children.

Mrs. **Knapp.** Well, there is a scurvy-like disease that is manifested by sore mouth, and, of course, the skin disease of impetigo, and perhaps we might call them nutritional defects resulting from——

Mr. **Osmers** (interposing). Dietary defects?

Mrs. **Knapp.** Yes; bad teeth, and then, of course, running noses, colds.

Mr. **Osmers.** Would you say that most of these ailments stem from poor diet and substandard living conditions?

Mrs. **Knapp.** Yes.

Mr. **Osmers.** Tell me, not to be too particular, about this scurvy-like disease.

Mrs. **Knapp.** Yes.

Mr. **Osmers.** Well, is it scurvy, or isn't it scurvy?

Mrs. **Knapp.** It is a sore mouth, but it comes from the same reasons that scurvy does. These things are all lessening.

Mr. **Osmers.** As time goes on?

Mrs. **Knapp.** For instance, the surplus commodities is helping so much that the nutritional diseases are lessening amongst the school children.

Mr. **Osmers.** I suppose that as you get to know more about the problem, that it adjusts itself?

Mrs. **Knapp.** There are nutrition workers that have been sent out and are working amongst the mothers, and conditions are getting better.

Mr. **Osmers.** Now, are the schools in the communities where these migrant children attend equipped to handle adequately their health and medical care?

Mrs. **Knapp.** No; they are not. It varies, of course, in various communities. In Merced County there is no health nurse at all. There is a school supervisor of health who gives instructions to teachers and the children in the school. And the Council of Missions have had a nurse in some of the growers' camps. Then in other counties they do more. For instance, the city of Porterville, whose migratory school population has increased—I believe my figures are 33⅓ percent. They have no school nurse. The school nurse in Merced City gives most of her time to these children that are living in the shanty town outside the outskirts of the city of Merced.

Mr. **Osmers.** Have epidemics of diseases common to children been more frequent since you have the migrants in California?

Mrs. **Knapp.** At first, but not any more. That is because of the vigilance of the county health department and State health department. It's surprising that there have not been more.

Mr. **Osmers.** Are you back to normal, pretty much, with your school health?

Mrs. **Knapp.** Yes.

CALIFORNIA CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

Mr. **Osmers**. Tell me about the attitude of your own organization of parents and teachers. Do you look down upon the migrants? Are you interested in stopping them from coming to California?

Mrs. **Knapp**. No.

Mr. **Osmers**. What is your attitude?

Mrs. **Knapp**. Our work has been to help others to understand the problem; that they are our children and that we must take care of them. We have brought that message to our own groups and then to other groups, such as the Kiwanis Club, Rotarians, League of Women Voters. We have worked with them. We have talked with others.

Mr. **Osmers**. In other words, your organization does not subscribe to the theory that these people are here temporarily and are going to move out?

Mrs. **Knapp**. No. They are our children, and we must take care of them. They are our future citizens.

Mr. **Osmers**. Would you say that the late enrollment and early withdrawal of migrant children from school tends to hold back their promotion in school?

Mrs. **Knapp**. Yes; very much so. Some surveys show that the children are possibly 2 years retarded. I have that in my report.

Mr. **Osmers**. Yes. I know reference is made to it.

Mrs. **Knapp**. And, in addition to that, I might say that Kern County has made a study—I didn't include it. I included in my report the study made by Porterville.

Mr. **Osmers**. Yes?

Mrs. **Knapp**. But not the one made in Kern County. Would you care to have me enlarge on that?

Mr. **Osmers**. If you would like to file it with the committee, I am sure we would like to have that in our record.

Mrs. **Knapp**. They made a survey in January of 1940 of 17 schools in the southern part of Kern County, where——

Mr. **Osmers** (interposing). You have that in written form?

Mrs. **Knapp**. Yes.

Mr. **Osmers**. Well, I wonder if you would submit it to the committee?

Mrs. **Knapp**. Yes.

(The statement submitted by Mrs. Knapp is as follows:)

Exhibit 1

A Study of Pupil Age-Grade-Progress in the Schools of the Southern District of Kern County

This study of pupil conditions and school policies affecting the pupils was made under the direction of the Kern County superintendent of schools, Leo B. Hart

By Clarence E. Spencer, January 1940

FOREWORD

This study has been quite exhaustive and it is hoped that the teachers and administrators of Kern County will carefully analyze its contents in an endeavor to develop better learning conditions and to make the schools more efficient in contributing to the welfare of the youth of the county. This study was made in order to consider conditions existing in the schools of the southern district, and to focus the attention of teachers upon the needs of the pupils; therefore it is hoped that teachers will take the time necessary to study thoroughly the information here presented.

The purpose of this piece of research will have been fulfilled if greater unity can be developed among the educational personnel for efficient development of a curricula which develops better American citizens.

The county superintendent and his staff wishes to cooperate and coordinate in the progress of a modern educational program designed to meet the needs and abilities of the pupils enrolled in the county schools. To this end your close attention and analysis of this study will be appreciated. Also, the county superintendent's office is grateful to those teachers who contributed both time and effort to make this survey possible.

CLARENCE E. SPENCER,
Supervisor, Southern District, Kern County Schools.

CHAPTER I. THE PROBLEM

Purpose of the study.—This study was undertaken to determine to what extent the elementary pupils of the schools of the southern part of Kern County were placed in grades corresponding to the normal placement for their chronological ages, and if they had made normal progress since they started school. This study was made to draw attention to conditions affecting the grade placements, to develop teacher consideration of individual differences, and to question the emphasis of nonpromotion.

This study was important because it caused teachers to consider factors and conditions affecting pupil grade placement beside mere ability to do or to achieve in academic school work. The study was made to secure collective information regarding age conditions existing with the grades, and to indicate environmental factors influencing present conditions.

Development of grouping.—Proper grouping of pupils has presented a controversial problem since the beginning of mass education. The first graded school appeared about 1848, and from about 1850 until 1870 the graded school spread rapidly, but during the seventies reaction appeared against them.[1] With the growth of large cities and the necessity of constructing large buildings for schools, the graded school continued to spread in spite of any reactionary feeling. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the schools were primarily concerned with formal discipline and regimentation. At that time, the commonly accepted philosophy of education was based upon transfer of learning and the acceptance of subject matter discipline of the mind. The set-up of the graded system was based upon levels of difficulty in subject matter which provided an educational ladder.

Such a graduated educational plan demanded that children meet certain attainment standards in order to pass from one grade to another. Teachers, under this system, were concerned only with the mastery of prescribed subject matter. They required pupils to remain in each grade until the definite point of mastery was reached. Such an organization meant an exceedingly high percentage of failure.

The effectiveness of failure as a method of pupil adjustment went unchallenged until about 1909 when Ayres[2] made his survey. This study aroused the interest of a few educators and more pedagogical attention began to be focused upon the topic. Somewhat simultaneously with this educational introspection was the development of compulsory education laws which required all children to attend school between certain age limits. This new requirement meant a change in the scholastic ability of the general school population. Also, as time progressed, pupils who formerly had left school to enter employment because of a lack of ability to master school subjects, began to find occupational employment disappearing. The enactment of both compulsory school attendance laws and child-labor laws changed the aspect of the educational population.

With the development of modern psychology, a minute inspection of the harmful maladjustments created by the traditional school organization with its predominance of pupil failure, has been made possible. The scientific experiments of outstanding leaders in educational psychology have done much to give us valid laws of learning and of child development. These experiments of the twentieth century have aroused much concern among thinking educators and administrators to the extent that during the last 20 years various plans of grouping have been tried, advocated, or abandoned. At present, although the traditional grade grouping is almost universally used in this country, such bases for classification as chronological age, ability, mental maturity, pedagogical age, and social age are used. Closely allied to those bases for grouping, such devices as semester and quarter promotions, tripartite grouping, parallel course plans of grading, individual instruction units, special promotions, subject promotion in elementary schools, summer school for accelerated and retarded pupils, and departmental organizations, have been inaugurated in attempts to remedy the evils of the old grading system.[3]

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[1] Warren W. Coxe, Is the Graded School Outmoded? Nation's Schools, 15: 19–22, May 1935.

[2] L. P. Ayers, Laggards in Our Schools, Russell Sage Foundation, Charities Publications Committee, 1909.

Fred Englehardt, professor of educational administration at the University of Minnesota, sums up the general aspects of the question of grouping in stating that—

"A review of literature on pupil classification from the time of Boykin's[4] study to the present time reveals: (1) a wide breach between the expressed need for reform and the actual conditions, (2) a great persistence of traditional practices, and (3) a strong tendency for old practices, with their recognized limitations, to carry on side by side with new and progressive practices."[5]

This same educator summarizes the attempts for successful classification as follows:

"The most desirable grouping plan for elementary and secondary schools has yet to be devised. Many paradoxical situations and many inconsistencies now exist in the ways in which children are grouped for instructional purposes."[6]

The scope of the problem.—This investigation was a survey of information on pupil conditions which might have influenced grade placement. This study was important to cause teachers to consider the prevalence of variation of chronological ages of pupils in 17 schools in southern Kern County, and to consider certain environmental and school conditions which might have contributed to abnormal age-grade placement. This study was based upon information secured for 2,319 pupils of the southern district of Kern County elementary schools. Those schools included grades from 1 through 8, and ranged from 1 to 20 teacher schools. None of the schools had regular kindergartens, although 1 school of 10 Indian pupils allowed children 5 years of age to attend as prefirst graders. Many of the children had attended kindergarten in other schools before moving into the southern part of Kern County.

The southern district includes schools in agricultural, oil, and mountain areas. Many of the pupils were children of seasonal agricultural workers who move often in following their occupation.

Organization of the study.—To analyze conditions concerning the age-grade-progress of the elementary pupils in the southern district of Kern County, chapter 2 presents the procedure of the survey, the source of information about the pupils, the definition of terms used, and basis of the conditions studied.

Chapter 3 is a tabulation of pupil conditions existing in the southern district of Kern County. The age of pupils in each grade is studied in regard to grade placement, the grade placement is compared to the number of years the pupils have attended school, the number of pupils who have failed in each grade is considered, and the teacher estimation of the termination of each pupil's education is noted. In these tabulations, the American pupils are divided into those born in California and those who have migrated from other States. The pupils of foreign parentage and in whose homes a foreign language is spoken, are placed in a third group in order to note the effect of the language handicap.

Chapter 4 is a consideration of the prevalence of nonpromotion among the pupils studied, and an analysis of the effects of pupil failure as presented by eminent educators and psychologists from numerous studies and experiments.

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[3] William C. Reavis, Paul R. Pierce, and Edward H. Stullken. The Elementary School, The University of Chicago Press, 1931. Ch. 7, The Classification and Promotion of Pupils, pp. 126–40.

[4] J. C. Boykin, Class Intervals in City Public Schools, Report of the Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C. (1890–91, vol. 2, p. 962).

[5] Fred Englehardt, ch. 2, Thirty-fifth Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, vol. 35, pt. 1.

[6] Ibid.

Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of this investigation, presents conclusions reached as a result of the accumulated information, and makes recommendations for the improvement of pupil learning conditions in these schools.

CHAPTER II. PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY

In order to give a valid indication of pupil conditions existing in the schools of southern Kern County, information was secured from the schools of one supervisory district. This information was compiled and analyzed in order to indicate trends of pupil and school conditions.

The scope of the study.—This investigation was carried on in 17 of the 20 schools comprising the southern part of the county. Five of the schools reporting were located in the mountains, 3 were located in neighborhoods where oil is produced although the main industry of these school districts was still agriculture. The rest of the schools were situated in regions carrying on extensive agricultural production. One school was within the established Federal Farm Security Migratory Camp for agricultural laborers.

Since Kern County is recognized as an agricultural producing county, the study within this section of the county, for over 2,300 pupils, should indicate common conditions and educational needs for the majority of the county schools outside the large cities of Bakersfield and Taft.

The enrollments of the majority of the schools have increased greatly during recent years, therefore an anlysis of existing conditions is very appropriate in determining what alteration can or should be made in the county educational program.

Source of information.—Mimeographed blanks were furnished the teachers upon which they recorded the information concerning each pupil enrolled in their classes. The information requested by these blanks, in most cases, could be taken from teacher records, and if not, the facts were secured by requesting information from the parents. In all cases, the personal information secured was such that it should be most valuable to the teachers in understanding the children under their direction for the rest of the term.

The information blanks were distributed by the county general rural school supervisor during the forepart of the month of November 1939, and were collected before the 1939 Christmas vacation.

Basis for information requested.—The information requested upon the blanks was personal in matter to give a compilation of facts concerning the birthplace of the children, the chronoligical age of the pupils, the age of entering the first grade, the number of years of school attendance, the grades repeated or skipped, the language spoken in the home, the teacher's estimation of the grade of the pupil would complete before quitting school, and any handicaps the students might have.

In formation concerning the mental ability and the academic achievement of the individual was purposely left out of this study, because it was the wish of the county superintendent's supervisory staff that emphasis be minimized upon teacher instruction toward high test scores instead of toward pupil development. While tests had been given, it was felt that such tests should be used by the individual teachers as an aid for understanding their pupils and not for comparison with other classes and schools. The current staff of supervisors has discontinued all teacher rating by the persons who are aiding with classroom instruction, although the practice has been carried on prior to the present school term.

This study has not concerned itself with the individual pupil handicaps although the information has been compiled and will be used in cooperation with the county health department in attempting to correct these individual situations so that the pupils affected might more profitably attend school.

Definition of terms.—The age-grade status of pupils was determined by the number of pupils according to chronological age in a given grade. This age information was compared to the age of children who started school at the normal age of 6 years and progressed at the normal rate of one grade per year. The limit of the normal age for each grade was determined by the usual method of taking the entering age for the first grade as 5 years 9 months to 7 years 3 months, and increasing 1 year in age for each grade. Since this study was made approximately 3 months from the beginning of the ordinary school term, the limits were based upon the first grade age of 6 years to 7 years 5 months.

The progress study of pupils supplies significant information about pupil personnel in relationship to the school program. Normal progress was determined by a pupil's progressing at one grade per year of school attendance, therefore progress was studied by comparing the grade placement in relation to the number of years spent in school regardless of age of school entrance.

Summary.—In main, the information desired on the blanks was that which would indicate faults of the present school organization and curriculum in hopes that teachers and administrators might remedy school conditions and procedures in order that the educational program might better fit the needs and abilities of the pupils.

CHAPTER III. PUPIL CONDITIONS EXISTING IN SOUTHERN KERN COUNTY

The compilation of pupil conditions existing in the schools involved in this study was such as to give an introspection into the background of the child's school experience in order that those responsible for his education might more intelligently provide for his proper development both academically and socially. The information used was broad enough in scope to give an understanding of what has happened in the school life of the pupil and what his prospective education might be. Also, the facts secured provided an opportunity for hypothetical conclusions regarding conditions found.

The age of pupils.—The chronological ages of the children in each grade was important in studying grouping as it was practiced by the schools. Table I reveals the birthplace of the pupils in order to give an indication as to the experiences the pupils might have had outside California. This table shows that only about one-third of the pupils enrolled in the 17 schools were born in California. Also, this table shows readily that the majority of the pupils were children of agricultural workers who had migrated to the agricultural regions of the county in seeking employment as a result of conditions existing in the Dust Bowl section of the United States. Naturally the experience of these parents would influence the actions, attitudes, and ambitions of the children.

TABLE I.—*Birthplace of pupils in southern district*

State or country	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Total
Oklahoma	168	114	113	135	108	128	108	108	982
California	131	87	97	111	80	76	79	62	723
Texas	35	25	36	29	38	22	21	18	224
Arkansas	21	14	13	19	15	9	19	14	124
Missouri	12	5	5	5	6	8	2	3	46
Arizona	4	2	5	4	5	2	5	3	30
Kansas	3	1	4	2	3	6	2	4	25
Colorado	2	3	3	2	3	0	1	3	17
Oregon	2	3	3	3	1	2	0	2	16
New Mexico	5	0	3	2	2	0	2	2	16
South Dakota	2	2	2	3	1	3	3	0	16
Nebraska	1	1	0	0	2	0	3	2	9
Washington	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	9
Ohio	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	6
Alabama	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	6
Michigan	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	5
Idaho	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	5
Illinois	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	5
Iowa	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
Indiana	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	4
Tennessee	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	4
Minnesota	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3
Virginia	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
Montana	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3
New York	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Wyoming	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Louisiana	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Mississippi	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Massachusetts	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
North Dakota	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Nevada	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Florida	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Utah	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pennsylvania	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Georgia	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
North Carolina	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mexico	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	9
Russia	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	394	270	292	322	277	265	256	236	2,312

Table II through table IX gives the chronological ages of the pupils found in each of the eight grades composing the elementary educational system of the Kern County schools. Throughout these tables the fact is established that the ages of the native California pupils were spread less than those born in other States or those who had the handicap of having a foreign language spoken in their homes.

TABLE II.—*Ages of first-grade pupils, according to birthplace*

Age	American		Foreign	Total
	California	Other		
5.6 to 5.8	3	3		6
5.9 to 5.11	14	41	5	60
6.0 to 6.2	15	39	7	61
6.3 to 6.5	21	41	7	69
6.6 to 6.8	12	43	3	58
6.9 to 6.11	7	30	1	38
7.0 to 7.2	8	20	3	31
7.3 to 7.5	5	12	6	23
7.6 to 7.8	3	11	7	21
7.9 to 7.11	1	9	2	12
8.0 to 8.2	1	2		3
8.3 to 8.5		5		5
8.6 to 8.8		2	2	4
8.9 to 8.11		3		3
Total	90	261	43	394

NOTE.—Those listed under "foreign" are children born mostly in California, but in whose homes a foreign language is spoken.

TABLE III.—*Ages of second-grade pupils, according to birthplace*

Age	American		Foreign	Total
	California	Other		
6.0 to 6.2		1		1
6.3 to 6.5				0
6.6 to 6.8		4		4
6.9 to 6.11	9	10		19
7.0 to 7.2	13	21	3	37
7.3 to 7.5	13	21	3	37
7.6 to 7.8	8	27	5	40
7.9 to 7.11	6	25	3	34
8.0 to 8.2	3	16	3	22
8.3 to 8.5	5	9	2	16
8.6 to 8.8	4	12	4	20
8.9 to 8.11	1	9	2	12
9.0 to 9.2		4	1	5
9.3 to 9.5		3		3
9.6 to 9.8		4	1	5
9.9 to 9.11		8		8
10.0 to 10.2		1	1	2
10.3 to 10.5				0
10.6 to 10.8		1	1	2
10.9 to 10.11		1		1
Total	62	177	29	268

NOTE.—Those listed under "foreign" are children born mostly in California, but in whose homes foreign language is spoken.

TABLE IV.—*Ages of third-grade pupils, according to birthplace*

Age	American		Foreign	Total
	California	Other		
7.0 to 7.2	1	1		2
7.3 to 7.5		1		1
7.6 to 7.8		1	4	5
7.9 to 7.11	3	3		6
8.0 to 8.2	9	13	3	25
8.3 to 8.5	17	22	7	46
8.6 to 8.8	10	24	4	38
8.9 to 8.11	9	21	1	31
9.0 to 9.2	7	22	2	31
9.3 to 9.5		20	5	25
9.6 to 9.8	1	19	2	22
9.9 to 9.11		15	2	17
10.0 to 10.2	2	9	2	13
10.3 to 10.5	1	5		6
10.6 to 10.8	1	7	4	12
10.9 to 10.11		5		5
11.0 to 11.2	1	1	1	3
11.3 to 11.5		1		1
11.6 to 11.8			1	1
11.9 to 11.11				0
12.0 to 12.2		1	1	2
12.3 to 12.5				0
12.6 to 12.8		1		1
12.9 to 12.11		1		1
Total	62	193	39	294

NOTE.—Those listed under "foreign" are children born mostly in California, but in whose homes a foreign language is spoken

TABLE V.—*Ages of fourth-grade pupils, according to birthplace*

Age	American		Foreign	Total	Age	American		Foreign	Total
	California	Other				California	Other		
8.3 to 8.5	1	1		2	11.9 to 11.11		6		6
8.6 to 8.8		3	1	4	12.0 to 12.2		8	1	9
8.9 to 8.11	10	7	1	18	12.3 to 12.5	1	1	1	3
9.0 to 9.2	13	15	1	29	12.6 to 12.8		8	1	9
9.3 to 9.5	14	15	4	33	12.9 to 12.11		2	1	3
9.6 to 9.8	8	22	6	36	13.0 to 13.2		1	2	3
9.9 to 9.11	8	29	2	39	13.3 to 13.5		1		1
10.0 to 10.2	3	21	5	29	13.6 to 13.8		1		1
10.3 to 10.5	3	18	2	23	13.9 to 13.11		1		1
10.6 to 10.8	5	20	3	28	14.2 to 14.2		1		1
10.9 to 10.11	2	5	2	9	14.3 to 14.5		1		1
11.0 to 11.2		11	3	14					
11.3 to 11.5	1	7	1	9	Totals	70	209	41	320
11.6 to 11.8	1	4	4	9					

NOTE.—Those listed under "foreign" are children born mostly in California, but in whose homes a foreign language is spoken.

TABLE VI.—*Ages of fifth-grade pupils according to birthplace*

Age	American		Foreign	Total	Age	American		Foreign	Total
	California	Other				California	Other		
8.9 to 8.11		1		1	13.0 to 13.2		5	2	7
9.0 to 9.2				0	13.3 to 13.5		2	1	3
9.3 to 9.5				0	13.6 to 13.8		3		3
9.6 to 9.8	1	5	2	8	13.9 to 13.11		3		3
9.9 to 9.11	7	4	1	12	14.0 to 14.2		2		2
10.0 to 10.2	7	7	3	17	14.3 to 14.5				0
10.3 to 10.5	9	11	2	22	14.6 to 14.8		3		3
10.6 to 10.8	9	14	1	24	14.9 to 14.11		1	1	2
10.9 to 10.11	5	16	2	23	15.0 to 15.2		1		1
11.0 to 11.2	5	20	2	27	15.3 to 15.5				0
11.3 to 11.5	3	18	2	23	15.6 to 15.8		3		3
11.6 to 11.8	4	16	3	23	15.9 to 15.11			1	1
11.9 to 11.11	1	16	3	20	16.0 to 16.2			1	1
12.0 to 12.2	3	11	3	17	16.3 to 16.5				0
12.3 to 12.5	2	8	4	14	16.6 to 16.8		1		1
12.6 to 12.8		13	2	15					
12.9 to 12.11		6	2	8	Totals	56	190	38	284

NOTE.—Those listed under "foreign" are children born mostly in California, but in whose homes a foreign language is spoken.

TABLE VII.—*Ages of sixth-gade pupils, according to birthplace*

Age	American		Foreign	Total	Age	American		Foreign	Total
	California	Other				California	Other		
10.6 to 10.8		4	1	5	14.0 to 14.2	1	7		8
10.9 to 10.11	6	4		10	14.3 to 13.5		5	1	6
11.0 to 11.2	3	15	4	22	14.6 to 14.8		1		1
11.3 to 11.5	10	23	1	34	14.9 to 14.11		5		5
11.6 to 11.8	8	16		24	15.0 to 15.2		1		1
11.9 to 11.11	9	11	3	23	15.3 to 15.5		3		3
12.0 to 12.2	5	18	3	26	15.6 to 15.8		1		1
12.3 to 12.5	2	16	3	21	15.9 to 15.11		1		1
12.6 to 12.8	1	13	4	18	16.0 to 16.2				0
12.9 to 12.11	3	13	2	18	16.3 to 16.5				0
13.0 to 13.2		11	1	12	16.6 to 16.8		1		1
13.3 to 13.5	2	4	2	8	16.9 to 16.11		1		1
13.6 to 13.8		8	1	9					
13.9 to 13.11		5	2	7	Total	50	187	28	265

NOTE.—Those listed under "foreign" are children born mostly in California, but in whose homes a foreign language is spoken.

TABLE VIII.—*Ages of seventh-grade pupils, according to birthplace*

Age	American		Foreign	Total	Age	American		Foreign	Total
	California	Other				California	Other		
11.3 to 11.5	1	3		4	14.6 to 14.8		12	3	15
11.6 to 11.8	2	1	1	4	14.9 to 14.11		6	1	7
11.9 to 11.11	6	4	2	12	15.0 to 15.2		6	1	7
12.0 to 12.2	7	10	3	20	15.3 to 15.5				0
12.3 to 12.5	13	12	1	26	15.6 to 15.8	1	2		3
12.6 to 12.8	2	14	3	19	15.9 to 15.11		2		2
12.9 to 12.11	8	13		21	16.0 to 16.2		2		2
13.0 to 13.2	4	17	2	23	16.3 to 16.5		1		1
13.3 to 13.5	3	14	1	18	16.6 to 16.8		2	1	3
13.6 to 13.8	2	19	7	28	16.9 to 16.11				0
13.9 to 13.11		7	1	8	17.0 to 17.2		1		1
14.0 to 14.2		11	2	13					
14.3 to 14.5	3	13	3	19	Total	52	172	32	256

NOTE.—Those listed under "foreign" are children born mostly in California, but in whose homes a foreign language is spoken.

TABLE IX.—*Ages of eighth-grade pupils, according to birthplace*

Age	American		Foreign	Total	Age	American		Foreign	Total
	California	Other				California	Other		
11.9 to 11.11		1		1	15.3 to 15.5		12	1	13
12.0 to 12.2		2		2	15.6 to 15.8	2	6	2	10
12.3 to 12.5		1		1	15.9 to 15.11	2	14	3	19
12.6 to 12.8	1	3		4	16.0 to 16.2	1	4		5
12.9 to 12.11	1	6	2	9	16.3 to 16.5		6	1	7
13.0 to 13.2	7	9		16	16.6 to 16.8		4	1	5
13.3 to 13.5	7	6		13	16.9 to 16.11		4		4
13.6 to 13.8	5	10		15	17.0 to 17.2				0
13.9 to 13.11	6	11	1	18	17.3 to 17.5				0
14.0 to 14.2	2	16	6	24	17.6 to 17.8		1		1
14.3 to 14.5	4	16	6	26	17.9 to 17.11				0
14.6 to 14.8	2	9	3	14	18.0 to 18.2		2		2
14.9 to 14.11		8	2	10					
15.0 to 15.2	1	15	1	17	Totals	41	166	29	236

NOTE.—Those listed under "foreign" are children born mostly in California, but in whose homes a foreign language is spoken.

TABLE X.—*Range of ages of pupils*

Grade	Limits of range	Range
First	5 years 6 months to 8 years 11 months	3 years 5 months.
Second	6 years 2 months to 10 years 11 months	4 years 9 months.
Third	7 years 1 month to 12 years 10 months	5 years 9 months.
Fourth	8 years 3 months to 14 years 4 months	6 years 1 month.
Fifth	8 years 9 months to 16 years 7 months	7 years 3 months.
Sixth	10 years 6 months to 16 years 11 months	6 years 5 months.
Seventh	11 years 3 months to 17 years 2 months	5 years 10 months.
Eighth	11 years 10 months to 18 years 2 months	6 years 4 months.

The range of ages for each grade presented in table X reveals that the spread was greater in the upper grades, with a peak in the fifth grade. This fifth-grade condition indicates probably that nonpromotion had its greatest effect upon the youngsters who had been in school several years but who had not reached the age when they could discontinue attending school.

The range of the fifth-grade pupils in southern Kern County was very comparable to a survey of the fifth graders in the rural schools of Tulare County made during April 1938. In this study the fifth grade ranged from 8 year 9 months to 16 years 7 months for a difference of 7 years 3 months, while the Tulare County study showed a range from 9 years 0 months to 17 years 2 months with a spread of 8 years 2 months.[7]

Also, it is interesting to note that in the Tulare County study of the fifth graders that there was a spread in the mental age of the pupils from 7 years 1 month to 14 years 3 months, or a difference between the lowest and the highest recorded mental age of 7 years 2 months. When these mental ages of the Tulare County fifth graders were converted into intelligence quotients, they ranged from 43 to 134, with an average of 93.97. These same fifth graders, studied in Tulare County, showed a range in educational age from 7 years 6 months to 16 years 2 months, or a difference of 8 years 6 months, while their educational quotients ranged from 52 to 149, with an average of 93.58.[8]

Table XI shows the medians for the chronological ages of each grade in the schools surveyed and the limits of the middle 50 percent of the pupils, as well as the spread of that 50 percent.

TABLE XI.—*Spread of ages of pupils*

Grade	Q_1	Median	Q_3	Q
First	6 years 1.49 months	6 years 6.05 months	6 years 9.34 months	7.85 months.
Second	7 years 3.48 months	7 years 8.70 months	8 years 7.45 months	1 year 3.97 months.
Third	8 years 5.25 months	8 years 11.32 months	9 years 7.43 months	1 year 2.18 months.
Fourth	9 years 5.15 months	9 years 11.92 months	10 years 8.89 months	1 year 3.74 months.
Fifth	10 years 7.37 months	11 years 4.04 months	12 years 2.30 months	1 year 6.93 months.
Sixth	11 years 5.58 months	12 years 1.67 months	12 years 11.63 months	1 year 6.05 months.
Seventh	12 years 5.77 months	13 years 2.87 months	14 years 2.08 months	1 year 8.31 months.
Eighth	13 years 8.60 months	14 years 4.73 months	15 years 4.61 months	1 year 10.01 months.

Age-grade status.—Table XII indicates the age-grade status of the 2,319 pupils involved, and shows those who were properly placed according to commonly accepted ages for each grade. This classification shows the number under-age and the number over-age for each grade; in the case of the first grade, 66 were under-age because the California law allows children to enter the first grade at the age of 5 years 6 months while the common acceptance of first graders at the beginning of the school term is 5 years 9 months. Since the information was collected approximately 3 months after school opened, the basis for determining the normal age of the first grade was taken as 6 years and advanced 1 year for each grade.

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[7] Clarence E. Spencer, A Comparative Study of an Age Group With a Grade Group of Pupils, Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1939, ch. VII, pp. 82–83.

[8] *Ibid.*, ch. IV, pp. 31–45.

TABLE XII.—*Age-grade status*

Age	Grade								Total
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	
5½	66								66
6	130	1							131
6½	96	23							119
7	54	74	3						131
7½	33	74	11						118
8	8	38	71	2					119
8½	7	32	69	22	1				131
9		8	56	62					126
9½		13	39	75	20				147
10		2	19	52	39				112
10½		3	17	37	47	15			119
11			4	23	50	56	4		137
11½			1	15	43	47	18	1	125
12			2	12	31	47	46	3	141
12½			2	12	23	36	40	13	126
13				4	10	20	41	29	104
13½				2	6	16	36	33	93
14				2	2	14	32	50	100
14½					5	6	22	24	57
15					1	4	7	30	42
15½					4	2	5	29	40
16					1		3	12	16
16½					1	2	3	9	15
17							1		1
17½								1	1
18								2	2
Total	394	268	294	320	284	265	256	236	2, 319

Grade-progress status.—In table XIII, the grade-progress status is shown. This table reveals the grade placement of the pupils in relation to the number of years the pupil had attended school. This type of a comparison indicates the efficiency or lack of efficiency in promotional practices, or the adequacy or inadequacy of the teaching in preparing pupils to meet promotional standards.

TABLE XIII.—*Grade-progress status*

Years in school	Grade								Total
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	
1	296								296
2	94	180	2						276
3	4	72	176	7	2				261
4		10	104	183	4	2			303
5			10	110	151	7			278
6				17	104	141	17	3	282
7				3	18	83	144	16	264
8					8	12	82	122	224
9						1	10	80	91
10							2	9	11
11								3	3
Total	394	262	292	320	287	246	255	233	2, 289

Amount of failure.—The next table, table XIV, shows the prevalence of failure as experienced by the pupils enrolled in the schools studied. Close observation of conditions in this table reveals the fact that two-fifths of the entire number of pupils had experienced the disappointment of nonpromotion at some time during their school life. The information presented here, shows that failure in the first grade was greater than in any other grade. This should cause a consideration of possible reasons for such a condition. Since reading is practically universally required of first graders, some analysis of reading readiness and pupil maturation should be made. Pupils should not be taught to read until they have developed a readiness or a desire to read. Several reliable reading readiness tests have been developed which can aid a well-trained primary teacher in determining when a child should start to learn to read. A program which delays reading does not mean that a pupil should wait longer to start school, but that he should have experiences which increase and develop his use of a vocabulary, and which forms for him a habit in the mechanisms of reading. Also, experiments prove that not all children's eyes develop so that they can focus upon a printed word at the time they begin the first grade, therefore the pressure exerted by a teacher who attempts to force all beginning first graders to read may not only create emotional maladjustments and defense mechanisms in personality development, but may cause serious physical injury to the eyes of the little tot who is unable to realize and state his physical inability to do what the teacher desires. At the present time, eye specialists find it hard to determine accurately when a child's eyes have matured to the point where they can react properly to the print of readers. When the scientific instruments are developed to determine such eye development, and when these instruments are perfected to the stage where they can measure the damage done to pupils by teachers and parents who demand that all first-grade pupils learn to read, the conscience of many administrators, supervisors, and teachers should hurt from having been barbaric in their demands and procedures.

TABLE XIV.—*Grades repeated by children who have been retarded*

Grades repeated	Grade								Total
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	
First	98	61	61	66	42	25	20	24	397
Second		21	42	47	37	25	21	10	203
Third			19	32	41	18	26	16	152
Fourth				11	22	26	26	20	105
Fifth					12	9	4	16	41
Sixth						6	7	10	23
Seventh							2	2	4
Eighth								3	3
Total	98	82	122	156	154	109	106	101	928

TABLE XV.—*Percentages for age-grade status*

	Grade								Total
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	
Under-age	66	24	14	24	21	15	22	17	203
Percentage	16.7	9.0	4.8	7.5	7.4	5.7	8.5	7.2	8.8
Normal age	280	186	196	189	136	150	127	112	1,376
Percentage	71.1	69.1	66.6	59.1	47.9	56.6	49.2	47.5	59.3
Over-age	48	58	84	107	127	100	109	107	740
Percentage	12.2	21.9	28.6	33.4	44.7	37.7	42.3	45.3	31.9

TABLE XVI.—*Percentages for grade-progress status*

	Grade								Total
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	
Accelerated	0	0	2	7	6	9	17	19	60
Percentage	0	0	.7	2.2	2.1	3.7	6.7	8.1	2.6
Normal	296	180	176	183	151	141	144	122	1,399
Percentage	75.1	68.7	60.3	57.2	52.6	57.3	56.4	52.4	61.1
Retarded	98	82	114	130	130	96	94	92	830
Percentage	24.8	31.3	39.0	40.6	45.3	39.0	36.9	39.5	36.2

TABLE XVII.—*Percentage of pupils in each grade who have failed*

	Grade								Total
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	
Number	98	82	122	156	154	109	106	101	928
Percentage	24.8	30.6	41.5	48.7	54.2	41.1	41.0	42.8	40.0

Teacher estimation of pupil termination of schooling.—A school curriculum should meet the needs of the pupils, and certainly one important factor in determining what should be included in the elementary school would be the termination point of a pupil's schooling. Table XVIII gives the teachers' estimation of the grade each pupil will complete before he quits school. Since this was the estimation of the persons who were directing the instruction of the pupils, it should have a tremendous influence upon what the teachers were teaching. From the figures in table XVIII, the conclusion was reached that about one-third of the pupils would not attend school beyond the eighth grade, therefore one-third of the experiences within the schools would be expected to conform to the teacher estimation. In addition, it can be noted from the table that less than one-tenth of the pupils are expected to attend junior college or university, therefore it appears logical that only a small part of the elementary school program can justifiably be denoted to the development of college preparatory endeavors. Surely, such an estimation on the part of the teachers themselves should affect their philosophy of education, what they demand of the pupils in the way of academic standards, what they insist upon in activities, and the type of school control exerted.

TABLE XVIII.—*Teacher estimation of school grade to be completed by pupils*

Grade to be completed	Grade								
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Total
Fifth	2	1	3	1	3	--------	--------	--------	10
Sixth	10	5	8	7	6	2	--------	--------	38
Seventh	9	9	20	9	6	1	3	--------	57
Eighth	104	66	65	71	68	55	37	41	507
Ninth	8	8	25	6	13	17	5	10	92
Tenth	16	20	26	42	33	38	39	42	256
Eleventh	--------	2	5	3	1	6	1	4	22
Twelfth	99	68	68	78	64	85	85	100	647
Junior college	14	7	10	6	6	11	12	17	83
University	15	8	7	8	4	15	13	16	86
Total	277	194	237	231	204	230	195	230	1,798

Summary.—The information collected in this study tends to show that a large proportion of the school population was born out of the State of California, that this group born in other states were largely the children of seasonal agricultural workers, that there was a wide range of chronological ages for each grade, and that the range was greater for those pupils born in other states or in whose homes a foreign language was spoken, than for the group raised within the state of American parentage. Also, facts accumulated show far more over-ageness than under-ageness in the grades, and more retardation than acceleration in the pupils' progress.

The collected information revealed a tremendously high percentage of failure among the pupils—two-fifths of the pupils having failed at one time or another, with the peak in the fifth grade where over one-half had experienced nonpromotion within their school life. Also, the compilation indicated that the teachers thought approximately one-third of their pupils would not attend school beyond the elementary grades, and that less than one-tenth of their charges would have any experience of college instruction.

CHAPTER IV. THE EFFECTS OF NON-PROMOTION

The indications of the tables on the ages of the pupils within each grade, the grade-progress status, and the percentage of failure as well as the estimation of an early termination of the schooling of a large proportion of the pupils emphasizes the use of nonpromotion based upon a traditional school program. Since this is true, use of pupil failure or nonpromotion must be surveyed and considered as an educational factor.

The number of pupils enrolled in the schools of southern Kern County who have been failed for promotion was so great that the problem must be faced by those engaged in educational work, therefore this chapter deals with the prevalence of failure among the pupils, the effects of failure, and proposals of remedying inefficient practices of nonpromotion.

Amount of failure.—This study of 2,319 elementary pupils enrolled in 17 schools in the southern district of Kern County, showed that failure has been experienced by two-fifths of all the pupils. Table XIV shows the amount of failure for each grade, and table XVII shows the percentage of failure by pupils in each grade. In comparison to the local figures, C. A. Pugsley gives the following general trends and conclusions in regard to the extent of failure in schools:

"1. The rate of failure in the elementary grades ranges from 20 percent in grade 1 to 4 percent in grade 8. The mean trend is 9 percent.
"2. The rate of failure decreases as the grade advances.
"3. From one-third to one-sixth of first-grade children fail.
"4. Ninety-nine percent of first-grade failures are failures in reading.
"5. A child who has attended kindergarten has 33 percent more of a chance to complete his first grade in 1 year than has the child who has not attended kindergarten.
"6. A study made by the Research Division of the National Education Association shows that children from small rural schools do not have as good a chance to make their grade as do the children of larger rural schools.
"7. Children who are over-age for their grade show the largest amount of failure.
"8. Boys are more liable to fail than girls. Along with this must be included the fact that boys do not differ from girls in mental ability.
"9. Children of lower mentality represent about 37 percent of all school failures.
"10. Arithmetic accounts for 85.3 percent of the subject failures in grade four.
"11. Arithmetic accounts for 72.4 percent of the subject failures in grade eight." [9]

The facts presented by the table on failure, and substantiated by the tables for age grade and grade progress, show that the schools studied had a higher amount of failure than the trend stated by the foregoing quotation. The schools surveyed cannot be blamed entirely for the fact that failure was high among the pupils because many had migrated into these schools from other school systems—many from out of State. Nevertheless, since two-fifths of the children have had the experience of failing in some grade, a study of the value and the effect of failure should be included in this research study.

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[9] C. A. Pugsley, Reducing and Handling Student Failures, American School Board Journal, 86: 18–20, March 1933.

Value.—The extensive use of failure must be based upon some conception of value. H. J. Otto lists four values of failure, but he does not defend them:[10]

"1. Result of tradition.

"2. Need of threat of failure for work.

"3. Punishment, or to bring a change in attitude.

"4. Provision for maturity."

Modern educators do not worry much over traditions of the schools except as these traditions are held dear by the public. Probably the tradition of failure has a favorable place in the thoughts of many persons unless they or their children have been involved. No doubt the fact that failure is a historic device prevents the more timid administrator from "junking" it for a "new model."

The use of failure as a threat to make pupils work is vividly denounced by Otto in this statement:

"The threat of failure is an acknowledgment of inefficient teaching and inadequate understanding of children."[11]

An experiment to determine the value of the threat of failure as a factor in achievement was carried on in four northern Illinois schools during the school term 1933–34. The studies were carried on with 352 pupils in the second and fifth grades. The experiments were conducted under normal conditions in typical grades. At the close of the term, the groups showed very little difference in achievement. The experiment was summarized thus:

"In general the effect of the elimination of the threat of failure did not affect materially either favorably or unfavorably, the quality of work, the attitudes, or the application of the pupils. The teachers' opinions of these items were supported by the test results."[12]

It is natural for a person to do the things that he likes, and those things are usually done better than tasks done under pressure. This being true, a teacher should work with the idea of interesting a pupil in his work, and to motivate the work so that a pupil will not acquire a negative attitude toward it. Of course, not all school tasks can be made pleasant, but if the teacher has the proper aim for her work, she will develop attitudes toward these difficult tasks so that a pupil will gain satisfaction in completing such jobs. Such procedure means skillful adjustment by the teacher, while the threat of failure may be an attempt to bring about an adjustment, it surely lacks skill. The following quotation augments this point:

"Not only is failure a device for adjusting the pupil instead of the school, it is also a means of teaching the child to fail in life. Failure of a child is a means of teaching more failure than it is a means of teaching success."[13]

The use of failure as punishment likewise is an admission of poor teaching and an indictment against the teacher herself. The fundamental purpose for the existence of public schools is to secure the maximum educational development of children, and failing of a pupil because of malbehavior does not adhere to this purpose. The use of failure as punishment is the result of teacher vengeance and shows a lack of teacher self-control and consideration—the two main attitudes which the teacher should be attempting to develop within the very pupil she is failing. The following two statements point out some of the fallacies of using failure as punishment:

"Making a child repeat a grade as a means of punishment shows failure on the part of the teacher to meet his real difficulty. Failure as punishment (1) does not solve behavior difficulties, (2) increases emotional maladjustment, (3) is an injustice to the capacity of the child, (4) increases habits of carelessness, inattention, and indifference.[14]

"Nonpromotion should never be used as a punishment for malbehavior in a social situation. Effort should be made to discover the actual causes for warped personalities and definite remedial work planned along the lines of character education. Demoting pupils because of misbehavior merely aggravates the case." [15]

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[10] Otto reference was omitted by author. Editor's note.

[11] Ibid.

[12] H. J. Otto and Ernest O. Melby, An Attempt to Evaluate the Threat of Failure as a Factor in Achievement, Elementary School Journal, 35 : 588–596, April 1935.

[13] C. A. Pugsley, Reducing and Handling Student Failures, American School Board Journal, 86 : 18–20, March 1933.

[14] Children Who Fail, Wisconsin Journal of Education, 64 : 65, October 1931.

Repetition of work.—It is a common practice of teachers to ask pupils to repeat an entire year's work because a pupil did not show evidence of completing enough work in some subject to satisfy some unnatural materialistic standard. The teacher justifies her action on the contention that if the child is "exposed" to the facts again that he will acquire enough of them to meet a subject-matter requirement. It appears that if a pupil failed in the first attempt that his chances for failure the second time are great. There is no question but what a child will acquire a few more facts during the second year (he would acquire some facts just from the experience of living a year in spite of the school), but probably the margin of educational gain would be small.

A study in the Long Beach schools during the term 1027–28 revealed that out of a group who were considered failures that those who were allowed to take the next grade showed a higher index of growth by the Stanford Achievement Test than did the group forced to repeat the grade.[16] A study by J. C. Nicholas conducted in Rockford, Ill., during the term 1932–33 revealed similar results[17] These two studies show that educational growth in a repeated grade is less than in an advanced grade.

Making a child repeat the work in a given grade does not acknowledge any development during the previous term. H. N. Massey expresses the point very vividly:

"In failure, no credit is given for the amount of work done, but one must start over. The person who has completed work, but who is not given credit, has been robbed." [18]

Paul R. Mort contends that it is difficult to justify causing children to repeat a grade when all facts are known. He states that a teacher should take the pupils where they are and develop them from there on, and that failures cannot be prevented just merely by a change in the amount of work given.[19]

Maladjustments.—Nonpromotion involves far more than just mere repetition of work. A child cannot be treated as a factory product, to be returned, melted, and recast. Every decision of a teacher affects a human mind which has capacity for development, and whose development is influenced by experiences. The teacher is important in providing experiences for a growing child, and since the proper development of attitudes is a prerequisite for a good social being, the teacher must thoroughly understand her work. In carrying out her task, the teacher must consider the proper emotional and social adjustment of children.

The practice of failure bears directly upon both emotional and social adjustment. Failure cannot help but upset the emotional status quo of a youngster. Failure thwarts ambitions, ideals, confidence, and happiness, and develops negative qualities of personality. Reschke says:

"While a pupil may acquire certain fundamental skills and powers by repeating a grade, he may also acquire certain emotional maladjustments due to inability to make friends of his own age and suitable interests." [20]

Closely connected and inseparable from emotional maladjustment is social maladjustment. A child's mental ability does not necessarily correlate with his physical and social development, therefore retarded pupils are denied the proper environment in which to develop to be socially desirable citizens. Of course many persons have made such desirable development in spite of traditional school practices. Otto has two pertinent statements upon this fact, and other writers have stressed it too.

"Failure causes ridicule by other children, and opinions and attitudes of a child's peers are very potent; this ridicule and hostility easily runs to an inferiority complex and a repulsion of urges and impulses. The victim may feel criticism from both the pupils with whom he is placed and those who have advanced. The social maladjustment may cause developments of many types of defense mechanisms and undesirable or antisocial attitudes and mannerisms.[21]

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[15] L. K. Reschke, Pupils Own Failure Diagnosis, Wisconsin Journal of Education, 65: 407–9, May 1933.

[16] H. J. Otto, Pupil Failure as an Administrative Device in Elementary Education, Elementary School Journal, 34: 576–89, April 1934.

[17] Ibid.

[18] H. N. Massey, Fallacy of Failure, California Quarterly of Secondary Education, 5: 263–6, April 1930.

[19] Paul R. Mort, The Individual Pupil, American Book Co., 1928, chap. 5, p. 181.

[20] L. K. Reschke, Pupils Own Failure Diagnosis, Wisconsin Journal of Education, 65: 407–9, May 1933.

"Studies have shown a positive causative relationship between undesirable behavior and retardation. Haggerty shows that in 800 elementary school children that a much larger amount of undesirable behavior appeared." [22]

"Keeping a child back arbitrarily does not solve the problem of his adjustment—it aggravates it. To the dull child, it is useless, it disregards opportunity for adjustment, and it increases inferiority and discouragement.[23]

"The modern theory for dealing with children is to investigate and correct or adjust, instead of to condemn and punish. Confidence is necessary for achievement, and failure shows a lack of teacher confidence in pupils." [24]

At its best, failure has many bad effects upon the child. The scar of failure upon the disposition of a child may fade as the years pass by, but it can never be removed. Promotion wins all round approvement, but failure makes a child conspicuous.

Flexible program.—Any program to diminish failure must be flexible so as to meet the needs of the individual pupils. The existence of rigid grade standards means a fixed subject matter approach, while within the grades exist wide ranges of abilities and interests. Grade grouping may mean a too advanced curricula for the below-average pupil, while the social atmosphere may be too immature for the happiness of over-age retarded pupils. An elimination of the emphasis upon grade grouping would no doubt aid greatly in obliterating failure from the elementary school program.

Activity and units of work.—The development of units of work in the curriculum helps to adjust the school program so as to provide for the difference in abilities of pupils. The unit program develops an interest in one problem and a youngster can contribute to the central topic to the best of his ability. Such a plan gives an opportunity for the development of social group attitudes, such as cooperation, leadership, individual and group responsibility, analytical reasoning, critical evaluation, and consideration for others.

Activity work has a very definite place in such a program because of its ability to develop interests and attitudes. In planning for such work, a committee should formulate a course of study flexible enough to meet the needs of the pupils as they change. There should be a few objectives given, and then the teachers should be allowed freedom to develop their own plan of procedure, with the counsel of the supervisor. Graves emphasizes this point of free planning.

"A teacher in an ordinary class can aid in eliminating failure by carefully supervised study; and in very difficult cases by special assignments—those given to pupils to suit their natural capacity, probable progress, and present state of mind. No method will take the place of the teacher's personal interest, sympathetic understanding, and actual personal planning and personal activity." [25]

Stress on social development.—Activity work carried on under a democratic teacher atmosphere will tend to bring out many desirable civic projects in a group of like ages. Youngsters could have an opportunity to develop favorable social traits by cooperative enterprises; children with definite problems, if aroused have an enormous amount of energy to expand in seeking their solutions, and such work under intelligent guidance can build self-reliance. Synchronized with this aim is an interesting discussion of the aim of public education given in the following quotation:

"The chief purpose of the State in maintaining schools at public expense is found, first of all, in the development of good citizens, intelligent, self-supporting men and women who have higher standards of living and conduct. The State does not care so much about the amount and kind of facts one possesses as it does about the attitudes entertained regarding them.[26]

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[21] H. J. Otto, Pupil Failure As An Administrative Device in Elementary Education, Elementary School Journal, 34 : 576–89, April 1934.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Children Who Fail, Wisconsin Journal of Education, 64 : 65, October 1931.

[24] R. Pullman, Treating the Child Who Is Failing in School, Education, 49 : 465–72, April 1929.

[25] S. M. Graves, Are Failures Necessary? Journal of Education, 116 : 322, June 19, 1933.

[26] Change—The Test of Teaching, School and Society, 40 : 133–6, July 28, 1934.

Trained teachers.—Any proposal for the elimination of failure demands the best kind of teachers, as any educational program should. A system which eliminates non-promotion must have teachers who have confidence in youth, who believe in the possibilities of children, and who are sympathetic toward their activities. Such teachers must have a sound belief in modern philosophy of education; they must be well trained in the art of teaching, and must have a broad cultural education to draw upon in carrying out their work. These teachers must have the personality and vitality to inspire children, to instill pupil ambitions and ideals. A teacher to gain the goodwill of children must be humanly sympathetic.

"Teacher kindness is not a sign of weakness. On the contrary it shows strength and understanding." [27]

A teacher must develop a personal relationship between herself and her pupils; she must let each pupil feel that she is vitally interested in him personally and separate from the group. All in all, though—

"The teacher's work cannot be described in detail by an administrator.

"Teachers may study the latest theories, methods, and testing procedure, but the way she applies what she knows will depend upon her ability as an artist teacher." [28]

Summary.—The amount of failure revealed in the study of the pupils in southern Kern County was more than the average for the Nation's schools.

The value of failure appears to be based upon false premises, while nonpromotion creates a lack of teacher confidence by causing pupils to repeat work without credit for previous development, and causes emotional and social maladjustments. In an attempt to diminish pupil failures, a flexible program must be established with activities and units of work which allows pupil success and development of wholesome attitudes in relation to abilities and interests. Such a program stresses the social development of pupils into desirable citizens, and demands well-trained teachers who are sympathetic toward pupils, who take a personal interest in the pupils problems, and who have the ability to inspire pupils to greater achievements.

CHAPTER V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The facts congregated through this survey indicated certain conditions within the schools which should provoke serious thought among those persons employed in the schools. A summary of the conditions bring definite conclusions regarding recommended procedures for making classroom instruction more efficient for the youngsters now enrolled.

Summaries of the study.—From the compilation of the information gathered from the 17 elementary schools of southern Kern County, the following conclusions were eminent: Two-thirds of the pupils enrolled were born in other States which have suffered from drought and dust storms; there was a large range in the chronological ages of the pupils in each grade; there was a larger spread of ages for the group born in other States than for those born in California; there was a greater range in ages for the California-born group of foreign parentage than for the native California children of English-speaking parents; there were more overage pupils than underage pupils in the grades; the out-of-State-born group showed greater over-ageness than the California group; more retardation was revealed than acceleration; there was 40 percent nonpromotion among the pupils as compared to a mean average of 9 percent in the Nation; and the teachers expect about one-third of the children to go no farther in school than the eighth grade, and that less than one-tenth will reach college.

From the facts presented in this study, close analysis should be made to determine where present practices are not meeting the needs of the pupils enrolled, and careful study should be made of any proposed changes in classroom activities. Changes in instruction and procedures should be based upon a sound philosophy of education and the results of valid scientific experimentation.

Recommendations suggested.—The results of pupil conditions and school practices as indicated in this investigation, and supported by the results of several authoritative studies, lay the foundation for the suggested recommendations for improving learning conditions for the pupils of Kern County. In recognition of that goal, the following recommendations are suggested: (1) A curriculum committee of teachers should work upon the development of units of work which would meet the needs and abilities of the pupils. Such units should recognize the experiences of the children and should make definite contacts with life situations of the pupils. (2) Greater latitude in carrying out courses of study should be allowed the teachers, because no small group can set up grade or school subject matter to cover the variations within a county school system. (3) Drill in the fundamental processes should be developed to meet demands set up by real experiences instead of diminished. All drills should be made purposeful to the pupils. (4) Less emphasis should be placed upon grade divisions and rigid subject matter standards. Active steps should be taken to eliminate failure in the elementary schools without interfering with the teaching efficiency. (5) More attention should be given to the consideration of pupil maturation in teaching. (6) First grade reading should be started and developed according to reading readiness instead of by mass group instruction. Definite vocabulary and social experiences should precede as a background for first grade, or rather beginning reading. (7) Definite methods should be developed for teaching pupils coming from homes where a foreign language is used. (8) Teachers in planning and prescribing work for pupils, should consider what will be the probable limit of each pupil's education. The time at which a pupil will terminate his schooling should be an important factor for the type of work and experiences planned by the teacher. (9) Teachers should use as many books as possible which meet the reading level of the pupils regardless of grade placement. All textbooks and supplementary materials should be identified according to reading and vocabulary difficulty instead of by designated grades. To this end, book companies should be encouraged to produce books with varied reading difficulty over a wide range of reading interests, while libraries should be encouraged to set up books in units around common interests instead of in sets of identical books. (10) Curriculum files should be developed in each school in order to have sufficient curriculum material at hand for use in classrooms at the time when it would contribute the most to the learning situation. (11) The teaching personnel should become familiar with the home conditions of the pupils in order to understand pupil attitudes and conditions. (12) Special consideration should be given children having handicaps, and systematic cooperation with the health department or other agencies should aid the eradication of physical handicaps which hinder proper educational opportunities. (13) Special work should be inaugurated to overcome nervous and speech disorders. (14) Supervision should be democratic and recognized as a help to the classroom situation. The supervisor should not be primarily concerned with the fact of how good a teacher is, but should be ready to help both the good and the poor teacher alike. (15) Teacher rating by the supervisory staff should not be revived, and previous ratings should be disregarded. (16) Extension education courses should be continued in Kern County, and teacher attendance should be encouraged. (17) Summer school work by teachers should be recognized by school officials. (18) And teacher guidance of pupils should be encouraged, and a better understanding of the others' work should be developed between the elementary teachers and the high school instructors.

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[27] L. K. Reschke, Pupils Own Failure Diagnosis, Wisconsin Journal of Education, 65: 407–9, May 1933.

[28] W. A. Kincaid, Teaching Is More Than a Job, Journal of Education, 114: 227–8, October 19, 1931.

Conclusions.—This study revealed that teachers truly must belong to a professional group willing to study each pupil just as a doctor studies his patients. The teacher, in order to meet the varied pupil conditions as shown in the tabulations of this study, to say nothing of the personal and emotional factors which must be reckoned with as well, must be a well-trained individual who diagnoses with professional accuracy the needs of each pupil in his class, and who conscientiously and scientifically uses a technique of instruction to meet the requirements of each pupil.

Progress can be made in the educational program of the Kern County schools by the teachers maintaining a high professional attitude, and by establishing a cooperative unity for curriculum development and for advancement in reliable modern educational practices. To this end, all persons drawing public money for educational purposes should dedicate themselves.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. WALTER A. KNAPP—Resumed

Mr. OSMERS. I think Mrs. Knapp has made a very fine contribution, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Mrs. Knapp, there are quite a few migrant camps in Kern County and Tulare; are there not?

Mrs. KNAPP. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that increased the school attendance?

Mrs. KNAPP. Yes; very much so.

The CHAIRMAN. Very perceptibly?

Mrs. KNAPP. Yes. In Porterville each year they have had in the last 3 years to put on three more teachers than they had planned. The gentleman previous to me said that the school enrollment, I believe, for the State had not. That is because in such cities as Berkeley there is a decrease, while our attendance in the San Joaquin Valley is greatly increased. For instance, in Merced City there we have added seven new classrooms. We have no camp. That is from what we call the "shanty town." And of course that makes a transportation problem, in such cities as Porterville and Dos Palos where the migrant people from the growers' camps come to their schools. We have some emergency schools in the growers' camps, and those are only held as long as the children are there. I have in my report the increase in the various schools.

The CHAIRMAN. A lot of these children of migrants do not attend school, do they? Do they all attend school?

Mrs. KNAPP. They have to attend school. Some of them may try to slip out of it for a while, say, the first week or two, and after they have moved, possibly a week or two. But our attendance officers are insistent that they enter our schools.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, don't some of them work in the fields, some of these children work with their parents?

Mrs. KNAPP. Oh, yes. But not during school hours.

The CHAIRMAN. Not during school hours?

Mrs. KNAPP. They are not supposed to. They possibly do, but they are not supposed to work during school hours.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, at any rate, you have the whole picture pretty well portrayed in your report.

Mrs. KNAPP. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the additional one that you will furnish us you can send to Washington to our committee.

Mrs. KNAPP. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. And we have certainly been very pleased to have you, Mrs. Knapp, because this is very important in this investigation, what effect it has on the health and education of the children.

Mrs. KNAPP. Would you care for this right now [indicating document]?

The CHAIRMAN. What is it?

Mrs. KNAPP. This is a study made by Kern County.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have an extra copy?

Mrs. KNAPP. No. But I can send for another copy of this report. There is one page of conclusions in there.

The CHAIRMAN. May we have this?

Mrs. KNAPP. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark it as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked as an exhibit and made a part of this record and appears on pp. 72–86 RW.)

Mrs. KNAPP. I have included some of those things in my report, but that is just a little more in detail.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mrs. Knapp.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor Shepard.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM P. SHEPARD, PRESIDENT, WESTERN BRANCH, AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor Shepard, Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Dr. William P. Shepard, president, Western Branch, American Public Health Association; is that right, Doctor?

Dr. SHEPARD. That's right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Doctor, you have filed a complete statement that I have looked over rather hurriedly, but one that was very interesting, relating particularly to the health conditions among these various migrants.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM P. SHEPARD, M. D., PRESIDENT, WESTERN BRANCH, AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION

HEALTH CONDITIONS AMONG MIGRATORY DESTITUTE CITIZENS IN THE WESTERN STATES OTHER THAN CALIFORNIA

At the request of your chief field investigator, a study was undertaken of the health conditions among migratory destitute citizens in the Western States other than California. It was understood that others would present material for California. This study includes the 10 Western States, excepting California, comprising the area in the United States covered by the western branch, American Public Health Association; namely, Washington, Oregon, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, Colorado, and Utah. To arrive at the general conclusions contained herein, study was made of the mortality statistics prepared by the United States Census Bureau; morbidity reports issued weekly by the United States Public Health Service; weekly, monthly, or annual reports issued by the various State health departments. These were examined for evidence of undue illness rates or death rates by locality and by cause. Correspondence was had with the State health officers of each of the Western States except California. The material presented by them is submitted herewith as exhibits A to K. Migratory labor camps have been visited in Idaho, Colorado, Arizona, and California.[1]

HEALTH CONDITIONS AS A WHOLE

Birth rates are considerably higher among migratory workers than among the general population. Families registering in the Farm Security Administration camp at Twin Falls, Idaho, average between 6 and 7 members. The average family registered in the labor camps of Maricopa County, Arizona, consists of 7 to 9 members. Photograph No. 2, exhibit K, shows 15 children in 2 families.[1] Families of 8 and 10 children are common, and from 12 up to 18 are seen. This has an important bearing on mortality and morbidity, accounting to some extent for the high infant and maternal death rates referred to below.

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[1] These exhibits are held in the committee's files.

Death rates as a whole, that is, total deaths from all causes, are not elevated in the Western States as a result of immigration. In fact, since 1930, there have been no excessive total death rates in Western States, and in 1937, 1938, and 1939, total deaths from all causes have been slightly lower than usual. It would appear that western health protective facilities, such as health departments, schools, and voluntary health agencies, have not broken down.

Death rates from special causes.—There is definite evidence, however, that where migrants congregate in considerable numbers, certain causes of death show an increase. This reflects the serious health conditions encountered among the migrants themselves, even though these conditions have not as yet greatly affected health conditions in the resident population. It is impossible to obtain specific death rates for migrants as compared with residents. Nevertheless, counties and portions of counties where migrants congregate in excessive numbers do show an increase in the following causes of death:

Infants under 1 year.
Mothers in childbirth.
Diarrhea and enteritis under 2 years of age (summer complaint).
Tuberculosis.
Pneumonia.
Typhoid fever.
Dysentery.

These are causes usually considered largely preventable. Their prevalence in a population group usually indicates poverty, malnutrition, lack of sanitation, overcrowding, and lack of health education.

Sickness rates in migrant areas.—Except for the contagious diseases which are reportable by law to the local health officer, there are no published figures on the amount and type of illness most prevalent among migrants. Testimony from health officers and local physicians, however, is unanimous in showing that migrants as a whole are far from a healthy group. Children suffer from malnutrition more commonly and to a greater degree than in other groups. Their physical defects are more severe and more numerous. Tuberculosis is a common finding, especially among the young adults. Syphilis, likewise, appears frequently in the contagious stage and is rarely treated adequately enough to shorten the contagious period or to protect the victim from later disabling complications. Typhoid fever is often prevalent as might be expected from drinking unsafe water and eating unsafeguarded foods. Smallpox outbreaks have been reported several times but have usually been controlled by prompt vaccination offered by local health officers. Dysentery of various forms, much of it contagious, is probably the commonest cause of disability. This is attributable to poor water and food supplies and to dietary unbalance, often a result of poverty.

In addition to these major causes of illness, there are a number of minor causes, less serious from the standpoint of disability, but adding further evidence of the low health status of migratory destitute citizens in general. They are very frequently infested with head and body lice. Camp managers find it necessary to wage unremitting war on bedbugs. Impetigo, a pus infection of the skin, most common and more serious in the absence of skin cleanliness, is prevalent, especially among the children. Scabies (itch) is common.

Facilities for medical care until recently have been almost totally lacking. So, likewise, has been public health protection. Counties already burdened by the relief needs of their own residents, with taxes mounting to unprecedented heights to meet these needs, with health departments already inadequately financed and understaffed, with county hospitals overflowing, and with local physicians already doing over 50 percent charity work, found it impossible to anticipate or meet the needs of the hordes of destitute nonresidents. Since 1937, however, many counties have made some provision for public health protection, aided by social security funds awarded through the United States Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau. Likewise, some counties have opened their free hospitals for emergency medical needs to nonresidents. Nevertheless, desperate need for adequate public health protection and for at least minimum medical, hospital, and nursing care still exists in many sections, notably portions of Colorado, Idaho, and Arizona. In fact, the only areas where such needs are not well-nigh desperate, are those sections served by Federal camps operated by the Farm Security Administration.

Camps for migratory families operated by the Farm Security Administration present a health picture in sharp contrast to the remainder of the migrant population. There, sanitation, public health protection, and medical care are all provided in more or less adequate degree. Water supplies and sewage disposal are properly safeguarded. A dispensary with nurses in constant, and physicians in regular, attendance offers prompt attention to minor disorders. Serious illnesses, including obstetrics and surgery, are referred in rotation to local physicians who have agreed to render services at a slightly reduced rate. The expense of this program is shared by the workers themselves who pay a fixed amount into the camp fund. In these camps, facilities are available for routine diagnosis and care, as well as for isolation of known or suspected contagious cases. There are also facilities for recreation and for assisting clients with family sewing. Teachers are provided for regular school work for the children. Many health officers feel that if it had not been for the excellent health program of the Farm Security Administration in these camps, the migrants in their sections would have presented a much more serious menace to the health of the resident population.

SANITATION

Sanitation in the unsupervised camps of migrants is generally so bad as to constitute a serious danger not only to themselves but the nearby resident population. Privies are either entirely lacking or so filthy they cannot be used. The ground in and around the camp soon become thickly scattered with excreta which is tracked into the floorless tents where it contaminates bedding, clothing, and even food. Flies appear in swarms as well as mosquitoes and other insects. Water is often carried some distance from wells or irrigation ditches. The wells soon become polluted and the irrigation ditch, used alike for bathing, washing, and drinking, becomes little better than a cesspool. Food is often scanty and of a nondescript character, determined largely by what is locally available at lowest prices. When such conditions obtain, the morale of the group reaches a low ebb and efforts by health officers and land operators to improve conditions are of no avail. Sanitary plumbing is neglected, damaged, or stolen, wooden privy covers are used for firewood, and garbage is dumped in front of the shelter instead of being carried to the incinerator or can. Soiled clothing is worn without washing until it is worn out and can be exchanged for new at some local relief station. Under these circumstances, which still exist in many parts of the West, it is little wonder that death rates from the more preventable causes are excessive; that many women die unnecessarily in childbirth; that many infants fail to survive their first year; that children suffer from serious and numerous physical defects, including malnutrition (see exhibit K, Report on Farm Labor Camps in Maricopa County, Ariz.)[2]; That such deplorable conditions can be remedied is proved by the excellent sanitation in the F. S. A. camps where discipline is exerted by a camp council working with the camp manager.

HEALTH MENACE TO LOCAL RESIDENTS

The health menace to local residents presented by destitute migratory workers is difficult to determine at the present time. Instances are on record where malaria has been introduced into a locality formerly free, due to the fact that anopheles mosquitoes capable of transmitting the infection are frequently present in a locality but lack the opportunity to feed on the human malaria sufferer and hence do not transmit the infection. Once the infected human is supplied in these areas the disease may become prevalent. It is too early to tell whether this will be the case in the instances mentioned. Diphtheria has been recorded in epidemic form in the camps of migratory workers in localities where this disease had been practically stamped out by means of widespread voluntary immunization of residents. Outbreaks of smallpox and typhoid fever in migratory camps have been mentioned above. Most cities, counties, and States pride themselves on their low infant mortality and freedom from diphtheria, smallpox, and typhoid fever. These illnesses, formerly taking thousands of lives each year, are now considered largely preventable. The otherwise good health record of many western communities has been upset during the past few years by the poor health record of camps of migrants.

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[2] Held in committee files.

STATES MOST AFFECTED

The extent to which these health problems exist in the Western States outside California is indicated in the attached letters from State health officers, exhibits A to J.[3] Where health problems do exist they are much the same regardless of locality. Outside California, health problems are most severe in Arizona, then Idaho and Colorado. According to the respective State health officers, migrants have presented no serious health problems in Montana, Oregon, Utah, New Mexico, Washington, Wyoming, and Nevada.

In Arizona, there are approximately 70,000 migratory people entering the State for seasonal employment between September and June each year. They invariably create a serious health problem from the standpoint of sanitation and contagious diseases, particularly typhoid fever, dysentery, and smallpox. Approximately 60 percent of the migratory labor is employed in Maricopa County (county seat, Phoenix). Farm Security Administration camps are operating in this county, in the Casa Grande area of Pinal County, in Graham County, and Yuma County. Two areas where the Farm Security Administration does not operate are near Tucson where about 1,800 migrants work. Without the Farm Security Administration, conditions would revert to a serious state which would affect the local resident population, as well as the migrants.

In Idaho, during the past 5 years large numbers of migrants have arrived in destitute condition. The Farm Security Administration operates excellent camps at Caldwell and Twin Falls, but many workers and their families continue to live in tents and rude shelters, presenting a health hazard both to themselves and the community. Kootenai County, in northern Idaho, has the highest percent of direct relief of any county in the State, largely due to immigration of the destitute. Smallpox, dysentery, and tuberculosis are the major illnesses producing a public-health problem. Suitable care for expectant mothers and newborns is hard to provide. Children suffer from undernourishment and excessive physical defects, many such defects being remediable, but no facilities exist for their correction.

In Colorado, there is a considerable influx of destitute tuberculous who believe the Colorado climate will cure their disease without the necessity of hospital or medical care. Between two and three thousand migratory laborers come into the State each year for peach picking, many of them unable to find work. Adequate living facilities are not available, and they live in trailers, auto camps, and tent colonies without provision for sanitation, pure water, or any type of medical care. Many laborers and their families came into the State seeking work on the Caddoa Dam and Green Mountain water diversion projects. Several hundred could not be employed, and they became destitute, living in dangerously unsanitary camps. The State health officer feels that these migratory destitute, though fewer in numbers than in some States, present a serious health problem.

SUMMARY

Destitute migrants in California, Arizona, Idaho, and Colorado present the most urgent health problems in the West. These problems are serious, not only to the migrants themselves but to the communities in which they settle. Contagious diseases are no respecters of social class or geographic boundary. Except where the Farm Security Administration has made an excellent start in caring for the health and sickness needs of these people, the health problems are much the same regardless of present location of migrants or source from which they emigrated. They are: Poverty and its usual companions—malnourishment, tuberculosis, excessive infant and maternal deaths; excessive physical defects among children due to lack of medical care; intestinal diseases, such as typhoid and dysentery due to lack of sanitation and unsafeguarded water and food; pneumonia, smallpox, diphtheria, and the usual contagious childhood diseases due to lack of immunization and failure to detect and isolate the early contagious case. Lack of proper medical care, nursing and hospital care for the sick and defective is probably the outstanding health problem of the entire group. It is evident that many western cities and counties have been unable to cope with the overwhelming problems presented by the sudden influx of destitute migrants. Many have done their best, but their efforts were pitifully small due to lack of funds. It is also evident that Federal funds provided through the Farm Security Administration, the United States Public Health Service, and the Children's Bureau have been used to good advantage to control these health hazards in many localities. Their use should be extended to cover all migratory destitute citizens in the United States.

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[3] Held in committee files.

W. P. SHEPARD, M. D.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM P. SHEPARD—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you believe that health conditions among the migrants are such that they threaten the group with decline in employability through gradual physical deterioration?

Dr. SHEPARD. Yes; on the whole that certainly is true. That doesn't apply in the F. S. A. camps.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was just going to ask you if that applied to those camps.

Dr. SHEPARD. I should say the reverse is the picture there. They are being rapidly rehabilitated.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, to what group particularly does it apply, Doctor?

Dr. SHEPARD. All those that are outside the F. S. A. camps.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, those who may be camped individually along the road, or those in the shack camps?

Dr. SHEPARD. Camp colonies, trailer camps, and so on.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. Doctor, can those conditions be controlled by the State or county health boards?

Dr. SHEPARD. Yes; I should say almost entirely.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, would it be a very heavy burden for them to do it?

Dr. SHEPARD. Yes. It would cost a good deal more than the appropriation that they have now. Our county health departments are pretty generally understaffed and underfinanced.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When I asked you if it could be controlled, I really meant could it be handled efficiently by them without Federal aid, or do you think that it is a thing calling for Federal aid?

Dr. SHEPARD. Well, I think it is calling for Federal aid, because the local county has had this burden thrust upon it through no fault of its own. They have frequently been pretty hard pressed to take care of their own citizens who are in need of relief, and in some counties we have seen enormous numbers come in who needed more care than the county could afford.

RECOMMENDS EXPANSION OF FEDERAL PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

Mr. SPARKMAN. You suggest an extension of certain Federal activities. Do you have a recommendation as to expansion or reorganization of types of health activities in which Federal agencies are engaged?

Dr. SHEPARD. Yes. The public-health work now done by the Children's Bureau and the public work now done by the United States Public Health Service certainly should be expanded.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, the first activity that you mention, that is a State activity with Federal participation?

Dr. **Shepard.** That's it; yes. The funds are all allocated through the State health department.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Of course, as long as these conditions exist as described in your paper, they constitute a real threat, do they, not only to those colonies but to the surrounding communities?

Dr. **Shepard.** Surrounding residents; yes. There is no question about that.

Mr. **Sparkman.** And you think that certainly it ought to be cleaned up?

Dr. **Shepard.** Oh, yes. It's a serious thing.

Mr. **Sparkman.** And that it can be done?

Dr. **Shepard.** No question about it. It is being done in the F. S. A. camps.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Do they set a model that you would recommend?

Dr. **Shepard.** Yes; very highly. Yes, indeed.

Mr. **Sparkman.** How are you going to clean up these places where the people are camping more or less individually, not where there is a well-established camp, but they just pull off by the side of the road, camp in the ditches and under the culverts, and so forth? How are you going to work that out?

Dr. **Shepard.** Well, if they constitute a health menace or even commit a nuisance, that comes under the authority of the local health officer. He has authority to act.

Mr. **Sparkman.** And you think he ought to act?

Dr. **Shepard.** He would act if he had the money and the personnel, but he hasn't the facilities.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Is there anything further you care to add? The statement that you have filed is made a part of our record.

Dr. **Shepard.** Yes; I think that is quite complete, unless there are any further questions about it.

The **Chairman.** It is a very good statement.

Mr. **Osmers.** I have something further, Mr. Chairman.

ABNORMAL DEATH RATE AMONG MIGRANTS

Mr. **Curtis.** In reference to the unsettled migrants here in California that have been unable to get a job or had no relatives to take them in, has there been an abnormal death rate among them?

Dr. **Shepard.** You refer to the areas in which they settled, or among the group itself?

Mr. **Curtis.** Among those individuals themselves.

Dr. **Shepard.** Yes. Among the group itself they have an excessive death rate from these causes that I have listed here, namely, deaths among infants under 1 year, deaths among mothers in childbirth, deaths from diarrhea and enteritis under 2 years of age—that is what we call "summer complaint"—deaths from tuberculosis, pneumonia, typhoid fever, and dysentery.

EMERGENCY HOSPITALIZATION OF MIGRANTS IN CALIFORNIA

Mr. **Curtis.** What does California do in case a migrant family has just arrived, a matter of a few days, no connections whatever, no money, and, say, the mother is to deliver a child immediately; what do you give them?

Dr. SHEPARD. Well, my testimony was to be confined to the States outside of California.

Mr. CURTIS. I want to know something about what you are faced with here.

Dr. SHEPARD. From what I have seen done here in the case of childbirth or serious injury or immediate emergency, need of surgery, the families are admitted to the nearest local county hospital.

Mr. CURTIS. When it is a grave matter of life and death, the questions of settlement are not raised, are they?

Dr. SHEPARD. No.

Mr. CURTIS. But the——

Dr. SHEPARD (interposing). Not any more. They were.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. It does have its telling effect upon those things that are destroying the health and the life, more or less continuously, of these people?

Dr. SHEPARD. Yes. And we don't know how many emergency health conditions have arisen in the past that have been totally neglected because the people felt they couldn't get into the local county hospital and therefore didn't apply.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Dr. SHEPARD. You see, that's an unknown chapter. All we know is that the death rates are excessive. Many of these could have been saved probably in the past had we had better facilities for medical care.

Mr. CURTIS. How does your death rate in California compare to that of the other States? Do you know offhand?

Dr. SHEPARD. It's a trifle higher than other States, but that is almost entirely accounted for by the larger percentage of older people in this State.

Mr. CURTIS. And perhaps some self-sustaining people who have been forced to retire and whose health is bad come here for a period of time?

Dr. SHEPARD. Yes. Our tuberculosis death rate in this State is considerably higher than the country as a whole. People with tuberculosis come out here, you see.

Mr. CURTIS. And the real problem that should have attention in this State, then, is the long-time health condition of these people rather than some provision for emergency in case of extreme grave danger?

Dr. SHEPARD. Yes. I think in most areas in this State where there are any considerable number of migrants, they do get access to the county hospital for extreme emergency. Of course, there are many other things they need help for that they don't get.

Mr. CURTIS. Has there been a lot of accidents, too, among these people?

Dr. SHEPARD. A good many injuries. It is a hazardous occupation.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Doctor. You have certainly filed a very adequate statement. We appreciate it very much.

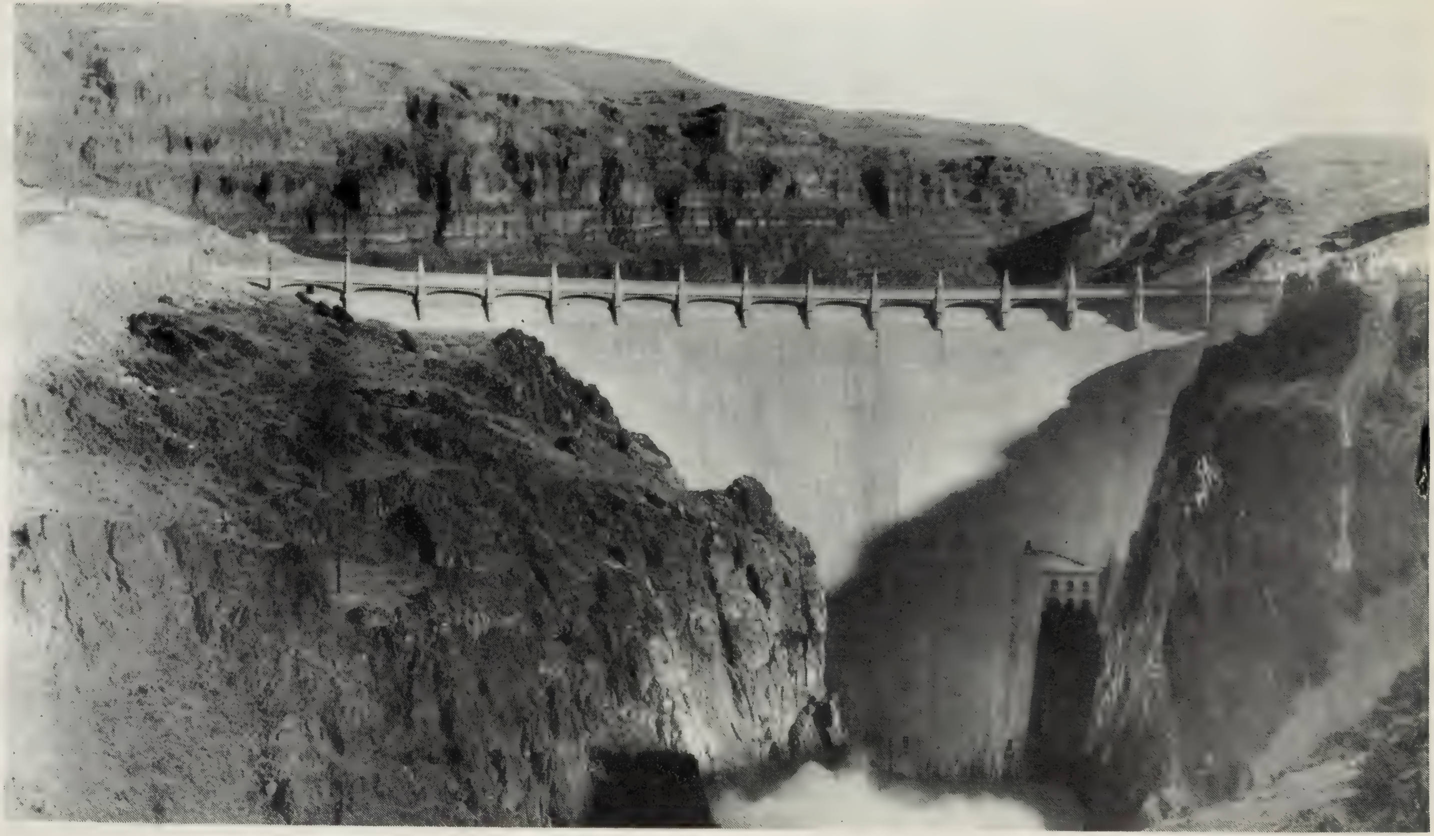
(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:05 p. m. an adjournment was taken to 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, September 25, 1940.)

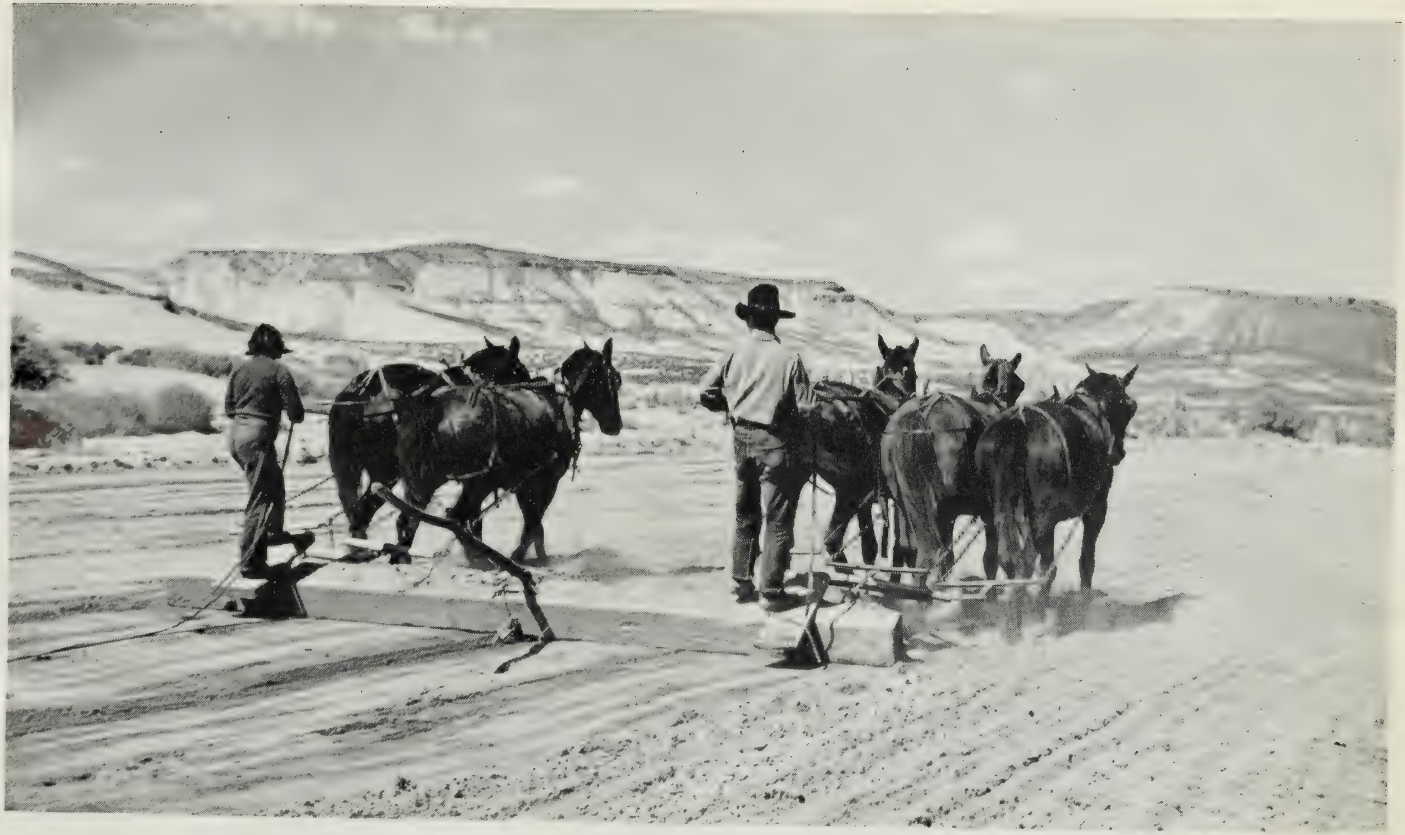
The pictures on the following pages were accepted for the record, being furnished by the Reclamation Service, the Forest Service, and the Farm Security Administration, of the Department of Agriculture.

They portray certain aspects of the problems of interstate migration and certain testimony of witnesses before the committee, as indicated in the references given under some of the pictures.

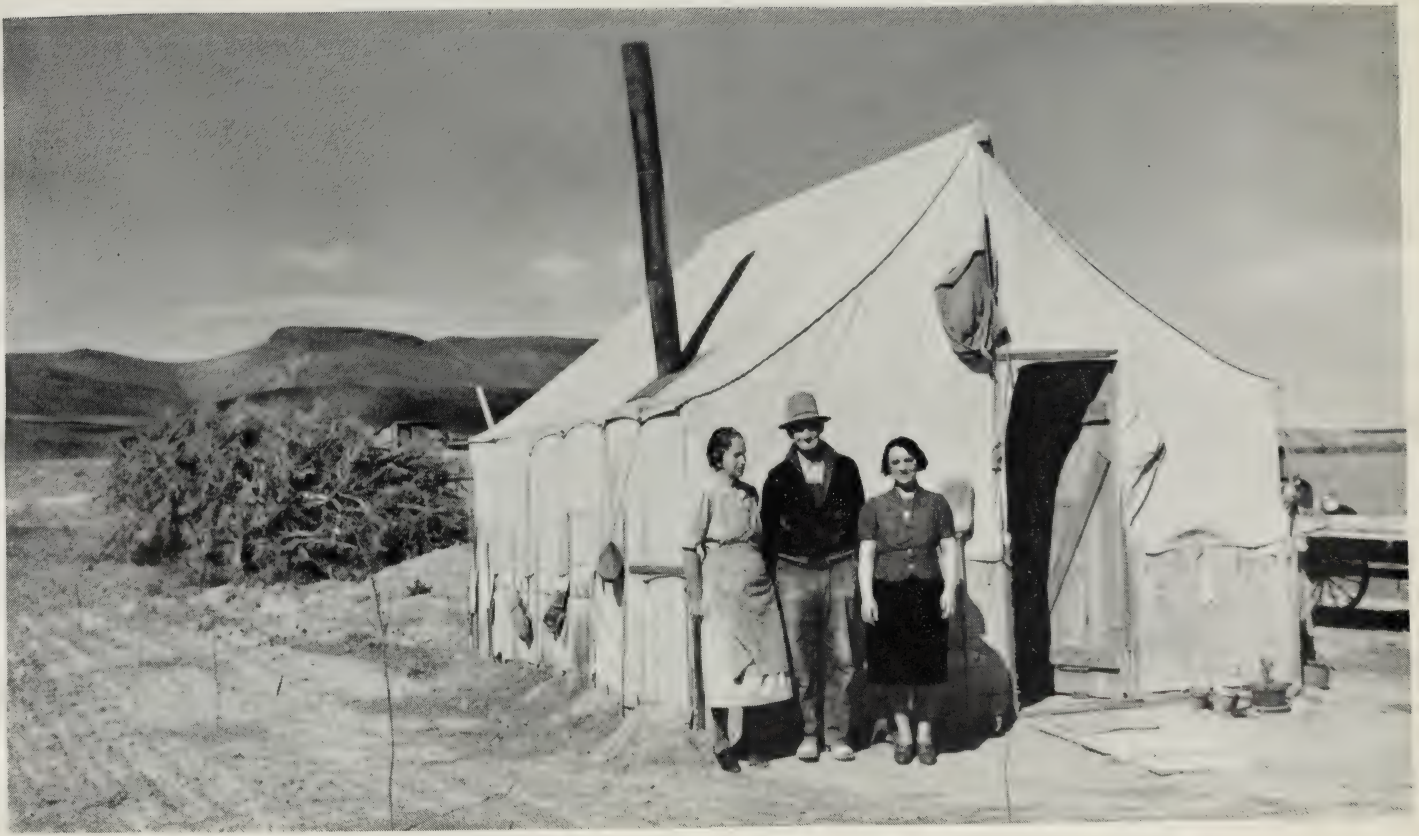


Owyhee Dam, reclamation project in Idaho. See testimony of Duffy, Torbert, Clawson, pp. 2635 et seq. September 1936.

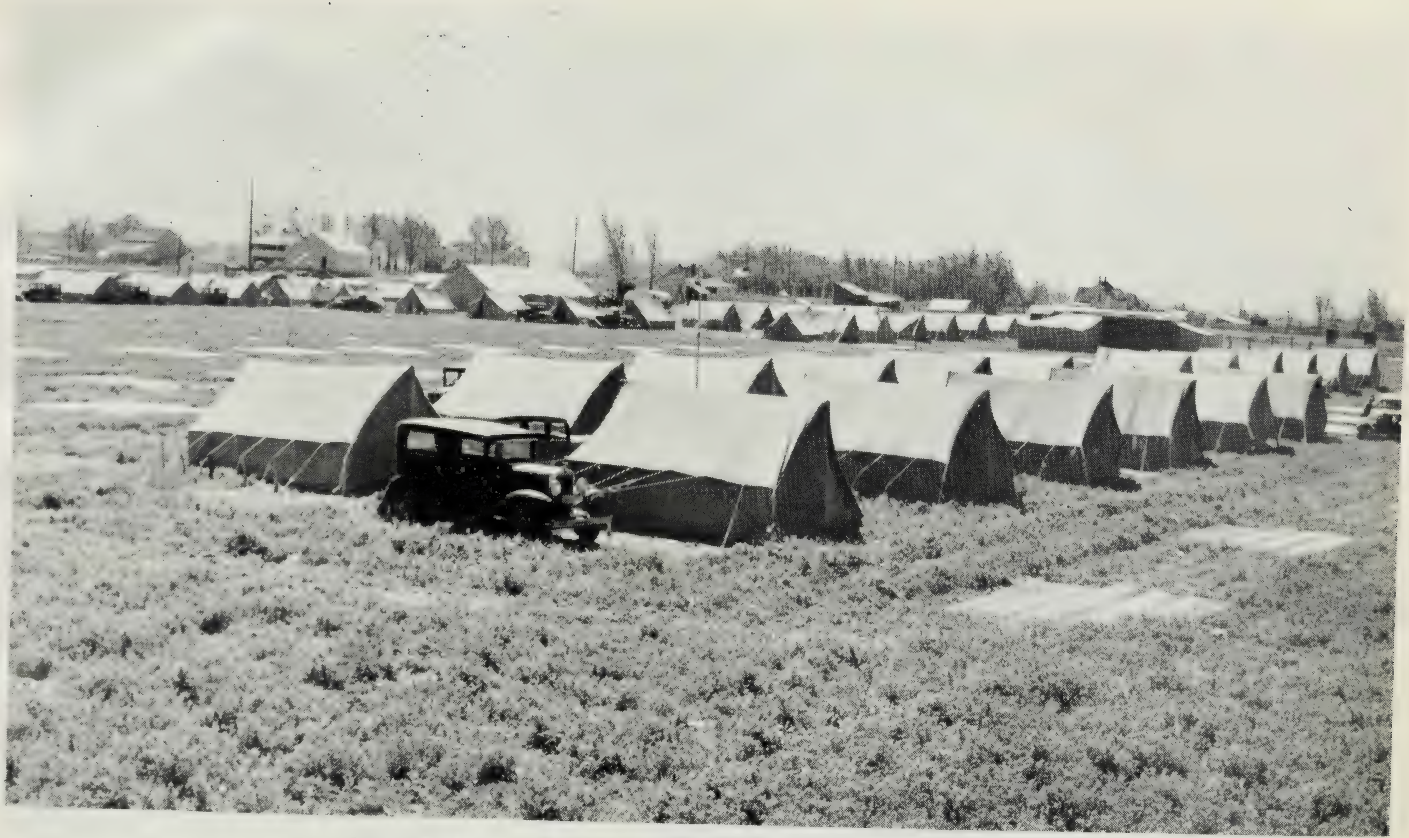
2464-C



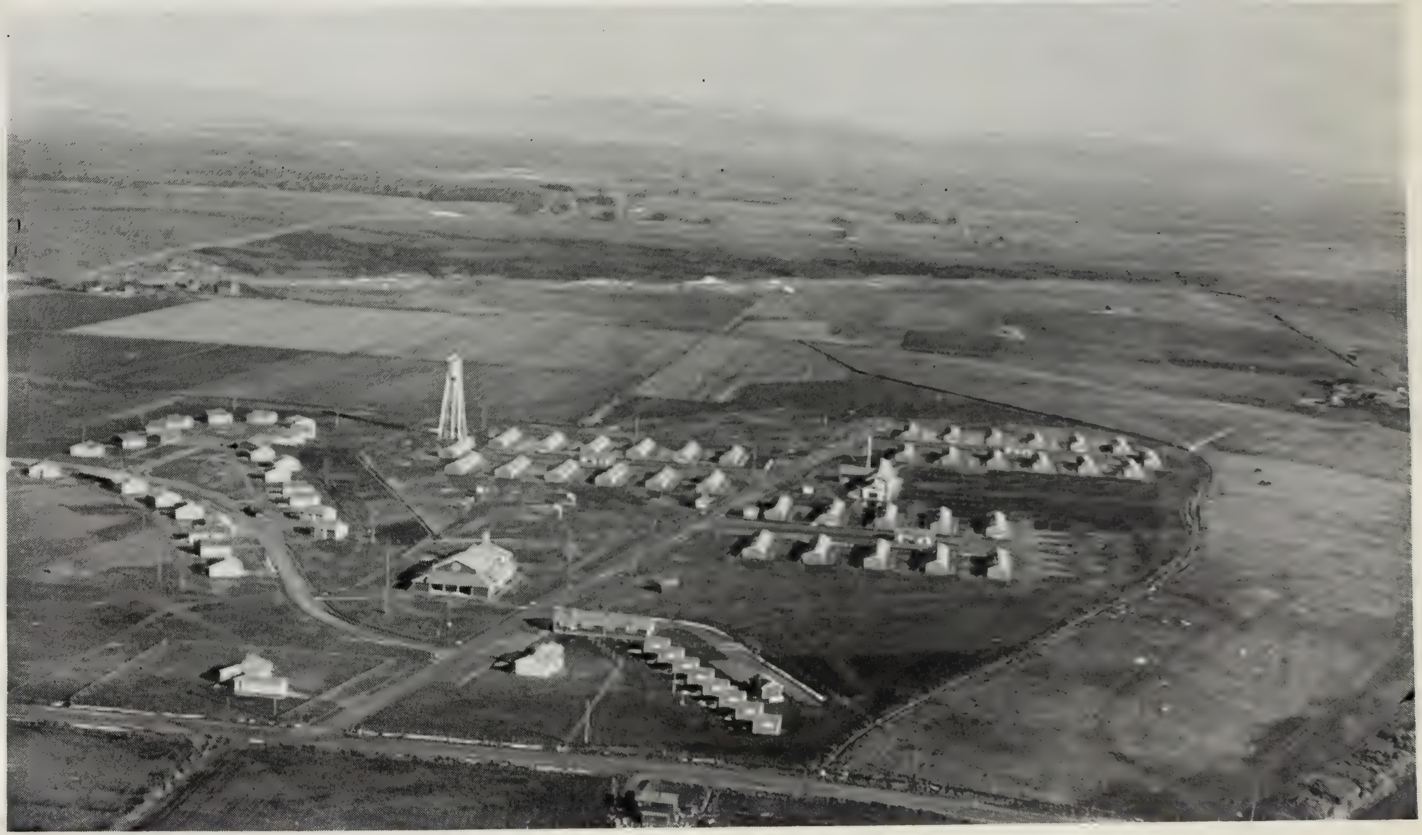
Settlers leveling new land for irrigation in Owyhee project. April 2, 1940.



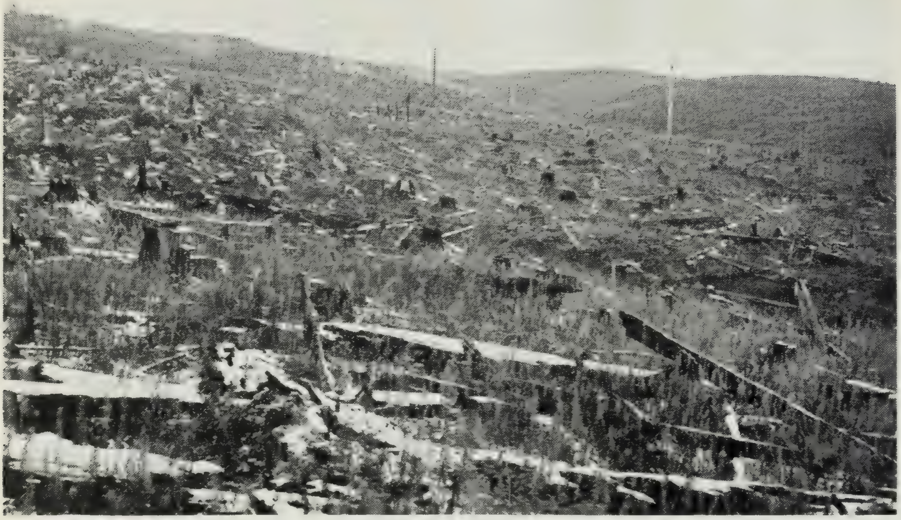
Settler's home on first-year land. Note tree planting and pile of fuel (sage brush), in Owyhee project. April 3, 1940.



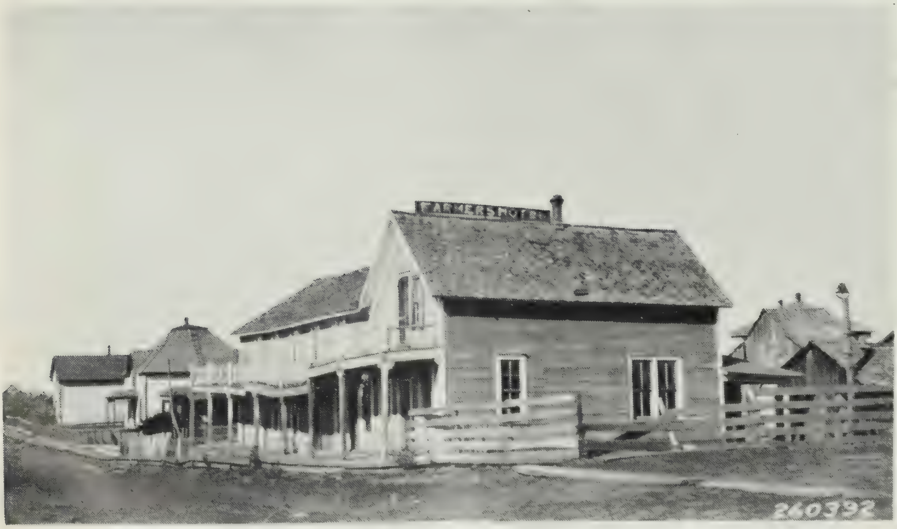
Mobile migrant labor camp near Nyssa, Oreg., in Owyhee project. April 18, 1940.



Air view of farm family government camp near Caldwell, Idaho. January 28, 1940.



Lands cut over and abandoned since 1920, in Columbia County, Oreg. October 1936.


FARMERS HOTEL
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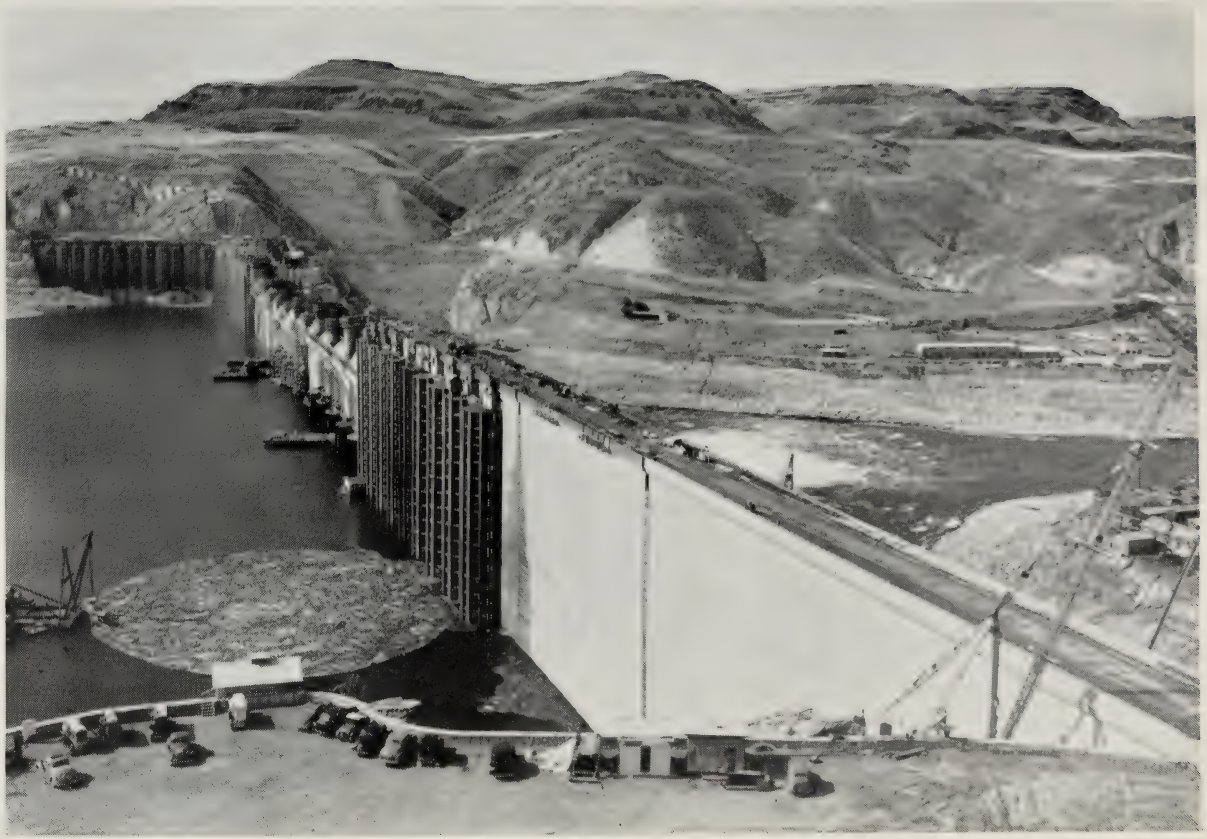
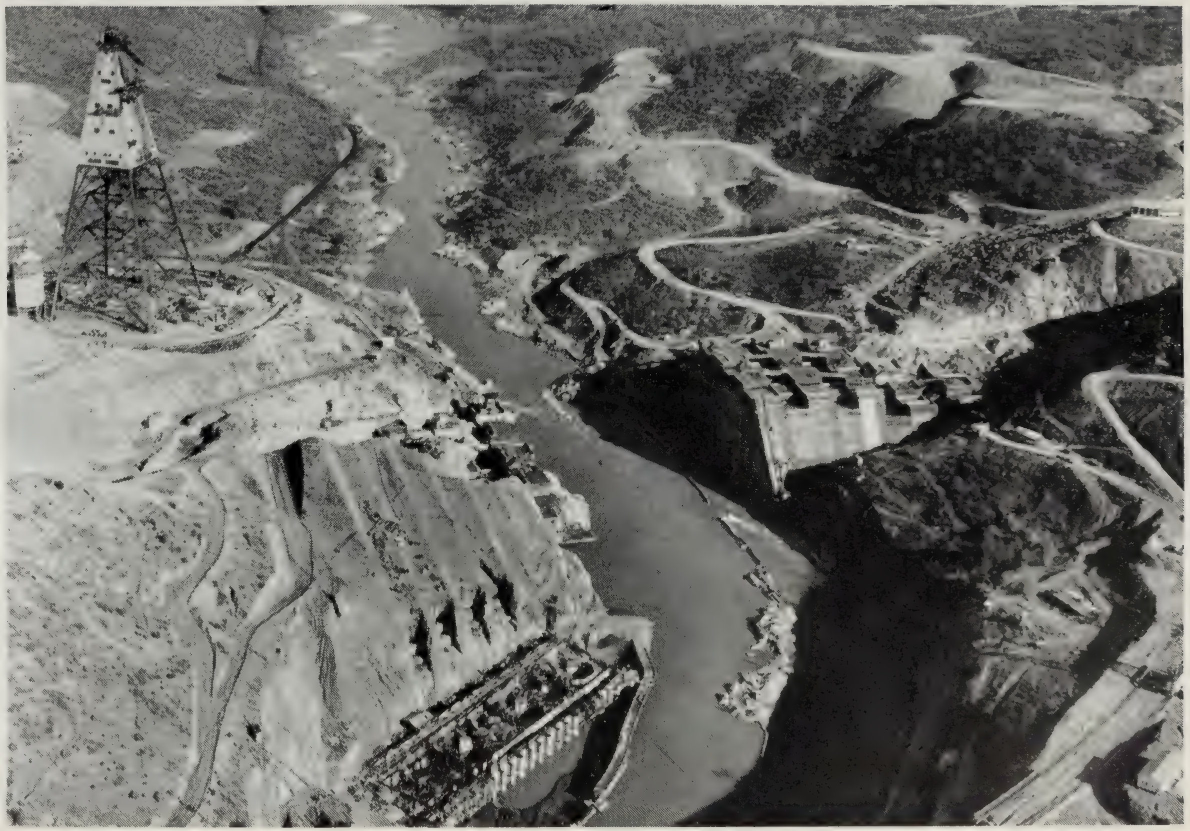
Abandoned village in cut-over part of Wallowa National Forest, Oreg. October 1936.



Grand Coulee Dam, State of Washington, looking west. October 1940.

Towers of the Bonneville transmission system—and a deserted home—in the Columbia Basin area. March 22, 1940.

Scene in a squatters' camp in the Shasta Dam area in California. Note guitar on tree at right. See testimony of Walker R. Young, p. 2622 et seq. September 22, 1938.



Shasta Dam, showing abutments and powerhouse substructure. January 1, 1941.

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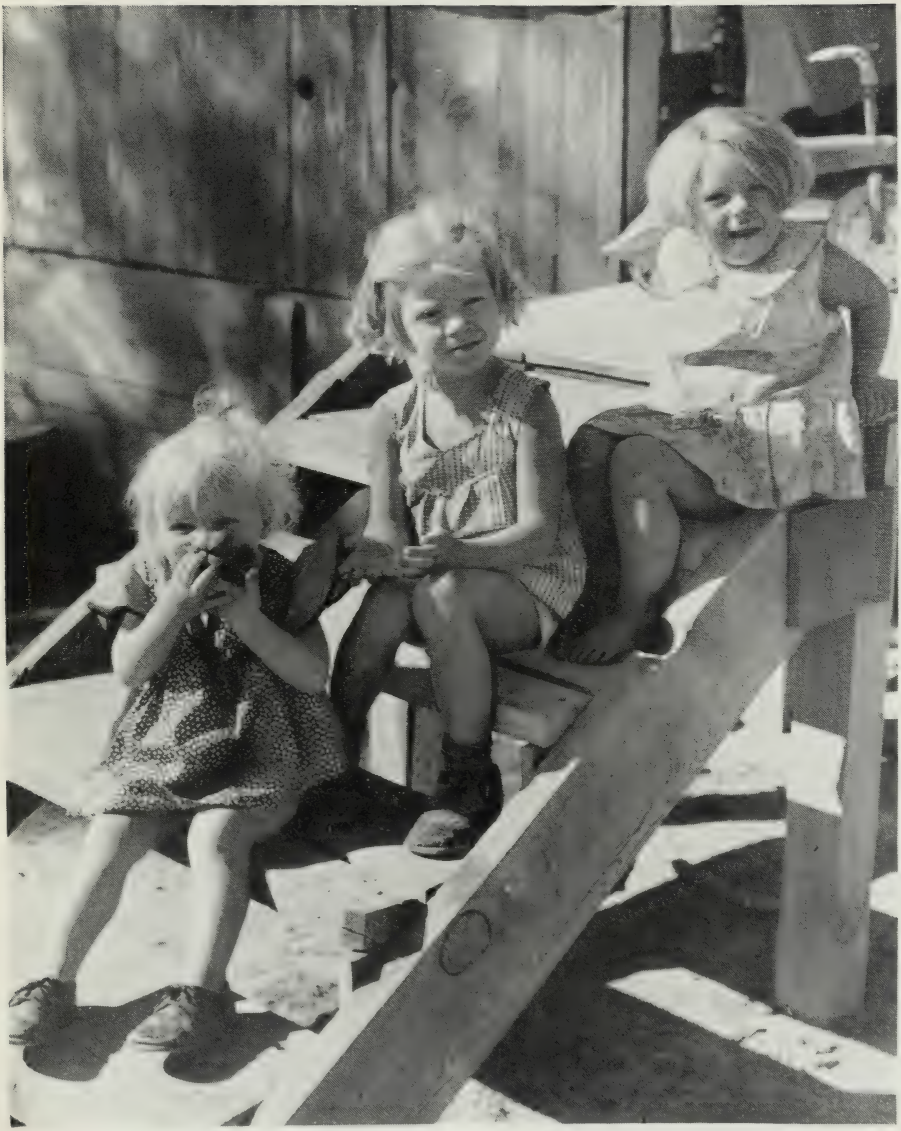
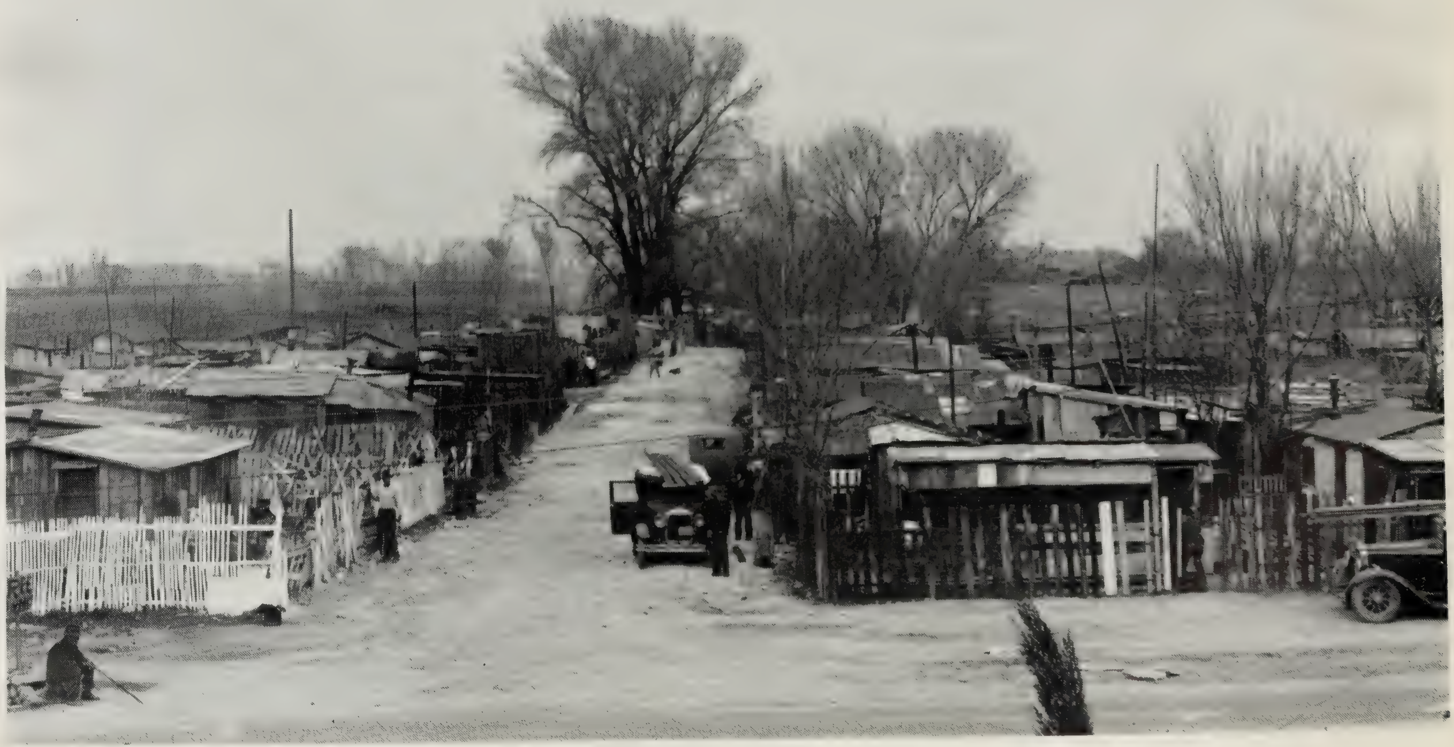
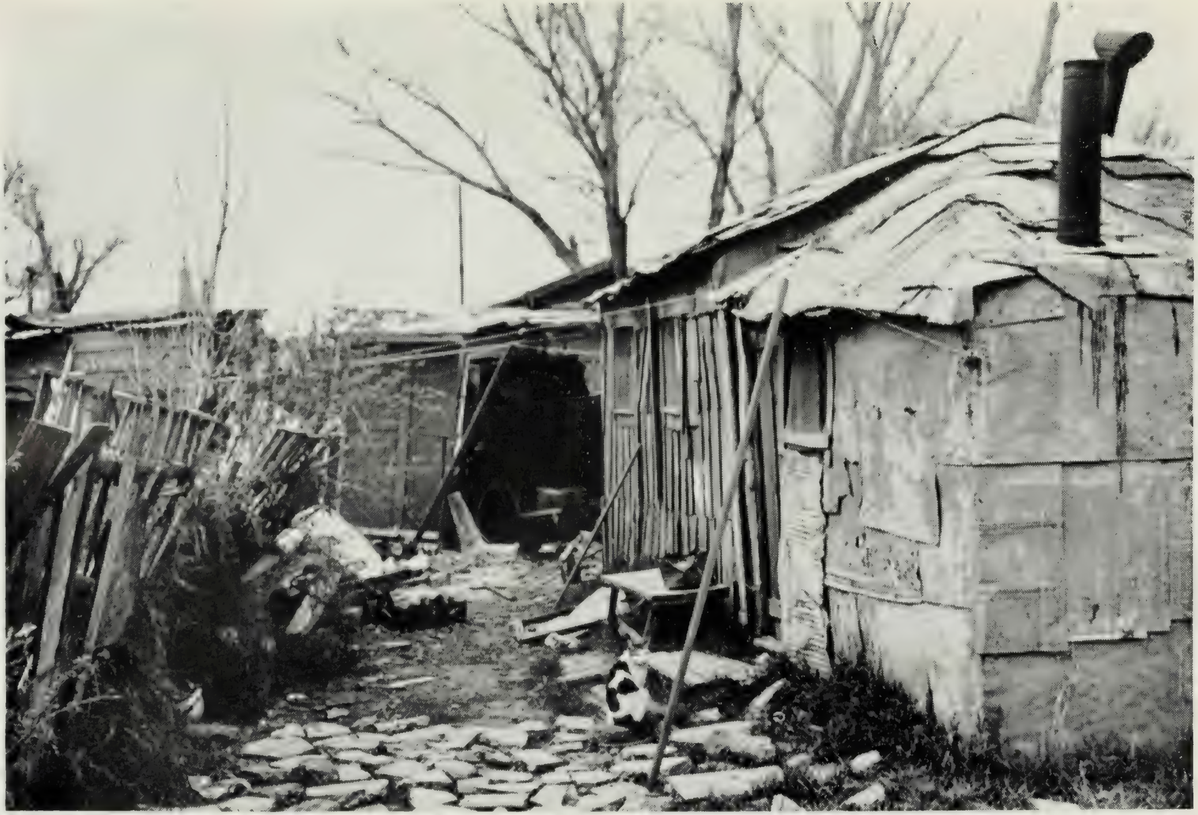


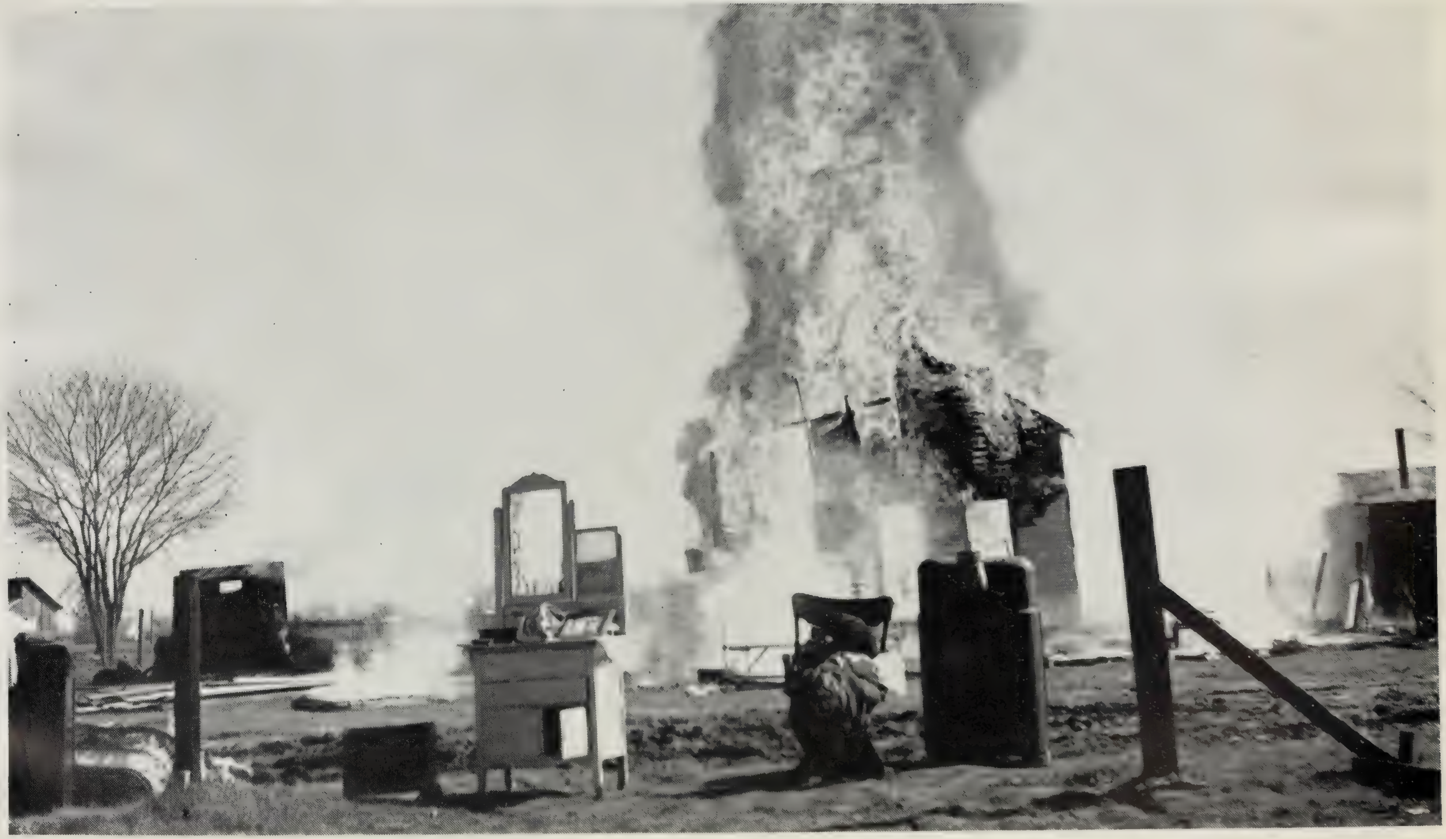
Children in squatters' camp, Shasta Dam area. September 2, 1938.



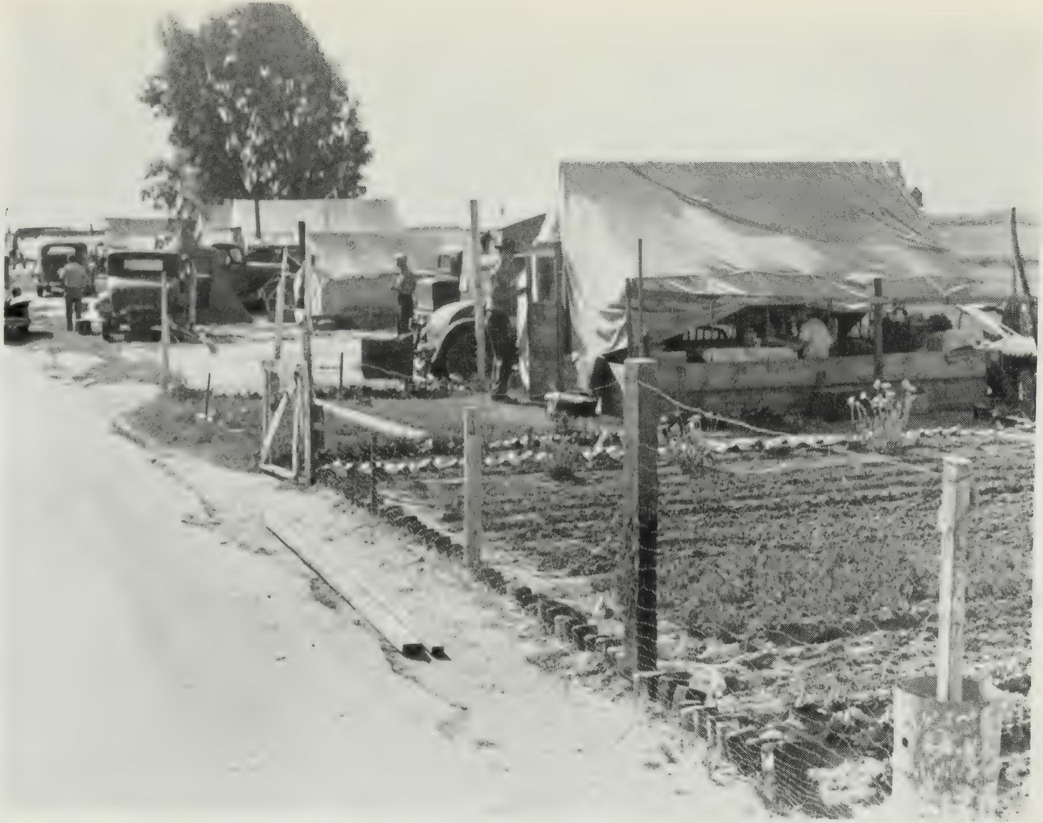
View of Louis Camp near Sacramento, Calif. Ground rent is $3 per month. See report of Harold Pomeroy, p. 2504. March 19, 1940.



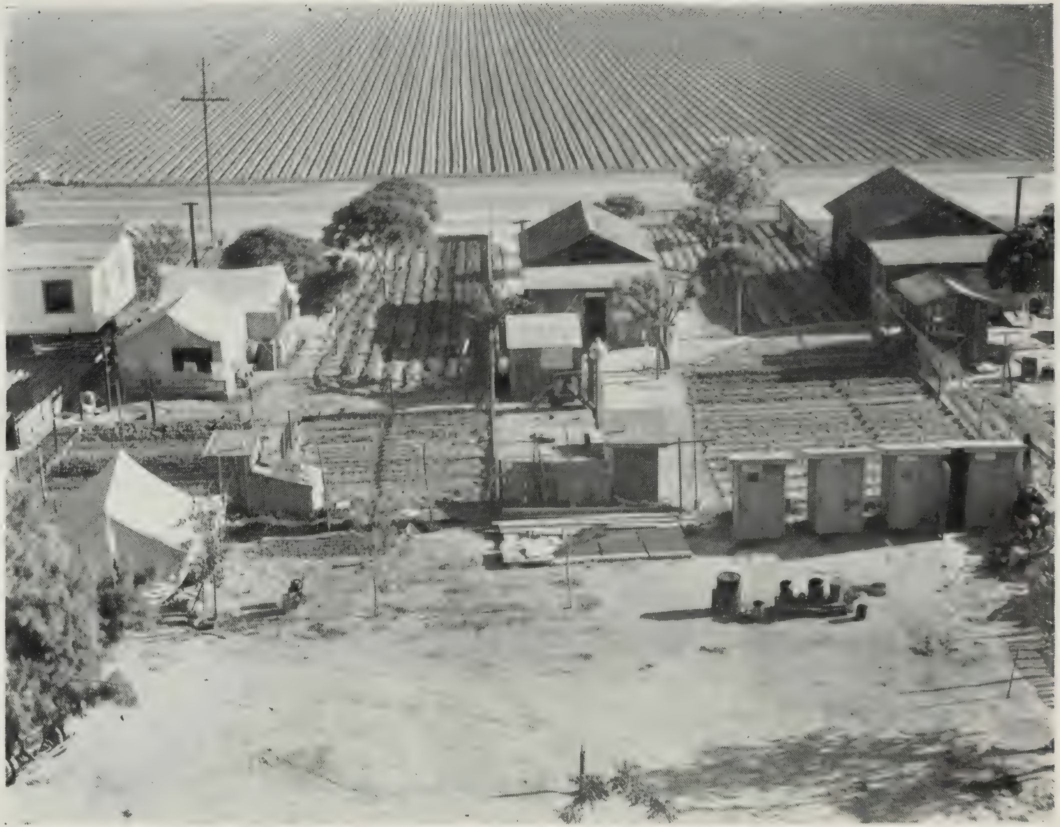
A home in the Louis Camp near Sacramento, Calif. March 19, 1940.



A fire in a shack town near Sacramento, Calif., which has no fire or police protection. February 19, 1940.



Camp provided for migrants by Kern County, Calif., now occupied largely by families on relief. April 11, 1940.



Housing for farm workers, on and off relief, along highway near Shafter, Calif. Shacks rent for $16 to $22 per month. Space for tents or trailers rents for $8 per month. April 11, 1940.

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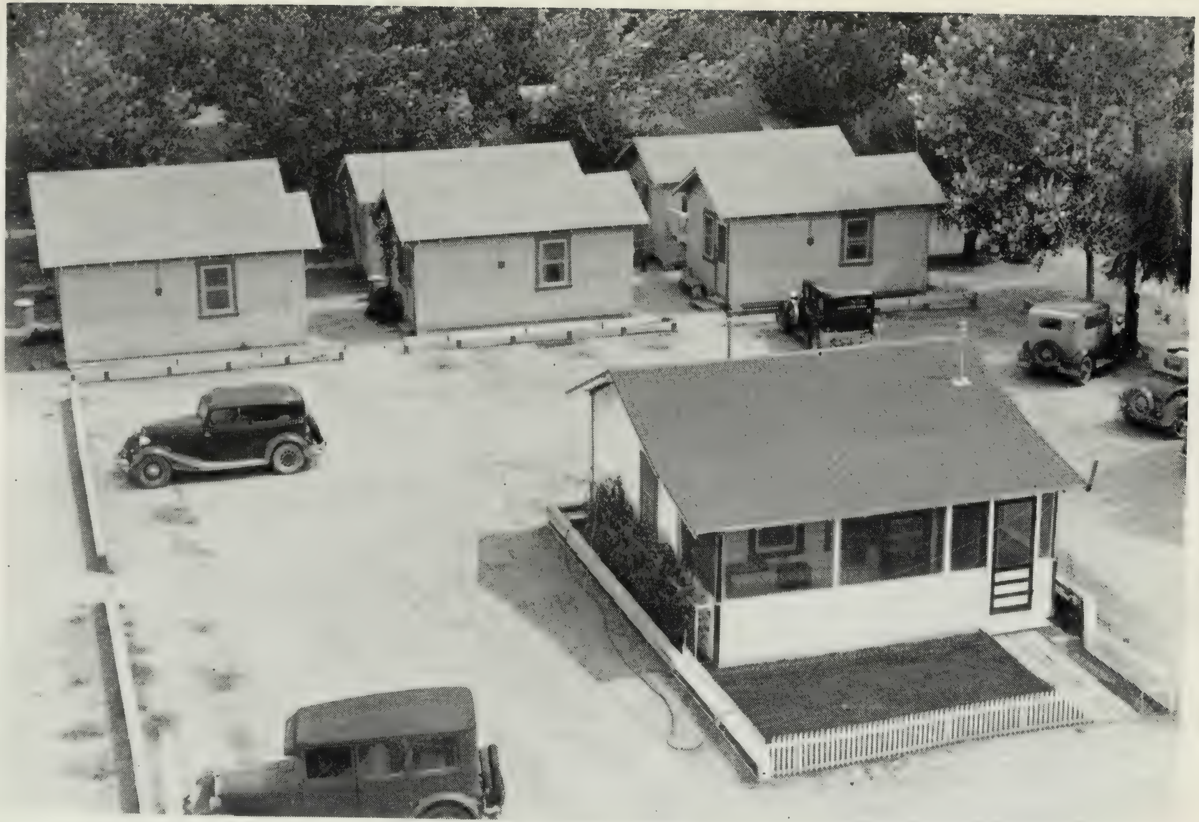

Housing provided in a private labor camp, for year-round employees. Larger house in foreground is that of the camp manager. June 6, 1940.

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., September 25, 1940, in room 276 in the Post Office Building, San Francisco, Calif., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman) presiding.

Present were Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), of California; John J. Sparkman, of Alabama; and Frank C. Osmers, Jr., of New Jersey.

Also present were Dr. Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; Dr. Edward J. Rowell, chief field investigator; Ed Bates, field investigator; and Alice M. Tuohy, field secretary.

The Chairman. The committee will please come to order.

Is Mr. Myderick here?

TESTIMONY OF PERRY MYDERICK, YAKIMA, WASH.

The Chairman. Your name is Perry Myderick?

Mr. Myderick. Myderick; yes.

The Chairman. Where do you reside?

Mr. Myderick. At Yakima, at the farm-labor camp up there.

The Chairman. Yakima, Wash.?

Mr. Myderick. Yes.

The Chairman. Well, Congressman Osmers, of New Jersey, will ask you a few questions at this time.

Mr. Osmers. Mr. Myderick, do you have a family?

Mr. Myderick. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. How many are in your family?

Mr. Myderick. Seven.

Mr. Osmers. What are their ages?

Mr. Myderick. The oldest one is 8 and the second one is 7 and the third one is 6 and the next one is 4 and the smallest one is 1 year and 4 months.

Mr. Osmers. I see. Are you living with your wife?

Mr. Myderick. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. How did you happen to get to Yakima?

Mr. Myderick. I went to San Diego first from western North Dakota to San Diego, Calif.

Mr. Osmers. When did you leave North Dakota?

Mr. Myderick. Last fall in October—the 13th.

Mr. Osmers. Why did you leave there?

Mr. **Myderick**. Well, there has been no crops out there for 11 years, and I seen an ad in the paper out there of some land for sale down there at San Diego as low as a dollar an acre, and when I got down there, why, there was nothing that I could buy for less than $2,000 an acre.

Mr. **Osmers**. $2,000 an acre?

Mr. **Myderick**. That is, not that a man could make a living on.

Mr. **Osmers**. Tell me a little bit about your experience in the Middle West before you came out here. I mean, were you a farmer there?

Mr. **Myderick**. Yes.

Mr. **Osmers**. Did you have a farm of your own?

Mr. **Myderick**. Yes; I bought a farm there and farmed there for 2 years there; before that I had rented, and then in '26 I bought a farm.

Mr. **Osmers**. Where was the farm that you bought?

Mr. **Myderick**. At Sanish, N. Dak.

Mr. **Osmers**. And tell me about your experience on this farm in Sanish.

Mr. **Myderick**. Well, I bought this farm in 1926 and paid $1,000 down on it, and I bought it on crop payments, and I had it half paid for 3 years after I bought it.

Mr. **Osmers**. Yes?

Mr. **Myderick**. And then in '28, why, the crops started to getting dry. After that, in '28, there was a half a crop, and in '29 there was less, and in '30 there was nothing at all, and in '31 there was nothing at all. And it has been that way ever since.

Mr. **Osmers**. Just no crop at all?

Mr. **Myderick**. No crop at all.

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, I noticed in the statement that you have made that you leased a thousand acres on the Fort Peck Reservation?

Mr. **Myderick**. Well, that was 600.

Mr. **Osmers**. Six hundred acres?

Mr. **Myderick**. Six hundred acres; that is, farm land.

Mr. **Osmers**. And when was that? Six hundred acres was the farm and 400 acres were in pasture?

Mr. **Myderick**. Yes. That was after—in 1909 I took up a homestead there at Plentywood, Mont. I homesteaded a half-section there.

Mr. **Osmers**. Yes?

Mr. **Myderick**. And I bought a breaking outfit, and after that it went just the same way there as it did in North Dakota. There was no crops and I lost that. I lost the place, you know. I mortgaged to the Avery Co., and they finally made a deal that if I was to turn the land over to them they would give me a clear title to the tractor, and I sold this tractor and went farming at Fort Peck Reservation at Froid, Mont. I farmed there for 2 years.

Mr. **Osmers**. Tell us about what you have done since you have been out on the Pacific coast.

Mr. **Myderick**. Well, I didn't do much of anything so far.

Mr. **Osmers**. Have you ever worked in the shipyards here?

Mr. **Myderick**. Well, I tried to get a job, but—at the shipyards here last fall, three of them, two here and one in south San Francisco, and I couldn't get no work. So I went down to this Friant Camp and couldn't get on there, and I went up to Chico and tried to get a job picking oranges; couldn't get nothing there. And I came back and tried to get a job in the shipyards at Oakland; couldn't get nothing there. And I went to Grants Pass and up to Beavercreek. I saw an ad in the paper for a chicken ranch that was for rent up there.

Mr. OSMERS. In Oregon?

Mr. MYDERICK. At Beavercreek, and I left Grants Pass and went up there and was on that chicken ranch there for about 4 months, and then I heard about these—I lost there what little money I had left, and I heard about these camps, you know, over the radio, and I went over to Portland to the office there and found out about it, and they told me there that that would be the best place to go to, that I would be able to get work there quicker than any place else. So I went up there.

The CHAIRMAN. By "camps" you mean migrant camps?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Where was this camp you went to?

Mr. MYDERICK. Three miles from Yakima.

Mr. OSMERS. Is that where you are now?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, have you had to receive public relief since you have been on the Pacific coast?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes. I got one grant up there. The first one was $40 and the second one was $38.

Mr. OSMERS. That was at Yakima?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes. And then I had to sell my car up there. They stopped the grants there for about a month, and—that is while they was making a new proposition.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. MYDERICK. And I had to sell my car to live on.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have a car now?

Mr. MYDERICK. No; I haven't.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you been doing any fruit picking up there?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How much do they pay you?

Mr. MYDERICK. Well, the place where I am working, this man didn't know just what they was going to pay, but they said they was going to pay what the rest of them did. That was promised.

Mr. OSMERS. So you don't know what——

Mr. MYDERICK (interposing). Don't know for sure.

Mr. OSMERS (continuing). What it will be?

Mr. MYDERICK. It will be 3½ cents, according to what I heard, and maybe 4 cents.

Mr. OSMERS. And 4 cents for what?

Mr. MYDERICK. For picking a box.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. Do you have any desire to go back to the Middle West, back to the Dakotas or Iowa?

Mr. MYDERICK. Not unless I want to starve altogether.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason you left Dakota was that you simply could not make a living there; is that right?

Mr. MYDERICK. That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it; dry weather, drought?

Mr. MYDERICK. Drought, yes; and grasshoppers.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you would still be there, would you not, if you could make it go there?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes. Well, I would be there yet if I could have got one of those resettlement loans, but I didn't have no well on this place. I figured on getting some cattle, you know, some milk cows. When I went to get one of those loans I figured I could get money to dig a well, and they told me right out I couldn't get a loan because I didn't have no water on the place.

The CHAIRMAN. What paper did you get that ad out of that caused you to go to San Diego?

Mr. MYDERICK. That ad was in The Successful Farmer that is published in Des Moines, Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the ad say?

Mr. MYDERICK. They claimed they had small farm homes down there, just small farms for sale. Then I wrote down there and I got some literature from this chamber of commerce, and they claimed that they had land for sale there for as low as a dollar an acre.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't that with you; have you?

Mr. MYDERICK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you married.

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a family?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is your wife living?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many children?

Mr. MYDERICK. Five.

The CHAIRMAN. You are living now in a migrant camp in Washington?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people in the camp?

Mr. MYDERICK. Well, it is just about full now. It's got a capacity, they claim, for 300 families there.

The CHAIRMAN. Three hundred families?

Mr. MYDERICK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Myderick.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will now hear from the representatives of the State Chamber of Commerce of California. Mr. Lundberg, Dr. Hutchison, Mr. Robinson, and Dr. Benedict. Dr. Hutchison and Dr. Benedict are on the faculty of the College of Agriculture of the University of California.

PANEL TESTIMONY OF HARRISON S. ROBINSON, OF OAKLAND, CALIF.; C. B. HUTCHISON, OF BERKELEY, CALIF.; ALFRED J. LUNDBERG, OF OAKLAND, CALIF.; AND M. R. BENEDICT, OF BERKELEY, CALIF.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, gentlemen, the committee welcomes your appearance here this morning, and we wish to say to you that your State chamber of commerce report is already on file in Washington, and we are all quite familiar with it, and it is a very valuable report.[1]

While we do not want to curtail your examination in any way, I think that if you will hit the high spots for us, Mr. Lundberg, you can then proceed in any way you see fit. But I am giving you that idea, that there is no use of going over this entire report because we are quite familiar with it.

TESTIMONY OF ALFRED A. LUNDBERG, PRESIDENT OF CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Mr. LUNDBERG. Thank you. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committe, my name is Alfred J. Lundberg, residing at Oakland, Calif., and I appear here as president of the California State Chamber of Commerce. To us here in California it is very heartening and reassuring that you gentlemen, upon whom rests today so heavy a responsibility for the future course of world affairs, should take the time to cross the continent and acquaint yourself at first hand with California's No. 1 domestic problem. In coming here, you have acknowledged what we, too, have been insisting; that the migrant problem is a national problem, with a particular impact upon California.

If some of you who have come from other States should wonder why an organization called a chamber of commerce should interest itself in a problem which appears, on the surface, to be largely centered in rural areas, may I say, first, that the full name of our organization is California State Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture, and Industry. It is somewhat unique in that it combines into one organization both urban and rural areas, and combines the agricultural, industrial, and commercial elements of the entire State of California. This unity is made effective through a regional council organization which covers every county and every community of the State, with a complete structure of working committees on agriculture, highway problems, natural resources, taxation, and related problems. These regional committees, and the corresponding Statewide committees to which they ultimately report, are fact-gathering bodies whose function it is, with the aid of a trained research staff, to get all of the facts, and to obtain the viewpoints of all interested parties, in every problem which the State chamber may consider.

The State chamber does not act on matters of State-wide importance until the principal interests concerned in the matter have been given an opportunity to present their facts and views, and until an appropriate committee has reviewed this information, and made recommendations to the board of directors.

It was about a year ago that the directors of the State chamber realized that the migrant problem had reached such proportions as to threaten not only the economic stability of the State, but the social stability, and even the maintenance of civil liberties as well. It was clearly not the problem of agriculture alone, nor was it the problem of any one region of the State; its effects upon health, social welfare, taxation, and other phases of California life were so far-reaching that our organization felt a responsibility to try, with every resource at its command, to find some solution for it.

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[1] See p. 2755, this volume.

So it was, in line with the organization's established procedure, that a broadly representative Committee of 31 was appointed in the fall of 1939, representing agriculture, industry, civic groups, women's organizations, health, and educational leaders. Mr. Harrison S. Robinson, of Oakland, was appointed chairman and has served in that capacity throughout the work of the committee.

The committee was given no instructions except to get all of the facts, and, if possible, to recommend such steps as would, in their judgment, lead to the solution, or the remedying, of the problem. In getting the facts, the committee has had the assistance of a fact-finding subcommittee, headed by Mr. Paul Eliel, of Stanford University. The subcommittee not only held meetings week after week, calling in local, State, and Federal officials to advise and testify, but the members of the subcommittee made a field trip into the area of greatest migrant concentration, to study on the ground all of the visible evidences of the problem.

After some 8 months of study and conference, the fact-finding subcommittee under Mr. Eliel, and the main State-wide committee under Mr. Robinson, made their report and recommendations to the board of directors. The findings of those committees, as approved by the board of directors of the California State Chamber of Commerce, will be summarized by Mr. Harrison S. Robinson, as chairman of the State-wide committee. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF HARRISON S. ROBINSON, CHAIRMAN OF STATE-WIDE COMMITTEE ON THE MIGRANT PROBLEM, CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Mr. Robinson. I would like to put this in as a statement summarizing the report.

(Statement mentioned is as follows:)

Summary of the Report and Recommendations, State-wide Committee on the Migrant Problem, California State Chamber of Commerce, by Harrison S. Robinson, Chairman

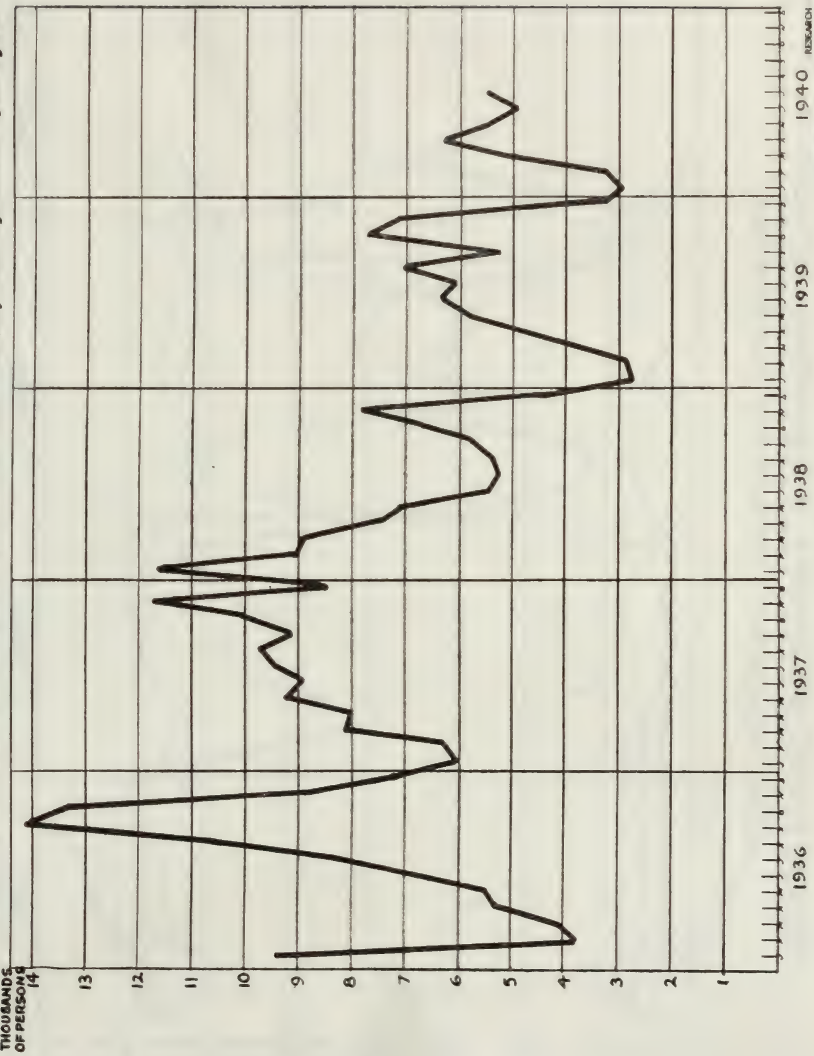
FACTUAL BACKGROUND

Studies of the committee revealed that during the past 5-year period, interstate migration has increased the population of California by 850,000. A substantial portion of this new population has been destitute farm families from the Great Plains and Southern States, particularly Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri.

During the first part of this period, from 1935 to the middle of 1937, there was rapid expansion in agricultural and industrial activity in California, followed by a sharp recession which lasted until the middle of 1939. Over the past 12 months there has been a substantial increase in industrial employment, and at the present time intense activity in the national-defense industries, such as aircraft manufacture, shipbuilding, iron and steel, and machinery has brought industrial employment materially above 1937 levels. Those increases in employment, however, have been principally for skilled labor.

Consequently, although the influx of destitute farm families from the Southern States has been somewhat smaller in 1938 and 1939 than in 1936 and 1937, as shown by the accompanying chart, the effects have been to add a continually

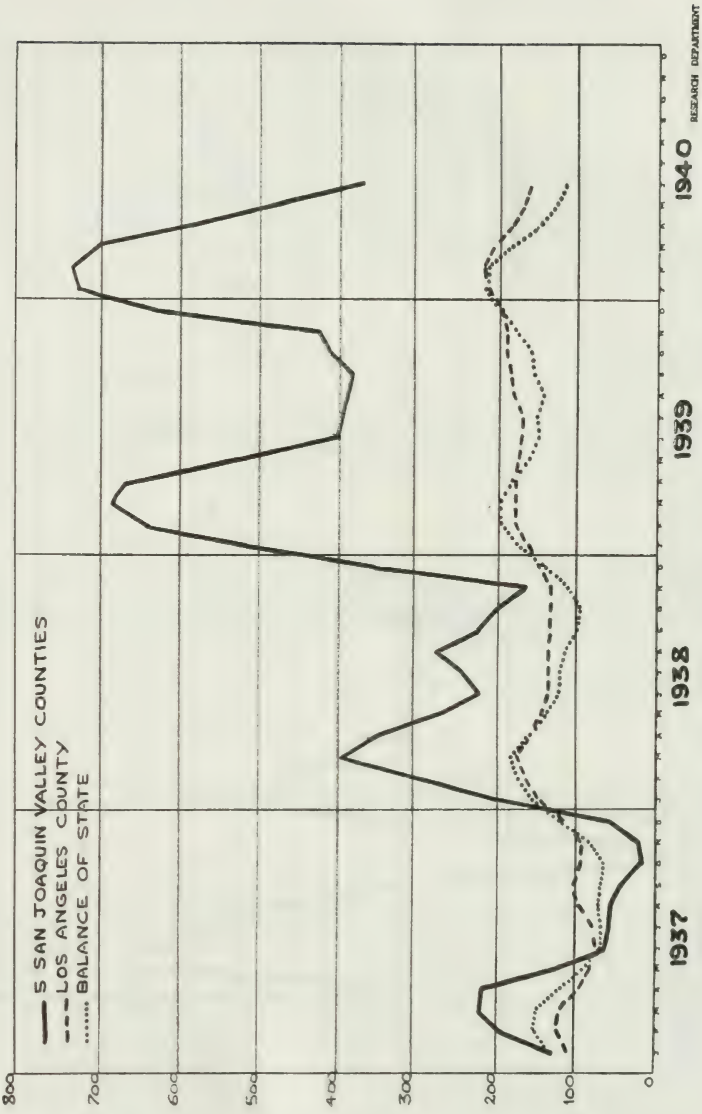
MIGRANTS ENTERING CALIFORNIA (In need of manual employment) by Months 1936-1940



RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

TRENDS IN UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF CASELOADS

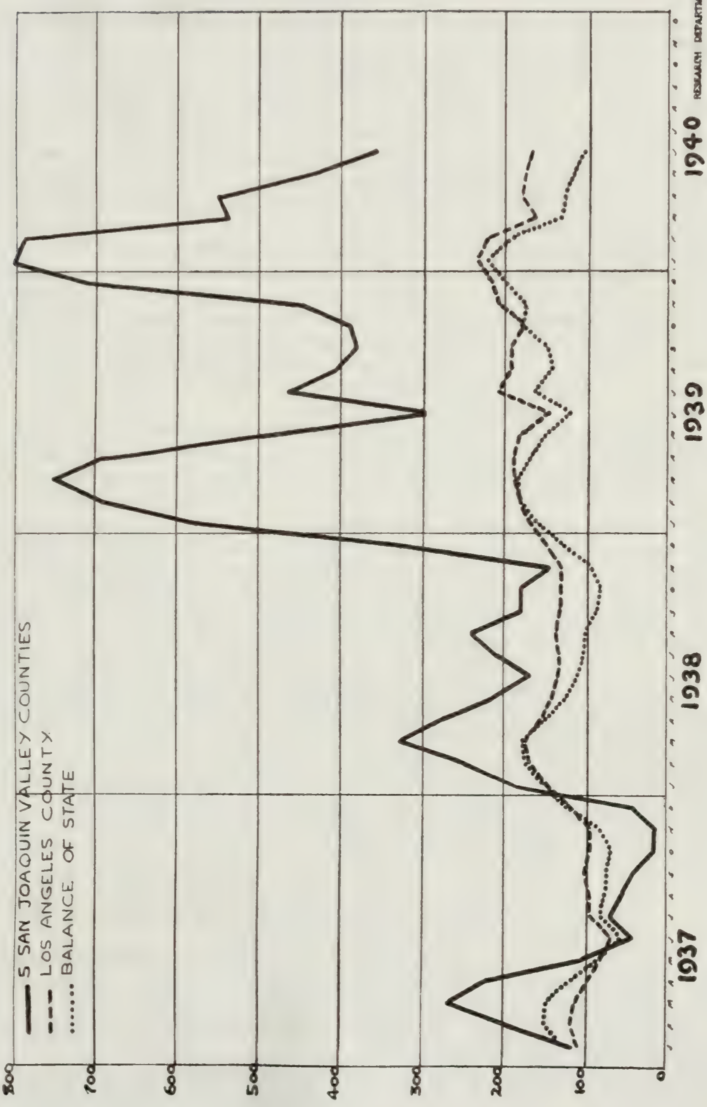
INDEX NUMBERS – 1937 MONTHLY AVERAGE=100



RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

TRENDS IN UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF EXPENDITURES

INDEX NUMBERS - 1937 MONTHLY AVERAGE = 100



RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

increasing surplus of unskilled workers. Since the middle of 1935, over 390,000 members of migrant families whose breadwinners were in search of manual employment, have entered the State by autos through the border checking stations. In 1939 the number was 63,291. During the first 8 months of 1940 the number has been 40,160 or slightly more than the influx during the same months of 1939.

The resulting disproportionate increases in relief as provided by State agencies in the San Joaquin Valley agricultural counties as compared to the remainder of California are graphic evidence of this serious situation. The figures as to case loads and outlays are shown on the accompanying charts in the form of index numbers, in order that the trends in several regions of the State may be compared.

Concentration of these refugee families in the cotton-growing counties of the San Joaquin Valley and certain other destination localities has intensified the seriousness of the problem, bringing about vastly disproportionate increases in welfare and relief burdens, school costs, and shortage of housing. This element of concentration, as to origin, destination, and timing is an important phase of the problem as it affects California.

The increase in resident population in the five southern San Joaquin Valley counties, between 1935 and 1940, was 37 percent. In some of these counties it was over 50 percent, as compared with an average increase over the State as a whole of 14 percent.

During this same period, in these five counties, local tax levies increased 100 percent, as compared to a 37-percent increase in areas not affected. Since 1937, there has been an increase of 405 percent in the unemployment relief load in these counties, compared to a 60-percent increase in those areas of the State to which migration has not been heavy. In February 1939, 45 to 55 percent of the heads of families on the relief rolls in these San Joapuin Valley counties had arrived in this State since 1935, compared with an average of 16 percent for the remainder of the State.

A recent study of 1,000 migrant families reveals that only a little more than a third of them have obtained the major part of their income from agricultural labor. About 31 percent of them have obtained their principal income from industrial employment, and another 31 percent have been dependent principally upon public assistance.

The committee found that the principal causes of the migrant movement to California and other Pacific Coast States were economic conditions prevailing in the Great Plains and southern regions of the United States. The pressure of an increasing surplus of rural population on land of diminishing fertility, plus the immediate dislocations caused by such factors as drought and dust storms, drastic curtailment of cotton acreage, and rapid mechanization and consolidation of farms formerly operated by tenant renters and sharecroppers, are forcing out migration, and the normal flow of surplus rural population from these problem regions into industrial centers has been cut off by prolonged industrial depression.

Among the factors attracting these migrant farm families to California in particular, the committee listed and analyzed the following:

(1) Seasonal employment in agriculture and industry at relatively high wage and piece rates (85 cents per 100 pounds for cotton picking as compared with 55 cents in Texas).

(2) Rapid development of the cotton industry (San Joaquin Valley production rose from 124,000 bales in 1932 to 718,000 bales in 1937—and dropped back to about 400,000 bales in 1938 and 1939).

(3) Continued labor recruiting by growers in adjacent States after the peak of labor requirements had been reached in 1937.

(4) More liberal public welfare aids than in other States (average of $31.35 per month per case for general relief payments, as compared with $4.86 in Arkansas and $4.96 in Oklahoma).

(5) Health, climate, publicity, and news stories.

Difference of opinion will be found as to the relative emphasis to be placed on these factors, but our committee concluded that they have all played some part.

Our committee found ample evidence to support the conclusion that California now has a serious oversupply of unskilled workers, particularly in relation to agricultural employment needs and farming opportunities. Wage scales, living standards, and social-welfare programs are jeopardized.

The continuing influx of destitute farm families from the Great Plains and southern cotton States in the face of this situation is a factor which is primarily responsible for the attitudes of local residents in communities most severely affected. Their natural instinct of self-preservation has led them to oppose certain types of projects for the welfare of migrants which appear socially desirable to persons far removed from the scene, but which according to the local viewpoint will result in attracting more distressed people from localities where similar aid is not available. This dilemma indicates why piecemeal attempts of single communities or States to deal with the social-welfare aspects of interstate migration may do more harm than good, and why it must be dealt with on a national basis.

This also indicates why the first steps in any program for dealing with this problem should be emergency steps to retard and control out-migration from the States of origin and to check the inflow of more unemployed migrants to California, or other areas where they cannot be assimilated.

This committee, like every other group which has studied the migrant problem, quickly agreed on the conclusion that it is national in scope, and that it is a phase of the national unemployment problem.

While there can be no solution of the problem other than general economic recovery and expansion of employment, a great deal can be done to alleviate hardships and suffering, both to migratory people and to the communities involved, if the responsibilities and the cost burdens can be clearly determined and equitably distributed, and there can be better guidance furnished those who migrate in search of employment.

The committee's first recommendations were for emergency steps to be taken which would tend to retard out-migration in the States of origin.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS TO RETARD OUT-MIGRATION

1. *Extend Federal relief programs in States of origin.*—(*a*) That Federal programs of relief and rehabilitation in the principal States of out-migration be maintained and further increased, so far as possible, by the greater concentration of available funds in such areas.

(*b*) That consideration be given by Congress to a grant-in-aid or such other emergency program as might be developed to supplement local general relief aids in the States of out-migration, and to remove the most glaring discrepancies in these and other public-welfare aids available to needy people. That in the development of such a program consideration also be given to the desirability of matching grants on a basis of per capita wealth or other measure of relative ability to pay.

2. *Issue warning as to lack of jobs.*—Recommended extension of efforts by the United States Farm Placement Service and other agencies to warn residents of the Southern Plains States regarding the oversuply of farm labor in California.

3. *Seek Arizona cooperation in use of farm-placement service.*—The committee recommended that steps be taken for conferences between official and unofficial agencies in Arizona and California, to the end that private labor recruiting in States of origin be discontinued, and the public employment services be utilized exclusively. Such conferences of unofficial groups have been held, and we have assurances that these recommendations will be followed.

NATIONAL STUDY AS BASIS FOR RELOCATING FARM FAMILIES

The committee's conclusion was that the possibilities of assimilating surplus migrant families already in California by settling them on land were very limited in scope, due to the large capital investments required for successful commercial farming in this State. It questioned the advisability of further extension of cooperative farming experiments in California and suggested that available public funds be devoted to relocation of families on lands in their home States.

Its formal recommendations were as follows:

(*a*) "That the Tolan resolution, H. R. 23, creating a joint congressional committee to investigate and recommend action on emergency phases of the problem of interstate migration be given support of all interested groups in this and other States."

(*b*) "That the National Resources Planning Board, as part of its studies, investigate the possibilities of the relocation of migrants in general in the areas from which they have migrated, with a view toward reestablishing the roots of such migrants in the land and removing as many of them as possible from the category of agricultural laborers who cannot hope to eke out an adequate living in California under existing conditions."

(*c*) "That the National Resources Planning Board and any congressional committee which may be appointed have placed before them the extreme seriousness of the existing situation and the necessity for the speediest possible action in connection with the necessary investigations and the development of a constructive program."

REORGANIZATION OF FARM PLACEMENT SERVICE

The committee's conclusion was that the farm placement services of the State department of employment have been ineffective, and that the development of a better service must be a key project, if any degree of planning and control in the handling of farm labor supply is to be achieved. Its recommendations were:

(*a*) "That necessary steps be taken to provide for effective reorganization of the California State Employment Service, designed to provide a farm placement service which will more adequately service the needs of farmers and workers.

(*b*) "That necessary steps be taken to develop more adequate information on current crop developments and farm labor requirements, needed both for the better guidance of seasonal workers to available jobs and for the proper location of crops and housing."

RECOMMENDATIONS ON RURAL HOUSING

With regard to rural housing for agricultural workers, the committee recognized that one of the primary long-time approaches to this subject should be one of stimulating and assisting farmers to provide adequate housing on farms for workers actually required in agriculture. The committee recognized also that a substantial and perhaps a major part of the housing problem in certain rural areas is in relation to people who are principally or wholly dependent upon nonagricultural employment or public assistance for their income and for whom the provision of shelter is no more the responsibility of farmers than of any other segment of the general public. With regard to the experimental and demonstrational migratory labor camps operated by the Farm Security Administration, the committee took the position that these should be continued on a modified basis as an emergency means of meeting a portion of the most pressing immediate problem. Its recommendations were as follows:

1. *Further improvement of housing on farms.*—(*a*) "That adequate inspections of farm labor camp housing and sanitary facilities be made and that enforcement of the requirements set forth in the State law continue unabated.

(*b*) "That efforts be made to facilitate new construction on farms, by long-term loans to growers at low interest rates."

2. *Modified extension of Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps.*—(*a*) "That the Farm Security Administration migratory labor camp program be continued as a necessary emergency method of meeting a portion of the most pressing needs for temporary housing of migrant families.

(*b*) "That since the emergency need is for more units of shelter, the policy of spreading available funds so as to provide the largest possible number of such units and adequate sanitary facilities to serve the largest possible number of families be urged, in preference to more elaborate, permanent facilities of high unit cost, serving a smaller number of families.

(*c*) "That in any extension of this camp program, consideration be given to the desirability of constructing camps of a much smaller size than those now in operation, and scattering these more widely, both with the view of bringing seasonal workers closer to the available jobs and also facilitating the eventual absorption of such units into the normal social and economic life of the communities where they may be located.

(*d*) "That further study be given to the possibilities of enlarging the mobile camp program as a means of providing adequate temporary shelter in localities where large numbers of workers are required for relatively short periods.

(*c*) "That in determining the location and character of future camps, the Farm Security Administration be urged to consult with responsible local public officials, farmers, farm organizations, and community leaders, to the end that their information and views may be given adequate consideration."

INTERPRETATION OF COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

To sum up, and to interpret these recommendations of our committee in terms of suggestions for consideration by your House Committee on Interstate Migration, I would say that they call for recognition by the Congress and the country as a whole that there are certain phases of the problem which require national action in the form of Federal legislation and activities by administrative agencies of the Federal Government. These might be summed up as follows:

1. Greater concentration of available relief funds in the problem areas of out-migration.
2. Development of grant-in-aid type of general-relief program, aimed to remove glaring discrepancies in relief aids available as between States.
3. Strengthening and extension of the work of the public employment services and the United States Farm Placement Service, to the end that there shall be more intelligent guidance of those seeking employment opportunities, and less wasteful movements of people to places of fancied opportunity, based upon chance publicity or rumor.
4. Support of long-time research and planning activities which will furnish an intelligent basis for the guidance of the migration of population, or the relocation of surplus farm population.
5. Modified extension of Federal migratory labor camps and other Federal assistance in providing facilities for the housing, health, education, and welfare of migratory workers.

ENDORSEMENTS AND SUPPORT OF THE COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings and recommendations of this committee on the migrant problem have been submitted to a large number of representative bodies, such as city councils, county boards of supervisors, civic organizations, and organizations representing labor, agriculture, industry, and commerce, and many expressions of approval or endorsement have been received. We are submitting for your records attached resolutions, statements, and editorial comments, as evidence that these recommendations express the views of many groups, in addition to those who were directly represented on the committee.

TESTIMONY OF HARRISON S. ROBINSON—Resumed

Mr. ROBINSON. I will take up from there, if you wish.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. That is what I want you to do.

Mr. ROBINSON. You have already mentioned the fact that this committee has had our report on migrants?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Robinson. I used it before the Committee on Rules and in the House, too, at the time that my resolution was considered.

Mr. ROBINSON. In view of that fact, I am sure the committee will be assisted by having tangible evidence as to how that report is regarded by the people of California, and I will introduce here for purposes of the record, without reading it, of course, first a compilation of resolutions, statements, and editorial comments on the report and its recommendations. These resolutions or endorsements are classified first as to State, city, and county governments, and in this file which I will leave with you are endorsements from the boards of supervisors of the following counties: Glenn, Alameda, San Francisco, San Luis Obispo, San Mateo, Fresno, Tulare, Merced, Marin, Lake, Tuolumne, Monterey, Inyo, Madera, and Imperial; from the mayor of the city of Los Angeles and the commissioners of the city of Fresno and the city councils of Visalia, Paso Robles, Porterville, Merced, and Chowchilla.

Next in order you will find the endorsements of 32 chambers of commerce in California, and finally, so far as the endorsements go, a list of letters and resolutions, including in it the makers of them, the California Congress of Parents and Teachers, the California Real Estate Exchange, Fresno Labor Council, Poultrymen's Cooperative Association, and the chief administrative officer of Los Angeles County, which should have gone in the other file, I should think.

But anyway, without further detail, they are here.

The CHAIRMAN. Just in one book?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes. Then a series of articles published in papers in California, and editorial comments in California newspapers.

This collection of documents I would like to offer as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be an exhibit.[1]

Mr. ROBINSON. The other compilation is a file of clippings and papers which I ask be made a part of this record, and which may be described as general news items appearing in California newspapers based on the report and its recommendations, and they constitute altogether a file of 201 pages. I ask that that be made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you feel that those two exhibits give a fairly good picture, at least, of how certain organizations in California regard your work.

Mr. ROBINSON. As far as we are able to obtain it in black and white. It is for your service and information.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. They will be accepted for the record.

Mr. ROBINSON. I am sure that as you have gone about in the hearings of this committee you have encountered the fact that almost anything can be said about the migrant problem and there would be a grain of truth in it. Hence there is, as we have found in our work, an opportunity for a great deal of confusion, because obviously many of the things which are asserted to be true appear to be in conflict with other things that are earnestly asserted to be true.

I suggest that one of the reasons for this condition of affairs is that the whole migrant problem still travels in a sort of fog belt. It is marginal. It has marginal characteristics, both as to the people involved, as to the jobs they perform, as to the places where they work, the farms that they try to till or have tried to till, and yet with all that initial confusion which we encountered in far greater degree, more than a year ago when we started into this work, we have found that today there is a far greater unanimity among students of the problem and among those who have to deal with it in a practical way as a home problem or a neighborhood problem or a local government problem, far more unanimity in their appreciation of what the facts are and what may be done about the conditions than there was a couple of years ago.

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[1] The above exhibits are held in committee files. They consist of a series of endorsements and are all in practically the same form. The following paragraphs appear in most of the endorsements mentioned:

"Whereas the tremendous influx of migrants into the State of California during recent years has produced an acute situation with regard to unemployment relief, health and sanitation, and education; and

"Whereas this influx of migrants has been stimulated in part by reason of the generous relief payments in California as contrasted to the principal States of out-migration; and

"Whereas the State chamber of commerce has appointed a State-wide committee on the migrant problem, whose report and recommendations have been adopted by the board of directors of the California State Chamber of Commerce: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, that we, ________________________________, do hereby endorse the principles contained in the Migrant Report of the California State Chamber of Commerce."

In addition the California State Chamber of Commerce furnished to the newspapers of the State a series of articles printed by many newspapers over the State on the subject of migration. During the month of May 1940, several papers printed an identical editorial "Get Truth About Migration Problem," and another identical editorial "Migrants Win Action," which appear in the exhibit mentioned.

When my own realization of the seriousness of this problem first was borne in on me, I found in California that you could pick a quarrel, almost, by mentioning the migrant problem. At once people came with different points of view, and the fellow who had a different point of view from the one who was speaking was all wrong.

A lot has happened in the last year and a half in California in that regard. I think it has come to be realized by the people in the south San Joaquin Valley, where there have been these enormous increases in numbers of dependent people, where the tax rates have doubled, where the relief expenditures have so greatly increased, that it is their misfortune that the impact has hit them in concentrated force, and yet they realize that it is not the fault of the migrants. And so I think pretty generally over California it is recognized that something of a national origin has plumped down upon them, and while they must do their local part to the limit of their ability and in a decent and kindly fashion, it is also a burden which is partly national in character, and only help from a national program can bring migrant needs and migrant assistance into approximate balance and make it possible to assimilate these newcomers in a wholesome manner and get them on their way to earning their living.

Now, in a brief way we can say that the report which you mentioned calls for, first, a great concentration of available relief funds in the problem areas of out-migration. I think that it is true that people want to stay where their original homes were. That is generally true. And this movement, as I see it, is not so much an attempt to go where the grass is greener over the fence, but to get away from utter inability to make a living where they were first, and hence the recommendation that the available relief funds be concentrated to a greater degree in the areas where people are in such distress that they will have to get out unless something is done for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Robinson, I don't want to interrupt. I am not going to any more, but there is a striking problem. In other words, you have got this matching proposition between the Federal Government and the State. The Federal Government matches the State appropriation.

How would you remedy that, in the case of States unable to make such appropriations?

Mr. ROBINSON. Our thought is that the ability of a region which is in distress to take care of itself is a factor of proper consideration.

GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATES ON BASIS OF PER CAPITA WEALTH

To speak more specifically, that consideration be given by Congress to grants-in-aid, or such other emergency program as may be developed, to supplement local general relief aid in States of out-migration and to remove the more glaring discrepancies in these and other public welfare aids available to needy people.

Instead of simply saying, "In Oklahoma you give $4 and some cents," for example, "and therefore we will give that amount," I think we have got, sooner or later, to come to this realization: That if there is an area in which the ability to pay is very low, in which the wealth per capita is very low and yet the application of the funds that they can raise is still below the decent level of subsistence, then we have got to draw from another reservoir to supplement their maximum capacity.

Obviously that is a tough job to tackle, and it is a hard thing to apply any formula to.

The CHAIRMAN (addressing Mr. Sparkman). What are yours, the figure in your State?

Mr. SPARKMAN. A little better than $10. That is both.

The CHAIRMAN. That is both State and Federal?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. I am speaking of aid to the aged.

The CHAIRMAN (addressing Mr. Osmers). What is yours?

Mr. OSMERS. We are up between $18 and $36 per month in the State of New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN (addressing Mr. Sparkman). But you are $10 to both, the State and Federal?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just a few cents over $10.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Robinson.

Mr. ROBINSON. Of course, when we speak of equalizing relief figures, you have got to recognize the fact that California has been generous; that they have set up a comparatively high standard, not high from the point of view of the person who is getting it, but high from the point of view of what the practice is in the whole country and what the standards over the whole country are, and it is inevitable that a certain amount of attraction is created where one area has comparatively high standards. But the great discrepancy between the low standards and the high standards is one factor which makes it difficult to keep people in their original areas.

The CHAIRMAN. How does California compare with the other States?

Mr. ROBINSON. Referring to the summary which I filed with you here, we are speaking of the public relief aids and the average in California is $31.35 per month for general relief payments per case, as compared with $4.86 in Arkansas and $4.96 in Oklahoma, and then on page 43 of the printed report[1] which was referred to, you will find a whole tabulation of—at least the third column on page 43—the average amount per case. If you will turn to page 43 and look at table 9, in the third column from the left in that table, California, $31.35; Oregon, $16.08; Washington, $14.37; Arizona, $14.30; Arkansas, $4.86; Kansas, $14.56; Missouri, 12.82; Oklahoma, $4.96, which is an estimated figure; in Texas, $7.08, which is also an estimated figure.

That is illustrative of the point that I made.

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[1] The printed report mentioned is held in committee files and not printed.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is all in the report anyway?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes; it is all in the report.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In order that we may get a comparative statement, the question the chairman asked us a few minutes ago related particularly to old-age assistance.

Mr. ROBINSON. Oh, yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, in order that we may get the true comparison, I wonder where in this report those benefits are shown?

Mr. ROBINSON. Just below it. If you will look in the lower portion of table 9, you will see a bracket there which says "Old-age assistance."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Oh, yes. I see it.

Mr. ROBINSON. And then California is $38, and the minimum is Texas with $8.91, and the other figures there are in between.

Mr. OSMERS. I should like to state, for the sake of the record, Mr. Chairman, that the figure that I gave to the reporter a few minutes ago was for old-age assistance in the State of New Jersey. I believe that general relief, that is State and local relief payments in the State of New Jersey, just stating for the sake of the record, average about $20 per month.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. ROBINSON. I missed the fact that the lowest payment for old-age relief is that of Arkansas, with $6, not Texas.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Robinson, in that connection, if you remember, last year we adopted amendments to the Social Security Act providing for a maximum payment of $20 per month by the Federal Government, required, of course, to be matched by the various States. And, as I recall the record, the only State that benefited by that was California. No other State in the Union could come above the $15, as previously set.

Mr. ROBINSON. I am sure that as you gentlemen go about you will find that there are some real, practical penalties to humanitarian leadership. California has felt those penalties very acutely.

Another point that I do want to bring out is that in this matter of specific localities having a greater influx than any others in proportion to their population and in proportion to their resources, it brings about a condition where it is the natural instinct of self-preservation that leads them to oppose certain types of projects for the welfare of migrants which are, of course, desirable in many cases in the minds of people far removed from the scene, but which according to the local viewpoint will result in attracting more distressed people from localities where similar aid is not available. This dilemma, I suggest, is why piecemeal attempts of single communities or even single States to deal with social-welfare aspects of interstate migration do more harm than good, and why it must be dealt with on a national basis.

Also, I want again to highlight the fact that one of our real disadvantages in dealing with unemployment of migrants, as well as others, is the fact that public employment services and farm placement services just don't measure up to the needs of the situation. I say that, not with the spirit of finding fault, but from factual observation.

The **Chairman.** Our record is replete with that.

Mr. **Robinson.** Yes. It is particularly true here. And there is so much waste as a result of the lack of efficiency in that regard.

In our report you will remember that we make concrete recommendations regarding the Federal migratory camps and other Federal assistance in providing for housing and health and education and welfare which we believe are of a constructive nature.

I have here a supplement as to social-security welfare and relief programs in California which is completely up-to-date, covering old-age insurance, unemployment insurance, aid to the needy aged, aid to needy blind, and aid to needy children. I would like to file that as an exhibit. It is a brief summary of our present California procedures and laws and regulations on the subject.

The **Chairman.** That will be made an exhibit.

(The document referred to was accepted as an exhibit and appears on following pages:)

Social security, welfare, and relief programs, California

Program	Administered by	Eligibility	Nature of benefits	Source of funds	Expenditures fiscal year 1938–39
Old-age insurance	Federal Social Security Board under Federal Social Security Act, title II.	Age, 65 years. Employment prior to retirement as defined in act. Earnings of at least $50 per quarter for at least 40 calendar quarters, or during one-half of calendar quarters since Jan. 1, 1937. Retirement from gainful employment of beneficiary and dependents. Dependents or survivors including parents, wife over 65, or wife under 65 with children under 18.	Percentage of average monthly earnings in covered employment. Minimum payment $10, maximum $85. Widows with dependent children, three-fourths worker's payment. Dependent wife, child, or parent, one-half of worker's payment.	Federal pay-roll taxes on both employer and worker.	Benefit payments begin Jan. 1, 1940.
Unemployment insurance.	California Employment Commission, State Department of Employment. Under supervision of Federal Security Board.	Employment as defined by act prior to application for benefits. Total earnings at least $156 ($300 after Dec. 1, 1939) during first 12 of last 15 months prior to application for benefits.	Total payment $50 to $300 in 12-month period dependent on total earnings during 12-month qualifying period. (After Dec. 1, 1939, $160 to $468.) Weekly benefits $7 to $15 dependent on best 3 months in qualifying period. (After Dec. 1, 1939, $10 to $18.) Duration of benefits dependent on maximum determined benefits payable.	Federal and State pay-roll taxes on workers.	$37,490,000 ($58,728,463 for period Jan. 1, 1938–Nov. 30, 1939).
Aid to needy aged	Counties under supervision of State Welfare Board, and Welfare and Institutions Code.	Age, 65 years or over. Citizen of United States. Resident of California 5 out of 9 years preceding application. Not receiving adequate support from legally responsible relatives. No personal property over $500 or real property over $3,000 assessed value. One year county residence prior to application.	$35 per month, when added to income from all other sources. (May be $40 after Jan. 1, 1940.) Income up to $15 per month from specified sources not counted.	Federal Government pays one-half of up to $40 per case per month (maximum Federal payment, $20 per case). State and counties pay balance on 50–50 basis.	$49,017,051.
Aid to needy blind	Counties under supervision of State Welfare Board, and Walfare and Institutions Code.	Age, 16 years or over. Blindness as certificed by skilled physician. Residence: Those afflicted with blindness while residents of the state, 6 months in county. Others, 5 years residence within 9 years preceding application. 1 year prior to application. Own no real property over $3,000 assessed value less encumbrances, or not more than $500 personal property.	$50 per month, less income not exempted. Income up to $33⅓ from certain sources exempted.	Federal funds pay one-half up to $40 per month per case. (Maximum Federal payment, $20 per case.) State and counties pay balance on 50–50 basis.	$3,531,049.

Social security, welfare, and relief programs, California—Continued

Program	Administered by	Eligibility	Nature of benefits	Source of funds	Expenditures fiscal year 1938-39
Aid to needy children	Counties under supervision of State Welfare Board, and Welfare and Institutions Code.	Age, 18 years or under. Residence: Born in state or resident 1 year. Support: (a) Receives no support exceeding $25 per month. (b) Recipient nor parent own real property in excess of $3,000 assessed valuation. (c) Own no cash or securities in excess of $250 for child, $700 for parent. Civil status: Orphan, half-orphan, abandoned, illegitimate, and certain special cases.	Amount necessary for adequate care, but not in excess of $22.50 per month.	Federal: One-half of aid granted up to $18 for first child and $12 for each other child in home. Certain exceptions. State: Two-thirds of remainder or of entire payment if not eligible for Federal aid.	$7,329,329.
	State Relief Commission through State Relief Administration.	(a) Hardship and destitution caused by unemployment. (b) Residence. Prior to 1940 residence was fixed by Commission rule as 1 year. In May 1940, the legislature adopted a statute providing that persons entering California after June 1, 1940, must have 5 years continuous residence to be eligible, and that those who had entered the State prior to that date must have 3 years residence, with the exception that anyone who had been certified as eligible for relief prior to February 18, 1940, is exempt from these residence provisions, and the further exception that temporary care can be furnished nonresidents for a period of 30 days pending verification of their legal residence and transportation thereto. (c) Aliens who entered United States illegally after July 1, 1924, are ineligible.	As established by rules and regulations of the Relief Commission except that statutes adopted in May 1940 provide a limit of $55 per month per case in cash relief payments, which may however be supplemented by the provision of commodities or services. Other statutory limitations define what shall be regarded as income in determining the deficiency in the relief case budget, limit expenditure of money received by the relief client to necessities as defined in the law, specifically prohibiting contributions to political organizations, and certain other types of expenditures. Average payments $30.98 per case per month.	State funds appropriated by legislature.	$42,048,000.
Unemployment relief	Federal Government through W. P. A., N. Y. A., C. C. C., etc.	Hardship and destitution caused by unemployment. W. P. A. certification by the State Relief Administration. Other programs handled direct.	Work relief in cooperation with S. R. A. as established by Federal Government.	Federal funds appropriated.	$99,203,000.
Indigent aid	Counties under Welfare and Institutions Code.	Unemployable. Incompetent, poor, indigent, incapacitated by age, disease, or accident. Lawful resident of county 1 year, and 3 years State residence. Not being supported by responsible relatives.	Relief and support by county. Work may be required. Policy in regard to benefits determined by county board of supervisors. Average payment $21.50 per case per month.	County tax funds	$10,000,000 (estimate based on 10-month actual expenditures).

Mr. ROBINSON. I would like to conclude my statement to the committee, which has been made so far as chairman of the State-wide migrant committee by a brief personal statement of thoughts on this subject which are derived from my own personal experience and observation and study and for which nobody else is responsible, but which I make with the hope that it may be of some aid to you in your work.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SEASONAL WORK

The committee knows that migrant workers and seasonal work are generally found together. In most cases it is nature which determines whether the work shall be seasonal or not; but who engages in seasonal work is a very personal matter. Some competent people are migratory and engage in seasonal work because they are strongly individualistic, and possess a type of strength that will not be tied down to a routine job or to one locality. These persons are not a cause of public concern. Most seasonal workers, however, are such because they cannot get steady jobs on the basis of superior competency or because they cannot connect with an opportunity for steady work.

Seasonal work has an economic characteristic which is a whole problem in itself. Generally speaking, no one type of seasonal work gives a worker enough income in the season which it covers to support him and his family during the entire year. Many competent seasonal workers, by moving from crop to crop, or from job to job, in a planned and systematic way, are able to make in toto a living income for the year. Many other seasonal workers are not in need of living the whole year on what they get for seasonal labor.

But a very great number of persons and families are dependent on seasonal work for the whole year's support, and yet never get enough of such work to support them for a year. Between jobs they are often public charges.

Knowledge of these facts has sometimes caused demands that seasonal workers be paid much higher wages than now prevail. Without passing on the correctness of any particular wage, the application of the principle of compelling higher pay for seasonal work merely because it is seasonal work would materially reduce the amount of that kind of work when all possible work is needed.

The last-described group of seasonal workers includes a great number of "marginal" people, as there are marginal farms and businesses. The latter can be abandoned, but society is not able to discard the marginal human being. In a crude way, the employers of the less efficient seasonal workers and the public treasuries (local, State, or national) apportion between them the support of these workers. The case is one in which a sound determination of what is theoretically fair and just is extremely difficult and is likely to be clouded by emotional factors and by human selfishness.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

Great numbers of people in this country, particularly among its youth, people who are able and willing to work, have become migrants because they do not find employment in or near their places of origin.

The fact that they are out of work appears to be due to six major causes:

Diminished markets for various agricultural products;

Failure of large rural areas as crop producers;

Application of labor-saving machinery and of labor-saving methods to manufacturing, agriculture, construction, mining, lumbering, transportation, and distribution;

Failure to develop sufficient new work for the workers thus deprived of work and for those added by increases in population;

Absence of adequate agencies to bring together available workers and available jobs promptly and effectively;

Unsettled state of employer-employee relations and of relations between labor union and labor union.

No study of the migrant problem in the United States would be complete if it did not underscore the fact that general unemployment swells the movement of jobless people from State to State and from place to place.

During the next 2 or 3 years the manufacture of vast quantities of war equipment and materials, accompanied by large additions to the Nation's armed forces, will partly conceal the fact that the amount of normal employment available in the United States is far less than the number of persons who should be engaged in such employment.

If, in the meantime, attention is not given to the basic problems of increasing the amount of normal work-opportunities, the distress following the ending of war production will be tragic and the migrant problem greater than ever.

One of the major obstacles in reducing unemployment is the presence in this country, both among migrants and elsewhere, of large numbers of people whose minds and bodies are adequate but who do not measure up to the demands of the jobs that are to be done. They lack either any desire really to work; or the willingness, even the ability, to stick to a task for 8 hours a day; or general training to perform average tasks; or adequate training for special tasks. There are great numbers, probably several million, of young and adult Americans who, because they never were really disciplined or trained, are unable or unwilling to meet the demands of application, accuracy, and endurance that are presented by an average job.

That there are now so many of such people in the United States is chargeable to both parents and schools of the last two generations and to a widespread habit of irresponsibility, softness, and self-indulgence that started even farther back than that. The cure is more severe standards in American life, a greater acceptance by each person of his own responsibilities, a complete making over of school objectives and practices, and a system of compulsory community work for persons habitually out of a job and dependent upon the community for support. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there, Mr. Robinson, what you say in that statement, and what the chamber of commerce report indicates, bears out what this committee ran up against throughout the country.

The causes of his interstate migration are many and varied, and there is no single solution for those varied causes. But the trouble that we ran up against in getting this resolution through Congress, immediately we mentioned the migrant problem the reply was, "Why it's California's alone." To offset that we went into New York and New Jersey, Congressman Osmers' district, to call the Nation's attention to the fact that it was a national problem. And so we found in New York that they spent $3,000,000 for the care of destitute migrant citizens. We found there had been 5,000 deportations. One of the appellate courts rendered a decision on June 29 and deported an Ohio family. We found in Alabama, Congressman Sparkman's State and the State of the late Speaker Bankhead—Congressman Sparkman couldn't find out how he figured into the picture, and when he checked the record he found out that there were about a thousand of his own people here in California. And in Chicago it is the same way, and in Nebraska and Oklahoma. If we don't do anything else, we will demonstrate that it is a national problem. That is why I like to hear you say what you have been saying.

Doctor Hutchison.

TESTIMONY OF DR. C. B. HUTCHISON

Dr. HUTCHISON. Mr. Chairman, my name is C. B. Hutchison. I am dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of California, and I represent nobody.

The CHAIRMAN. You ought to represent the migrants, then.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have before me a statement I have prepared, Mr. Chairman, having to do with the need of seasonal labor in relation to size of farms in California, which has been compiled from studies made by the college of agriculture and which I thought might be helpful to the committee, and I should like to read it to you, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. How lengthy is it, Doctor?

Dr. HUTCHISON. It is about seven pages.

The CHAIRMAN. You can't hit the high spots? You would rather read it? I won't curtail you in any way.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I am perfectly willing to file it with the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, read it in full, because there must be things in there that you want to get over to us.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Just one point.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

LABOR NEEDS OF CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURE

Dr. HUTCHISON. I think I can do this in about 15 minutes (reading): The total annual requirements for seasonal labor for the planting, growing, and harvesting of the various field, fruit, truck, and miscellaneous crops of California amounted in 1935–36 to 22,467,800 man-days. The requirements by months ranged from a minimum of a little more than 1,000,000 man-days in December and February to a maximum of over 3,000,000 man-days in September.

The proposition which I should like to present for your consideration is that the need for seasonal hired labor on farms in California arises much more from the kind of crops which are grown than from the size of farms upon which they are grown. A corollary to this proposition is that the breaking up of all really large-scale farming operations in the State into size of units which would provide the operator and his family with a reasonable income of say $1.500 to $2,500 a year would not in itself reduce materially the total volume of labor hired.

The kinds of crops which are grown in California are determined to a very large extent by physical factors of soil, climate, topography, and water and by the economic factors of price and cost. California agriculture is characterized both by great diversity and by high specialization of enterprises. Many different kinds of crops and livestock products are produced in this State—over 200 in all—but many farms have only a single enterprise.

Most of the evidence which I shall present is based upon records of operations on many hundreds of farms compiled by the extension specialists in farm management in the College of Agriculture.

First, however, I call your attention to table 1 (see p. 2492), which is based on data given in the census monograph entitled "Large-Scale Farming in the United States, 1929." This table shows for each of several different types of farms the relative acreage of land in the farms classified as large-scale farms and the relative expenditures for hired labor on them. By subtracting each of these percentages from 100 we obtain the relative acreage of land and the relative expenditures for hired labor for all farms other than the large-scale farms. Finally we have computed the ratios of relative expenditures for hired labor by small-scale farms to the relative acreage of land in such farms. These ratios provide some indication of the relative amounts of hired labor that would be required if all large-scale farms were broken up into small-scale farms.

In the case of fruit farms, for example, those which were classified as large-scale farms contained 23 percent of the total farm land in fruit farms and paid out 32.7 percent of the total expenditures by all fruit farms for hired labor. The small-scale fruit farms, therefore, must have contained 77 percent of the total farm land in fruit farms and must have paid out 67.3 percent of the total expenditures by all fruit farms for hired labor. For these small-scale fruit farms the ratio of the relative expenditures for hired labor to relative acreage is 87.4 percent. If the large-scale fruit farms were broken up into small ones, there is no reason to believe that the expenditures for hired labor per acre would be significantly different from that on the existing small-scale farms. Thus after making big fruit farms into little ones, we would still need about 87 percent as much hired labor as before.

The situation with respect to fruit farms is almost identical with that for all farms. On all types of small-scale farms the ratio of relative expenditures for hired labor to relative acreage of land in farms in 87.7 percent. For the different types of farms the ratios range from a low of 60 percent in the case of general farms to a high of 96 percent, in the case of cotton farms.

Some of our most difficult farm-labor problems are in the cotton area, and I do not in any way minimize their importance. But I do wish to call your attention to the fact that the amount of hired labor required for cotton production would, on the basis of these census figures, be reduced by only 4 percent if all of the cotton produced in California in 1929 had been grown on small farms.

The conclusion that relatively little could be accomplished in reducing the need for hired labor on California farms by breaking up those farms which were classified in the census monograph as large-scale farms is not, I think, weakened by the fact that the scale of operations on many of them could more correctly be characterized as moderate than as large. In this connection may I cite just one illustration. According to the census monograph, there were 116 large-scale chicken farms in California in 1929. Of these, however, 68 percent were of a size which can be operated with the help of from 1 to 3 hired men. None of us, I suppose, would consider that a grocery store run by the owner with the aid of from 1 to 3 hired clerks was a really large-scale enterprise. If moderate size operations of the sort just mentioned were excluded from the category of large-scale farms, the breaking up of the remaining ones would have an even smaller effect upon total hired-labor requirements than that indicated above.

I should like to turn now to evidence derived from studies conducted by the college of agriculture.

1. EXAMPLE: PEACH PRODUCTION

Table 2 [1] shows the hours of labor required on a 20-acre cling-peach orchard segregated according to the type of work which must be done to produce a crop of peaches. The figures in the first column indicate the maximum amount of work which the operator is able to do himself; the figures in the second column indicate the minimum amount of work which must be hired. I do not mean to imply that every peach grower on a 20-acre orchard actually does as much of the required work himself as these figures indicate. I merely imply that he could do that much if he had the physical stamina and the inclination.

Let us review these operations item by item. The first is pruning. A total of 900 hours is normally required to prune 20 acres of peach trees. This work must be done when the trees are dormant, but peach trees do not ordinarily stay dormant for a long enough period to permit one man to prune 20 acres. Because of inclement weather the maximum number of days available for pruning does not as a rule exceed 80. Since the dormant period is during the winter months when the days are short, only about 8 hours per day can be worked. The total number of hours which the operator of a 20-acre peach orchard can put in at pruning is about 700. He must, therefore, hire about 200 hours of work in addition.

For such cultural operations as brush disposal, seeding cover crops, and fertilization, all of the necessary labor can be done by the operator.

But with spraying he must have assistance, for the simple reason that it requires three men to operate an efficient spray rig—one man to drive the tractor and two men to handle the spray nozzles.

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[1] See p. 2492.

On cultivation, irrigation, and miscellaneous items the operator can do virtually all of the work.

On any orchard that produces 10 tons of merchantable peaches per acre, which is the yield upon which this table is based, it is necessary to thin heavily in order to secure adequate-sized fruit. The time during which thinning can be done properly is distinctly limited. For any given variety only about 25 days are available. Furthermore, thinning comes at the time when the orchard must be cultivated and irrigated. These conditions make it impossible for the operator to do a large amount of the necessary thinning labor. He must ordinarily hire about 1,600 hours out of the total of 1,800 hours required.

The small amount of work needed for bracing and propping can be done by the operator himself.

Picking and hauling require a large number of man-hours during a relatively short period of time. As a rule, a cling-stone peach orchard consisting of only one variety must be picked within a period of from 10 to 15 days. Most 20-acre peach orchards, however, have two varieties, which permit picking to be spread over a period of about 1 month. A good worker can pick about 1 ton of peaches in a 10-hour day. Hence, on a 20-acre orchard with a 10-ton yield about 2,000 man-hours of labor are needed. The operator can do only a small proportion of this work himself. Over 85 percent of it must be hired.

Out of a total of 5,860 man-hours required to operate a 20-acre peach orchard with a 10-ton yield, 3,810 hours, or 65 percent, must be hired.

Now, a 20-acre peach orchard is not a large-size operation. With prices equal to the average of the past 5 years and a yield per acre of 10 tons, which is considerable above the State average, it would require about 25 acres of cling peaches to produce a net farm income of $1,500 a year when the operator does all of the manual labor which it is possible for him to do and has his land, improvements, and equipment free of debt. If he has a mortgage of $200 an acre at 4½ percent interest, which is by no means an unusual situation, he and his family must live on less than $1,300 a year.

The example of a 20-acre peach orchard has been chosen because that is the minimum-size unit which will provide maximum employment to the operator at manual labor. He could not perform any more hours of manual work during the year on a 25, 30, or even a 100-acre peach orchard. On all orchards above 20 acres in size the operator has to hire a larger proportion of the work done. On a 25-acre orchard, for example, 72 percent of the work must be hired.

Even though a 20-acre cling-peach orchard is not large enough to provide an adequate living for the operator and his family, let us see how much hired labor would be needed on one-half that size. Except for spraying, one man can do all of the cultural labor required on a 10-acre peach orchard, but he must have help in thinning and in picking and in hauling. In total he can perform 51 percent of the manual labor required, but he must hire 49 percent. Thus, even on a cling-peach orchard much too small in size to support him the operator must depend upon hired labor for one-half of the required manual work.

2. COTTON FARM

Now, let us see what the situation is in the case of a 40-acre cotton farm. The detailed figures are shown in table 3.[1] The operator can do all of the work himself up to and including planting, but he must have help in chopping, irrigating, and picking. In the aggregate he can do 2,000 hours of productive manual work but must hire 4,160 hours of work, or 67 percent of the total. On a 20-acre cotton farm the operator can do about one-half of the required work and must hire the other half.

It is not to be supposed that even a 40-acre cotton farm is large enough to provide the operator and his family with an adequate living. With yields per acre considerably above the State average and prices equal to the average of the past 5 years, 64 acres of cotton would be necessary in order to produce a net farm income of $1,500 a year even though the operator did all of the work which he could and was free of debt. On a cotton farm of 64 acres 80 percent of the work must be hired.

Certain summary figures relating to labor requirements and size of farms for walnuts, oranges, apricots, raisin grapes, prunes, barley, and sugar beets, as well as for clingstone peaches and cotton are given in tables 4[1] and 5,[2] which I present for your consideration. In general these figures reveal the same situation as that discussed in connection with clingstone peaches and cotton. On a scale of operation sufficient in size to provide the operator and his family with a net farm income of even $1,500 a year, a large proportion of the manual labor must be hired. With crops having high seasonal labor requirements, a decrease in the size of the farm reduces the proportion of labor that must be hired only slightly.

DIVERSIFICATION OF CROPS TO STAGGER PEAK SEASONAL JOBS

Diversification has sometimes been advanced as a means of eliminating the need for seasonal hired labor on California farms. This subject is entirely too complex to discuss here. I merely want to call your attention to the illustration given in the bottom row of table 5. In our cotton area one of the most satisfactory types of crop diversification is one-half alfalfa, one-fourth cotton, and one-fourth sugar beets. It permits the staggering of peak seasonal jobs and serves to maintain soil fertility and prevent soil erosion. Also it furnishes work to the operator during most of the year. He can put in about 2,500 hours a year, which is equivalent to 250 10-hour days or 312 8-hour days. However, on a 68-acre alfalfa-cotton-sugar beet farm, which is the minimum size necessary to provide a net farm income of $1,500 a year, 35 percent of the total labor must be hired.

I conclude, therefore, that so long as we continue to grow the crops we now grow in California, just so long will California farms require more labor than can be furnished by the operators themselves. The elimination of seasonal hired labor on California farms can only be brought about by either the elimination of most of our present specialty crops or by such a reduction in the size of farm units that the farmers of the State would be reduced virtually to a peonage level. Some reduction in the volume of seasonal hired labor required can be secured by a decrease in the size of farms, but such reduction will be relatively small unless the sizes of farms are reduced materially below those necessary to produce net farm incomes of even as little as $1,500 a year.

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[1] See p. 2493.
[2] See p. 2494.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(Tables referred to are as follows:)

TABLE 1.—*Comparison of large-scale and small-scale farms in California in 1929 with respect to acreage of land in farms and expenditures for hired labor*

Type of farm	Large-scale		Small-scale		
	Acres of land in farms (1)	Expenditure for hired labor (2)	Acres of land in farms (3)	Expenditure for hired labor (4)	Ratio of column 4 to column 3 (5)
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Truck	39.0	53.4	61.0	46.6	76.4
Fruit	23.0	32.7	77.0	67.3	87.4
Cash-grain	20.2	31.1	79.8	68.9	86.3
Cotton	38.0	40.5	62.0	59.5	96.0
General	8.8	45.4	91.2	54.6	59.9
Crop specialty	12.2	31.4	87.8	68.6	78.1
Dairy	11.1	31.3	88.9	68.7	77.3
Stock ranch	35.8	44.5	64.2	55.5	86.4
Poultry	4.3	23.0	95.7	77.0	80.5
Animal specialty	9.2	29.7	90.8	70.3	77.4
All types	25.4	34.6	74.6	65.4	87.7

Sources of data: Columns 1 and 2: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Census of Agriculture, 1930, Large-Scale Farming in the United States, 1929, table 4, p. 25.
Column 3: 100 minus column 1.
Column 4: 100 minus column 2.
Column 5: Column 4 divided by column 3.

TABLE 2.—*Man-labor operations required to grow 20 acres cling peaches in California, showing quantity of labor fruit grower could do and amount he must hire*

	Hours operator labor	Hours hired labor	Total
Cultural labor:			
Pruning, November to March	700	200	900
Brush disposal	80		80
Seed cover crop	20		20
Fertilize	40		40
Spray, 3 times	60	120	180
Cultivate	140		140
Irrigate	400		400
Miscellaneous	80		80
Subtotal cultural	1,520	320	1,840
Thinning, propping, and harvest:			
Thinning, May to July	200	1,600	1,800
Brace and prop	60		60
Pick and haul	270	1,890	2,160
Total	2,050	3,810	5,860

Source of data: Based upon records secured by the Agricultural Extension Service, College of Agriculture, University of California.

TABLE 3.—*Man-labor operations required to grow 40 acres of cotton in California yielding 700 pounds lint and 1,300 pounds seed, showing quantity of labor operator could do and amount that must be hired*

Operation	Hours, operator labor	Hours, hired labor	Total
Cultural operations:			
Plow and disk	120	....	120
Check and irrigate before planting	240	....	240
Harrow before planting (twice)	40	....	40
Plant	40	....	40
Chop	....	240	240
Hoe twice	240	....	240
Cultivate	200	....	200
Irrigate	400	400	800
Subtotal cultural	1, 280	640	1, 920
Picking	480	3, 520	4, 000
Weighing	160	....	160
Hauling	80	....	80
Total	2, 000	4, 160	6, 160

Source of data: Based upon records secured by the Agricultural Extension Service, College of Agriculture, University of California.

TABLE 4.—*Acreage required to provide maximum employment particable for the farm operator and effect of size reduction on hired-labor requirement*

Enterprise	Assumed good yield per acre	Total hours labor per acre	Number of acres		Operator's labor, hours per acre	Total hours labor		Percent labor hired
						Operator	Hired	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Walnuts (irrigated)	1, 500 pounds	98	40	------	38	1, 500	2, 400	62
			------	20	50	1, 000	960	48
Oranges (Southern California).	240 packaged boxes.	147	30	------	70	2, 100	2, 310	52
			------	15	75	1, 125	1, 080	49
Apricots	6 tons (fresh)	417	20	------	120	2, 400	5, 940	71
			------	10	160	1, 600	2. 570	62
Clingstone peaches	10 tons	293	20	------	102	2, 050	3, 810	65
			------	10	150	1. 500	1. 430	49
Raisin grapes	2 tons (dried)	154	30	------	75	2, 250	2, 370	51
			------	15	97	1, 450	860	37
Prunes	do	166	30	------	66	2, 000	2, 980	60
			------	15	83	1, 250	1, 240	50
Barley on summer fallow.	1,600 pounds average harvest.	4	[2] 400	------	2	800	800	50
			------	[2] 200	2	400	400	50
Cotton	700 pounds lint, 2,000 pounds seed.	154	40	------	50	2, 000	4, 160	67
			------	20	75	1, 500	1, 580	51
Sugar beets	15 tons	87	100	------	20	2, 000	6, 700	77
			------	50	24	1, 200	3, 150	72
One-half alfalfa, one-quarter cotton, one-quarter sugar beets.	6 tons alfalfa	87	60	------	40	2, 430	2, 805	54
			------	30	67	2, 000	618	23

[1] The figures in column 3 represent the minimum acreage which will provide the maximum number of hours of work for the operator.

[2] Harvested.

Sources of data: The above calculations are based upon a considerable number of records from enterprise management studies conducted by the Agricultural Extension Service, College of Agriculture, University of California in recent years. The yields assumed are above average for the State but approximate those of the better producers. The total hours of labor per acre are for the yields shown and include both operator's and hired labor. The minimum acreage to provide reasonable full employment for the operator is based upon a study of the various operations and varies with the distribution of work throughout the year.

TABLE 5.—*Minimum acreage at good yields and 5-year average prices to produce a net farm income of $1,500 a year for a working farm owner and operator free from debt*

Enterprise or kind of farm 1	Good yield per acre 2[1]	5-year average price 1935-39 3[2]	Gross income per acre 4[3]	Cash costs, labor and depreciation per acre 5[4]	Capital and mortgage income per acre 6[5]	Value operator's labor per acre 7[6]	Net farm income per acre 8[7]	Acres to provide $1,500 9[8]	Percent of labor hire 10[9]	State average yield 1935-39 11[10]
Walnuts (irrigated)	1,500 pounds	10 cents a pound	$150.00	$96.89	$53.11	$14.00	$67.11	22.4	52	800 pounds.
Oranges	240 packed boxes	$1.17 per box	280.80	204.50	76.30	22.20	98.50	15.2	50	169 packaged boxes.
Apricots (three-fourths dried).	6 fresh tons	$34.60 fresh ton, 10½ cents pound dry.	240.71	206.47	34.24	35.00	69.24	21.7	72	3.4 tons fresh.
Clingstone peaches	10 tons orchard run	$21.26 orchard run	212.60	177.00	35.60	24.80	60.40	24.8	72	8.1 tons.
Raisin grapes	2 tons dried	$55.83 per ton	111.66	90.81	20.85	15.90	36.75	40.8	67	1.33 tons dried.
Prunes	do	$60.60 per ton	121.20	120.00	1.20	[11] 20.00	--------	([12])	--------	1.5 tons dried.
Barley on summer fallow	1,600 pounds per average harvest.	$1.04	[13] 17.39	9.91	7.48	.60	[14] 8.08	[15] 371.2	50	1,310 pounds.
Cotton	700 pounds lint, 1,300 pounds seed.	10 cents a pound lint, $1.10 seed.	[16] 84.30	70.23	14.07	9.30	23.37	64.2	80	582 pounds.
Sugar beets	15 tons and tops	$6.50 ton	[17] 100.50	59.50	41.00	7.20	48.20	31.1	72	13.8 tons.
Division: one-half alfalfa, one-fourth cotton, one-fourth sugar beets.	Alfalfa, 6 tons; others as above.	$9 ton alfalfa	73.20	61.40	11.80	11.16	22.96	65.3	55	4.3 tons alfalfa.

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[1] Assumed good yields based on enterprise-management studies, Agricultural Extension Service.
[2] California Cooperative-Crop Reporting Service "farm price" except orange, apricots, peaches, sugar beets, eggs, and beef from enterprise-management studies.
[3] Gross income per acre is yield times price plus byproducts such as stubble, tops, etc.
[4] Cash, labor, and depreciation costs per acre from standards for these yields developed by Agricultural Extension Service from enterprise-management study records.
[5] Capital and management income, column 4 less column 5.
[6] Value operator's labor per acre is maximum possible on this size farm at 30 cents an hour.
[7] Net farm income, column 6 plus column 7.
[8] Acres to provide $1,500, column 8 divided into $1,500.
[9] Percent of labor hired is total labor needed divided into labor which must be hired after allowing for maximum operator's labor.
[10] State average yield 1935-39; simple average of annual yields from California Cooperative Crop Reporting Service.
[11] At 30 acres.
[12] Impossible.
[13] Including straw.
[14] Harvest average.
[15] Including summer fallow.
[16] Including seed.
[17] Including tops.

TESTIMONY OF DR. M. R. BENEDICT—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Benedict, do you have anything to present?

Dr. BENEDICT. I am not representing anyone. I came by request, and I didn't prepare a statement because I wasn't expecting to be called on.

There are just one or two things that I would like to emphasize, and these are more fully developed in my statement before what is known as the La Follette committee and I think need not be repeated here.

One of those is the fact that from 1930 to 1940 our use of hired agricultural labor in California has not been increasing. There has been practically a flat trend.

During that same period we have had a good many thousands of new families coming into the State, a large number of which are seeking work in agriculture. That, of course, is resulting in the same conditions that occur in any oversupplied labor market where there is not an organized labor group. It means a spreading of the work, shorter periods of employment for each worker.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. DEVELOP INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY IN AREAS OF SURPLUS LABOR

That leads me to this conclusion: That one of the things that might well be explored, either by such a committee as this, or by the other agencies of the Government, is the possibility of developing certain kinds of industrial activity in areas of especially large accumulations of labor through some type of special assistance in getting them started.

I described very briefly in the other statement I mentioned a practice that has been used in the British Isles for some years in that connection and which has apparently been fairly successful. The advantage to that seems to me to be that the capital investment per worker employed has been considerably less than in trying to set them up in agriculture and that it has been possible to absorb workers much more rapidly and in larger numbers than through efforts at establishment in agriculture. I do not mean that as a suggestion that there be no attempt to establish some of these people in agriculture. My feeling is that not enough of these people can be taken care of there, in a short period, to solve the problem.

2. CHECK SPEED OF DISPLACEMENT BY MECHANIZATION

Along with that another aspect that seems to me worth exploring is that of possible checks on the speed of displacement in particularly the southern Plains States. The introduction of the tractor has gone on at a very rapid rate there, and various studies show very significant reductions in the numbers of farmers in those States. Many of those displaced people are tending to come this way.

I can't go into the merits or demerits of the introduction of mechanical processes on farms in the brief time here, but there is a very marked problem presented by the rate at which that occurs, just as there was a marked problem in the older countries during the time of the industrial revolution. The speed with which the change occurred created tremendous hardship, and it may be that some means could be found for slowing up that process.

I think I will not prolong this, Mr. Chairman, except to say that if there are any specific questions that I can answer I will be glad to do that. But most of what I would say is covered in published material of one kind or another and is available to the committee if they should wish it.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had extensive testimony on the mechanization proposition.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think your report showed—any one of you gentlemen can answer that—that since 1935 there were 850,000 migrants who came into this State. Of that number, what proportion could be classed as "destitute migrant citizens"?

Mr. ROBINSON. Well, not using the word "destitute," but using the words "families in which the breadwinners were in need of manual employment"——

The CHAIRMAN (interrupting). That's right; yes.

Mr. ROBINSON (continuing). As I remember it, 390,000 have been recorded in one way or another as members of families in which the bread-winners were in actual need of manual employment.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, as we have said heretofore, the causes of this migration are varied and there is no single solution. And speaking for myself personally, I cannot get it into my head that you can stop migration.

Now, you can't put fertility in some of that soil back there that I looked at. In Nebraska, for instance, Congressman Curtis' district, half of his congressional district has left there, and they try their level best and they want to stay home, but they are not going to die starving sitting down, don't you see.

So I hope you gentlemen will agree with me. Some people have arrived at the solution 100 percent, "have them stay home."

Well, now, with this worn-out soil and this excessive mechanization, Doctor, as you have mentioned, and the windstorms and the droughts there comes a time when they can't stay home; that's all. And for 150 years through Congress and through the courts—Mr. Robinson knows—we spent millions to protect the free flow of commodities between different States. But we have been pretty lax with the human interstate commerce, and we are really on the initial step of any solution. But I want to say to you that the State Chamber of Commerce's report was extremely helpful to us in Washington, and I know that it will be extremely helpful to us in this final report and I want to compliment you on it. You have set out the facts, and you did it in a temperate way that was very, very appealing to the people who read it back there. And I say to you furthermore that this committee hasn't any preconceived notions as to just what the solutions are or what the recommendations are to be. But we think that through you and other witnesses we have attracted the Nation's attention to this problem and we certainly will do the very best we can. You have been very helpful to us.

If there is nothing else that you want to present, why, we thank you for your appearance here, gentlemen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask just one or two questions, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I want to ask a question of Doctor Hutchison. I have been very much interested in following your statement and also in following these tables that you have given. I think they are quite illuminating and set up this question of big and little farming in a light in which I, at least, had not seen it before.

But in considering the labor of the operator, I wonder what you have done about the labor of other members of the family? Is that included as his own labor, or have you regarded them as hired labor?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, these are calculated on the basis of the operator.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is, the one individual?

Dr. HUTCHISON. The one individual.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, if he has children who can cooperate with him, the effect of it would be to reduce that acreage, wouldn't it, in order to get the family income, if you still adhere to $1,500 as the economic income?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes, and he could handle more acreage.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, it would require less acreage to get the $1,500.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes. He would sell himself more of his labor on the farm.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Let's take cling peaches again. I hope I am not emphasizing cling peaches, but it happens that in no other place in the world that I know anything about have they been able to grow cling peaches as well as we grow them in California.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not even excepting Georgia?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I am not excepting Georgia. I say "cling peaches," sir.

Mr. ROBINSON. You have the freestone.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, the Georgia peach is a cling; is it not?

Dr. HUTCHISON. It takes a man—a man can pick, can harvest an acre of peaches in about 10 days. Now, they have all got to be harvested in that time or else they have spoiled. If the man's wife is as good a peach picker as he is and they are depending on their own labor exclusively, they can grow 2 acres of peaches and that is all. If they try to grow 3 acres of peaches, they have got to have help from the outside. If he has got a good husky boy, again as good a laborer as he is or his wife is, the family could grow 3 acres of peaches.

Mr. ROBINSON. And do all the picking.

Dr. HUTCHISON. And do all the picking themselves.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. I surely would not advocate the complete exclusion of hired labor. But I was——

Dr. **Hutchison** (interrupting). The point I wanted to make is that as long as we grow the specialty crops in California, just so long must we depend upon outside help. We talk a lot about family-size farms, and I want to make it clear that we cannot have the family-size farm in California and continue to grow the kind of crops that we now grow. That is the point I wanted to make.

Mr. **Sparkman**. By the way, I don't know that this is of any importance, but I notice under "prunes" you say it is impossible to have a sufficient number of acres to get the required income?

Dr. **Hutchison**. I mean it is impossible to do all the labor in the family and get it. In other words, no farm family could do all the labor in producing a crop of prunes and still make enough during the year to live on. That is true.

GRANTS-IN-AID

Mr. **Sparkman**. Now, I would like to ask Mr. Robinson just one question. I was very much interested in one of your recommendations in here.

Mr. **Robinson**. On what page?

Mr. **Sparkman**. Page 26 of the report, I believe. Yes. [Reading:]

> That consideration be given by Congress to a grant-in-aid or such other emergency program as might be developed to supplement local general relief aids is the States of out-migration, and to remove the most glaring discrepancies in these and other public welfare aids available to needy people. That in the development of such a program, consideration also be given to the desirability of matching grants on a basis of per capita wealth or other measure of relative ability to pay.

I am very glad to see that recommendation because I think that undoubtedly we must change our method of making grants-in-aid if we are to accomplish the thing that we have started out to do. Of course, you recognize it—we all do—as a joint problem. It is a local problem, but somewhere along the way the Federal Government must come into it.

You say there:

> * * * the desirability of matching grants on a basis of per capita wealth or other measure of relative ability to pay.

Have you given consideration to legislation, I mean the proposition of actually drawing the legislation that would bring about such a thing as you recommend?

Mr. **Robinson**. No; we have not gone that far, but would be very glad, if the committee is interested, to dig into it.

Mr. **Sparkman**. I don't know about the committee, but I personally am, and I might say that at the beginning of this last session of Congress I introduced an amendment to the Social Security Act to make the grants for old-age assistance, I believe I limited it to that, upon just such a basis, and I had a terrible time.

Mr. **Robinson**. Yes. Can you give us a reference to that bill so our staff can study it?

Mr. **Sparkman**. I would have to look it up. I enlisted all of the legislative counsel, and we had a terrible time drawing the bill.

I'll tell you. I discussed it with the Social Security Board first, and they recommended it, you know, sometime after I had discussed it with them. They recognized the difficulty of amending the law.

Finally I hit upon this scheme, and I would be glad to have your reaction to it: Of making it discretionary with the Social Security Board to determine when a State had paid what it was able to pay. Then after that time they might excuse the State from matching the balance of it.

The only precedent that I could find in Federal legislation was a similar provision in the Hayden-Cartwright Act of 1936, carried forward in 1938. That is the Federal Highway Aid Act. There was a provision carried in that that when a State had done all that it felt it could do and was not able to match all of it, then the Federal Bureau of Roads, on such a finding, might pay the balance of the Federal funds over to the State without the need of their matching it.

I just wonder what your reaction is?

Mr. ROBINSON. Dr. Benedict has a thought here. Would you express it first, Doctor, on this very question?

Dr. BENEDICT. Last year I spent a little time in the British Isles rather looking for types of procedure that might fit this kind of situation we are dealing with, and one of those that might be of interest in connection with your problem is the arrangement they have for full relief for the so-called depressed areas and those taxing districts that have been going down in prosperity. What they have had there is a declining industrial and tax base with an increasing load for relief, and it was getting, in many of the areas, to a place where the local support simply couldn't carry it. And that is not so different from the thing we have had in some of drought areas and other areas that have been declining for some time in prosperity.

Now, they have a system of more or less arbitrarily determining block grants which they make to these areas. Now, that, I think, wouldn't fit into our governmental scheme, but it would seem to me it might be possible to establish a criterion in terms of the relation of the relief load to the income of the community and get away from the arbitrary feature of it and still carry on very much the same sort of program, and that, if I understand correctly, is what you had in mind.

They are able to do certain things with their form of government on a basis more of personal decision than we are able to do in ours. Their procedure is not quite so formal.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, we must more or less lay down a rule in the legislation by which to go.

Dr. BENEDICT. Yes.

Mr. ROBINSON. Picking up the answer to your question, I think it is perfectly plain. We have increasing in the country a condition where certain areas are, in truth, distressed and may be for a long time. And the alternatives are that the people will either flee from those places to other places where they may be little better off, or we will, out of our whole national economic pot, dig in and give succor and support and sustenance to people in those especially distressed areas. I see in it a parallel with an emergency which is acute. When we had the fire and earthquake in San Francisco and everything was paralyzed for a short time, the whole country poured in its aid. San Francisco picked itself up.

We have situations coming in the United States where the emergency is not the short shock of an earthquake or the quick wreck of fire, but months and sometimes years of tribulation. And we are bound, while we are economically competent as a nation, to give our aid to areas of that type.

Now, I would say in answer specifically to your question: Yes; provided there are some standards set for the conduct of the administrative officer. Otherwise he is put on an awful spot, and the community may be, too, if there were no rules, general regulations and standards of measurement for his guidance.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Mr. Robinson, I think you have a point there. If on account of an earthquake or any other disaster 395,000 people were compelled to move from the State of Pennsylvania to the State of Ohio—not over 5 years but over 24 hours—the Congress of the United States would probably convene in special session to take care of it.

Mr. ROBINSON. You have done it in flood situations.

Mr. OSMERS. I should like to question Mr. Robinson and Dr. Hutchison for a minute.

We have devoted a great deal of time since you have completed your prepared statements on the questions as to immediate relief, the crisis and emergency phase of the problem. Frankly, I am more interested in the future of the problem than I am in whether it is the W. P. A., Farm Security, Social Security or some other immediate relieving agency. Sooner or later these people that have migrated to California and elsewhere will have to assume their place in the economic picture of our country. That is why I was particularly interested in what Dr. Hutchison had to say with respect to farm units and income and future possibilities.

SMALL-SCALE FARMING INCREASING

Now, would you say, Dr. Hutchison, that from your studies, which have been as complete as any I have heard, that in California large-scale farming or small-scale farming is indicated for the future of this State?

Dr. HUTCHISON. The number of farms in California has been increasing for decades. The amount of land in farms has not increased. Therefore, one must draw the conclusion that the average size of farms has been decreasing in California ever since the days of the Spanish Dons.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you consider that a sound economic evolution, the reduction in the size of the farm in California?

Dr. HUTCHISON. It has gone too far.

Mr. OSMERS. It has gone too far?

Dr. HUTCHISON. In many cases. We have today in many areas in California farms of too small a size to permit making a decent living on them for the operator.

TOTAL FARM EMPLOYMENT AVAILABLE

Mr. **Sparkman.** Now, leaving this farm owner for a minute and going to the worker, taking into consideration distance, the type of farming and the type of worker, what is the maximum employment in a year that a migrant farm worker could expect in the State of California?

If conditions were ideal all around, if he went from crop to crop within reasonable distances, how much total employment out of a year could he expect to have?

Dr. **Hutchison.** Well, it varies. And my opening statement is attempting to point out that the total amount of farm work available is about a million man-days in December and February.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Up to 3,000,000 in September?

Dr. **Hutchison.** Up to 3,000,000 in September.

Mr. **Sparkman.** I recall your statement very thoroughly. What I wanted to get at is the individual worker now. I want to find out whether he can work 6 months a year or 8 months a year or 3 months a year?

Dr. **Hutchison.** In some industries, of course, he can work 12 months a year.

Mr. **Sparkman.** In agricultural pursuits?

Dr. **Hutchison.** In agricultural pursuits.

Mr. **Sparkman.** By moving around?

Dr. **Hutchison.** No. In some cases he can stay right on the same farm and do it; the dairy farm, for example.

Mr. **Sparkman.** I was thinking of the migrant within the State of California, the man that might pick cotton and pick fruit.

Dr. **Hutchison.** You are speaking of people who are picking cotton and fruit?

Mr. **Sparkman.** That's right.

Dr. **Hutchison.** Well, I doubt if one could find continuous employment in those industries more than 6 months.

Mr. **Sparkman.** That's the point that I wanted to make because all the witnesses have said that while working, these migrant farm workers are not grossly underpaid, but if they are only working 6 months a year, they are going to be a public responsibility for the other half of the year.

Dr. **Hutchison.** That's right. It seems, Mr. Congressman, to me rather important that one thing that might be done would be to aid the people whose labor we need in the peak seasons, and enable them to get located on small holdings where they can make the major portion of their table requirements out of their own labor, and that of their own families, when they are not working for some other farmer and thus be available to the other man in the peak seasons.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Now, of course, I don't know whether the east coast is better off because it is longer established, or whether it has a longer range of seasons, but it has not the same problem that is here. It is possible for them to work nearly 12 months a year, starting from there and coming up to New Jersey for potatoes and cranberries, and on back. And we have had another situation there that has helped.

We have had large cities like Philadelphia and New York and New Orleans where certain nationalities or groups would come out in the summer almost as a vacation, or, opportunity to get in the country, and they would work for 6 or 8 weeks and go back to their city homes and city occupations, and it would relieve that strain.

Dr. HUTCHISON. We have long done that in California.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have done that, too?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes. A large portion of the seasonal labor in the past has come from local towns and local communities.

Mr. ROBINSON. Wouldn't you say that that has been changed in the last few years to a considerable degree, Dr. Hutchison, by reason of the influx of migrants who want every bit of work there is?

Dr. HUTCHISON. That's the point I am getting to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, of course, it upsets normal labor rotation if you have a great new pool of workers.

Dr. HUTCHISON. My proposal is that in our attempts to absorb the migrants into our economy and into our society, that we enable them to take their place in the communities in exactly the same way as the other people of those communities.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I feel it is rather unfortunate that you isolate them, to build islands of them. I would rather see them—take the city of Fresno as an illustration, or the city of Stockton. I would like to see more of these people located on small holdings in the periphery of those cities, where, as I say, they could make a major portion of their table requirements themselves and be available for work on the ranches or in the towns, any place they can get to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think that is very sound, Doctor.

I want to ask Mr. Robinson just one or two questions. Do you feel that the situation, as indicated by all of the testimony here, Mr. Robinson, indicates the need for the extension of the Wage and Hour Act, Social Security or Unemployment Compensation into the field of agricultural work?

Mr. ROBINSON. You ask a very difficult question. In the abstract by any process of reasoning, any test of what you might call abstract justice, there is no reason that I can see why the man who works in agriculture hasn't just the same human rights and social rights to unemployment insurance, to old-age pensions, to the other aids, to organization, collective bargaining, and the like, that any other worker has, in industry or elsewhere. As an abstraction I think there is no gainsaying that, and I believe that to be sound philosophy. But when you come to the practical application of these things, you run into extraordinary difficulties. It happens that I have to do, among other things, with an industry in which there are a great many seasonal workers, a manufacturing industry: Canning in California. And to that industry all of these benefits apply, and nearly all of our industry operates on the basis of collective bargaining and is unionized. The normal employment throughout the year will be about 12,000 and the seasonal employment will jump to 60,000. So you see there are pretty close to 50,000 seasonal workers there.

The practical operation of collective bargaining and the practical operation of unemployment insurance, and all of the other social legislation to those seasonal workers, after 4 years of sincere effort on both sides and with the policy makers in the industry absolutely sympathetic toward and supporting all of these things, it's very unsatisfactory yet. It is a hard thing to keep track of when you have, in an industry, 60,000 seasonal workers. The administration of the unemployment benefits—I will express it very mildly when I say that it is highly unsatisfactory and that it is not particularly the fault of anybody in government position. It is the nature of the task.

The agriculture migrant is much harder to keep track of than the seasonal worker in a factory who normally comes back year after year to the same place. The very keeping of the records, the having any knowledge of whether a man or a woman is entitled to this or that right or benefit is going to be extremely difficult until we have gone much further in organizing and ordering our life than we have yet in this country.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Robinson, or, in fact, Dr. Hutchison, I would just like to ask a general question. Has the State of California done anything to adapt its primary and secondary educational systems to the needs of the day?

Mr. ROBINSON. I defer to my professorial friend, but I in my turn would like to give an answer to that question.

Dr. HUTCHINSON. I think you had better hear from Mr. Robinson.

Mr. ROBINSON. My answer is "No" with three or four black lines under it!

Mr. OSMERS. That makes it unanimous with my own findings all over the United States.

Mr. ROBINSON. That's the reason why I included that in the statement which I personally presented.

Mr. OSMERS. I want to high light something you said, Mr. Robinson, and I think it is something we are going to have to consider in a great many of our deliberations, and that is the war boom which is now being imposed upon a depressed economy is going to lead America to the greatest depression that we have ever seen before. I want to high light that in your testimony.

Mr. ROBINSON. I would be very glad to have you make that statement, sir, because no more practical and no more profound observation could be made in this hearing than what you have just made.

The CHAIRMAN. I may say for the record that this committee was not appointed to be great prophets into the future.

Mr. OSMERS. I would say that the committee was appointed, Mr. Chairman—to have my first disagreement with you—to be prophets into the future, because everybody knows what has happened in the past.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not disagreeing with me.

Mr. OSMERS. We have been appointed as prophets into the future. We are probably poor ones, being but human clay. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, gentlemen, if you will excuse us at this time, we have certainly given more time than we have contemplated, but it has been very interesting, and I know it will be a very valuable contribution to the findings of this committee.

Mr. LUNDBERG. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the committee, I want to thank you and say to you that we will be glad to cooperate in any way in the future we can.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

(Witnesses excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in recess for 5 minutes.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken after which proceedings were resumed as follows:)

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee will be in order, please.

Mr. Pomeroy.

TESTIMONY OF HAROLD POMEROY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, HOUSING AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF SACRAMENTO, SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you mind stating your full name and background to the reporter?

Mr. POMEROY. Harold Pomeroy. I am at present the executive director for the housing authority of the city of Sacramento and the housing authority of the county of Sacramento.

I have a background of having been State relief administrator for California for 2½ years, having been in relief work prior to that time for a year and a half; had municipal experience back of that in State work with the League of California Cities and experience of approximately a year and a quarter as executive secretary of the Associated Farmers of California.

Mr. OSMERS. That makes a rather unusual background and one that I think would be helpful to the committee. Mr. Pomeroy, have you a prepared statement that you would like to submit to the committee?

Mr. POMEROY. I will give the reporter a copy of a report, made in connection with my work, on a survey of substandard dwellings, including trailer camps and shack towns in a part of Sacramento County.

(The report was marked as an exhibit and appears below:)

REPORT OF SURVEY OF SUBSTANDARD DWELLINGS IN A PORTION OF THE COUNTY OF SACRAMENTO MADE TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE HOUSING AUTHORITY OF THE COUNTY OF SACRAMENTO BY THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SEPTEMBER 5, 1940

Only those dwelling places which appeared to be substandard in one or more respects, as judged from street observation, were reported upon by the survey workers. This restriction was the result of the desire of the authority to cover certain known areas of poor housing in a small portion of the county, where there is a concentration of several spots of various types of severely substandard housing.

The area covered extended, roughly, in a strip about 1½ miles wide north from the north city limits of the city of Sacramento, between the Sacramento River and Sixteenth Street, for a distance of approximately 5 miles to North Avenue. The principal types of substandard housing spotted in this area are as follows:

1. Trailer camps.
2. Shack towns, where tents and scrap-lumber shelters are erected on rented land (the outstanding shack-town development is known as Louie's Camp).
3. Auto courts.
4. Subdivisions catering to very low-income families, where lots are purchased for small initial and monthly payments, and the families live in makeshift home-

made accommodations, and then attempt to build homes piecemeal with their own labor.

5. Scattered owned and rented dwellings in normal residential subdivisions and a few isolated dwellings on roads and highways.

The survey commenced on August 19 and was terminated on August 31. Eight survey workers were employed at the rate of $130 a month. Five were former State relief administration employees, experienced in family interviewing and with extensive knowledge of the conditions which would be encountered in this survey. One was a recent graduate of the University of California, who studied housing and understands thoroughly the aims and purposes of public housing; one was a former banker, whose appraisal experience was valuable in connection with reporting upon the condition of dwelling structures and in interviewing families; one was a former route man for a commercial establishment, whose experience in calling upon families and his knowledge of the territory were valuable.

The total cost of the survey, including travel at the rate of 5 cents a mile, was $467.23. This excludes office work, mimeographing the forms used, tallying the survey schedules, summarizing the information, and preparing this report.

Because of the widely varying conditions under which families in the area surveyed are known to live, because of the several distinct types of housing, and because of the importance of learning considerable about the residence of families, sources of income, steadiness of employment, and the desires and attitudes of families, a special survey form was designed and used. A copy of one of the completed forms is in the appendix.

The survey workers were expected to learn something of the desires and attitudes of low-income families living in substandard dwelling places and to make comments concerning conditions and the need and market for low-rent public housing projects. Each worker was requested to prepare a summary at the close of the survey. The workers were not directed as to what they should say or emphasize in their summaries because of a desire to secure their own free impressions, reactions, and conclusions. The unchanged summary of each worker is in the appendix.

A study of the survey reports, an analysis of the tabulation, and a study of the summaries prepared by the survey workers disclose the following:

1. Most of the families occupying substandard dwellings are permanent residents of the county rather than transients or migrants; 79 percent have lived here more than 3 years; 62 percent have lived here from 5 years to life.

2. A majority of the families interviewed have incomes from private earnings which are large enough to permit them to pay for decent dwelling accommodations provided in a Housing Authority project. Very few have sufficient incomes to permit them to pay for decent dwelling accommodations by their own efforts. Sixty-eight percent of the families surveyed have incomes of more than $600 a year from private earnings.

3. A desire for better living conditions on the part of most of the families occupying substandard and inadequate dwellings.

4. A tendency among the older people to accept bad living conditions as inevitable and to believe that there is probably nothing they can do now to better their situations.

5. One of the principal reasons the majority of the families are living in outlying areas is because of inability to get decent dwelling accommodations in the city of Sacramento of adequate size for growing families.

6. Efforts of the lowest income families to achieve home ownership, however inadequate, seems to result principally from a pressing desire for the security this will afford against uncertainty as to where to live, excessive rents, and evictions.

7. In a considerable number of cases, families attempting to buy land for home sites and build home-made shacks piecemeal are found to be doing so because they are unable to solve their housing problems in any other manner. Many families now attempting to buy, stated they would prefer to rent or buy decent, well-planned, low-cost houses but that none are available within their means. It appears that for all practical purposes, these families are outside any satisfactory existing market. It is apparently impossible for private owners to serve the vast majority of the families covered in the survey, with any sort of decent housing opportunities.

8. Low-income families who are renting are in most instances paying excessively for the accommodations they secure.

9. Many of those owning property are making payments which are excessive in relation to their incomes.

10. Some of the families living in house trailers and in other inadequate accommodations could pay more than their present accommodations cost, but there is nothing available in Sacramento within their means.

11. Nearly all of the homemade dwellings are inadequate as to size, foundations, kind, and manner of construction and utilities, and as a result are substandard from the outset.

12. Most of the families attempting to construct home-made houses are unsuccessful due to economic inability to finance the cost of necessary materials and equipment and because of lack of skill and capacity and the absence of guidance in executing their plans to achieve home ownership.

13. While only a few families are raising gardens, chickens, and rabbits, many would do so if space, water, facilities, and tools were available.

14. Many of the families are improperly located in relation to employment and community facilities.

15. In the subdivisions, where families are buying land and constructing home-made houses, streets, drainage, sanitation, and utilities are either inadequate or completely lacking. These conditions constitute a severe handicap.

16. Comparatively few of the families surveyed receive their incomes solely from agricultural employment. Some are seasonally employed in agriculture, and many are seasonally employed in canneries near Sacramento, and are intermittently employed in various other types of work. A considerable number are steadily employed. Some of the families with incomes from seasonal employment are likely to be on relief from time to time during off-seasons.

The 1299 survey forms were reported and tabulated. It was not possible to secure complete information for each dwelling and family. In some instances families refused to answer all of the questions asked, or were so vague on certain points that the information secured was not reliable enough to record. A few families were away temporarily for seasonal employment, but were retaining their dwelling places. There were 78 vacancies, including some of the places from which families were absent temporarily.

Percentages are used in summarizing the tabulation of survey reports. These percentages can probably be considered quite accurate if applied to the total number of survey reports, as they were derived from the exact tabulation and the breakdown of the total of each item recorded.

In classifying dwelling structures, the designations "condition good," "in need of minor repairs," "in need of major repairs," and "unfit for use" were inadequate because even though a house trailer or a one-, two-, or three-room home-made house might be in good condition for what it was, a combination of conditions such as type of construction, very small rooms, or no foundation, might contribute to such a dwelling place being totally inadequate. This situation was found to exist in many instances upon studying the entire content of the survey reports. The count of the number of overcrowded dwellings gives a partial indication of the inadequacy in this respect, but size of rooms and type of construction contributed extensively, in addition, to total inadequacy.

A summary of the tabulation of the survey reports follows:

1. 82 percent or 919 are white.
   2 percent or 24 are Negro.
   13 percent or 143 are Mexican.
   3 percent or 39 are "other."
   7 percent or 84 are noncitizens.
2. 16 percent or 186 of the occupants of the dwellings covered are single persons.
   24 percent or 279 of the occupants of the dwellings covered are in 2-person families.
   18 percent or 196 of the occupants of the dwellings covered are in 3-person families.
   15 percent or 177 of the occupants of the dewellings covered are in 4-person families.
   10 percent or 120 of the occupants of the dwellings covered are in 5-person families.
   10 percent or 121 of the occupants of the dwellings covered are in 6-person families.

2 percent or 25 of the occupants of the dwellings covered are in 7-person families.
2 percent or 23 of the occupants of the dwellings covered are in 8-person families.
3 percent or 32 of the occupants of the dwellings covered are in above 8-person families.

3. 10 percent or 99 families have resided in Sacramento County less than 1 year.
11 percent or 114 families have resided in Sacramento County from 1 year to 3 years.
79 percent or 836 families have resided in Sacramento County from 3 years to life.

4. 15 percent or 131 families have incomes of less than $400 a year
68 percent or 535 families have incomes between $400 and $1,200 a year.
22 percent or 182 families have incomes of over $1,200 a year.

5. 103 persons are receiving aged aid.
105 are employed by Work Propects Administration "indefinitely."
23 are receiving State Relief Administration aid "indefinitely."
17 are permanent recipients of county welfare department aid. A very few are receiving some type of public assistance temporarily. Financial support from a public agency whether Work Projects Administration wages or some form of relief grant, was not counted in the income tabulation.

6. 39 percent or 484 of the occupants are attempting to buy, or own outright the land on which they are dwelling, and also, own outright, or are buying completed houses or are buying materials for, and constructing dwellings piecemeal.
15 percent or 191 of the occupants rent land only and live in house trailers or homemade scrap-lumber and metal shacks.
40 percent or 492 families rent.

7. 52 percent or 647 of the dwelling places have no inside running water.
73 percent or 914 have no bath.
80 percent or 991 have no inside toilet.
79 percent or 979 have no normal heating equipment.
16 percent or 196 have no electricity.
14 percent or 178 have hand pumps as the only water supply.
24 percent or 301 families use community baths.
31 percent or 389 families use community toilets.
55 percent or 689 families cook and heat with wood stoves.
13 percent or 162 families use kerosene, gasoline, or candles for light.

8. 69 percent or 868 of the dwellings are in need of major repairs or unfit for use.
37 percent or 465 are unfit for use.
54 percent or 672 are overcrowded.
34 percent or 423 are "severely" overcrowded.

9. 19 percent or 243 of the dwellings are 1 room.
29 percent or 378 of the dwellings are 2 rooms.
17 percent or 218 of the dwellings are 3 rooms.
16 percent or 201 of the dwellings are 4 rooms.

10. 37 percent or 391 of the occupants pay less than $10 a month rent, including utilities.
63 percent or 681 pay $10 a month and over, including utilities.

11. 134 families expressed a particular desire to be able to have space and water for vegetable gardens.

12. 364 families expressed a particularly strong desire to occupy a dwelling in a public housing project.
232 families expressly stated they are not interested in the Public Housing Program because they are buying.

GENERAL COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The conditions disclosed by the survey are known to exist quite extensively in other areas of the county surrounding the city of Sacramento, and also in outlying areas. The facts not known are the exact number of substandard and totally inadequate dwelling units in any given location, or the exact income ranges of the low-income families occupying such dwelling places.

It is obvious from the present survey that there is an adequate basis for a project of the maximum number of units which can be built with the money now earmarked ($500,000).

If the Authority should be able in the future to secure funds for additional projects, a further survey should then be made of other areas of the county. Under the present conditions, it did not seem justifiable to spend more money and time to survey additional sections of the county.

A study should be made of the problem of squatter developments such as Louie's Camp, and the vicinity north of the city limits of Sacramento, and also the completely unregulated development of homemade shacks on low-priced land offered for sale without streets, other facilities, or public utilities of any kind. If possible, county ordinances should be devised to minimize the squatter and shack developments which are building problems of health, sanitation, safety, morals, and welfare, not only for the future, but day by day.

It should be remembered that most of the families living under conditions encountered in the survey do not do so from choice, and that they would better their living conditions if economically able to do so. "Cleaning up" conditions cannot be accomplished by enacting ordinances alone, as low-income families must live somewhere. Housing Authority projects will provide decent housing and living conditions for some of the families with growing children who were covered in the survey. This will not meet the entire problem, but it may point the way toward further efforts, community and private, to provide decent and stable living conditions for low-income families now living under unhealthy, unwholesome, thoroughly unsatisfactory conditions.

REASONS FOR HEAVY MIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA

Mr. POMEROY. I would say that is largely bunk. California relief standards are a minor factor in attracting families from other States. I believe that the principal reason the families come is because of economic factors of expulsion in their places of origin and economic need to seek opportunities elsewhere, and they go searching employment.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, would you just tell the committee, Mr. Pomeroy, why these people select California? We will say a Nebraska family or an Oklahoma family comes to California. Why don't they go to Pennsylvania or Alabama or Michigan?

Mr. POMEROY. First I would point out that several of the most frequently given reasons for the trek to California are largely erroneous; that of relief is largely erroneous. The charge that the Farm Security Administration program in California encourages them to come here is largely erroneous. The charge that farmers undertake organized advertising in other States is largely erroneous.

The principal reasons seem to me to be these two: First, the highly seasonal character of California agriculture gives an erroneous conception of the agricultural employment opportunities in this State, and there is a great deal of advertising done unwittingly on the part of families who have just arrived here at the peak of the season and have gotten employment and on the part of even the employment service and newspapers in this State advertising concerning peak needs from season to season and place to place in the State, and the transfer of that information by various means to other States encouraging people to come here who believe that if they can just get by for a little while and get hold of some employment, that then everything will be all right. They work for the peak season, and then are helpless at the end, in many instances, and are bitterly disappointed.

That is an observation coming directly out of my relief experience. The other reason is a belief, and probably cannot be supported by anything more than just personal opinion. It seems to me that the generation of advertising of the advantages of California has an inevitable effect upon the direction these people turn, even though they have never traveled before and are coming seeking opportunities to work and not coming for pleasure or investment purposes.

We know to a degree from our contact with many of these families that some, at least, have come for that reason. They have heard that California has opportunities and the climate is excellent, and they seem to feel that there are a combination of circumstances that will give them a better opportunity here than if they went elsewhere.

Mr. **Osmers.** Would you say that the migrants are used as a lever to lower relief standards in California?

Mr. **Pomeroy.** I think not. The migrants here in larger numbers than can be absorbed in employment have not actually lowered relief standards in California. California standards have been maintained in the unemployment relief operation at about the highest level in the Nation. I perhaps had better qualify the answer by saying that it is often charged that California relief standards are the cause of these families' coming here, and, therefore, they should be lowered. That charge is often made. The reason for wanting relief standards lowered, as is stated, at least, by those who make this charge, is so that people would not be encouraged to come here.

But there has been comparatively little demand that relief standards generally be depressed. The most oft repeated demand is that relief levels for the families who come here from other States be kept as low as in the States that they have come from until they have been here for 5 years, or some given period of time.

Mr. **Osmers.** That's the point that I wanted to make.

Mr. **Pomeroy.** I would say that that is a ridiculous thing. I say it is ridiculous because of economic factors of expulsion. These families are going to move to new places, and as they move to new places they are destitute when they come here, some of them are going to be in need of care, and they must be given some care. And you can't lower the aid out of keeping with general living standards and living costs in California.

Mr. **Osmers.** Well, relief standards in the State of Oregon would have very little or no economic bearing on their needs in California?

Mr. **Pomeroy.** That's correct, sir.

METHOD OF WAGE-SETTING

Mr. **Osmers.** Now, you have had some experience with the Associated Farmers?

Mr. **Pomeroy.** That is correct.

Mr. **Osmers.** That is a group of employers of farm labor; is that correct?

Mr. **Pomeroy.** Yes.

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, do operators in general or employers give consideration when they set wages—do they give consideration to the possible increase in the relief load? To put it in another way, would they set wages higher so that they might thereby lower the relief burden indirectly?

Mr. **Pomeroy**. I think not. It seems to me that no consideration is given to the effect of the employment conditions in agriculture, either as to the amount of it at any given time or the duration of it or the wages, to the effect that it will have on relief.

Mr. **Osmers**. How do they go about setting the wages in these agricultural pursuits? Let's take cotton picking, for example. How do they set the pay in that labor?

Mr. **Pomeroy**. Well, so far as my observation has gone—and I have observed the methods employed—a group of growers representing the principal cotton counties gather in Fresno each year in advance of the season. It can be said to be a sort of spontaneous coming together in the sense that neither the Associated Farmers, nor the Farm Bureau nor the Grange, nor any other State-wide agricultural organization undertakes the responsibility of setting wages. These men come and discuss the crop conditions, economic conditions generally, and I believe usually in a one-day session come to a conclusion as to the rate that will be paid that season.

I would comment that it seems to me to be almost entirely a matter of guess work, because it does not follow any careful economic determinations. It is a matter of the judgment of men in the business as they sit in a room, two or three hundred together, and fix the wages.

Mr. **Osmers**. I would just like to change the theme for a moment. Has consideration been given, or have you given any thought, to the possibility that California farmers might concentrate on employing Californians only?

Mr. **Pomeroy** I believe that would be desirable because the California farmers, by and large, employ those who come to their front gates seeking employment. By doing so, they do give employment to a good many people who have just arrived. That simply accents that condition of encouragement to persons who come here from elsewhere, and when they are finished with their very short periods of employment, then they are left helpless and disappointed.

There are instances, and many of them, of workers coming here from a number of States, taking jobs for which State residents are available, and then going on back to where they came from. And that situation of employers here offering employment to anyone, without attempting to take care of State residents first, without attempting to help reduce the relief rolls, without attempting to work with the employment service in an organized fashion, is many times more important in my judgment, in encouraging people to come here from other places than our relief standards and the F. S. A. assistance and all the other governmental aids.

STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE INADEQUATE

Mr. **Osmers**. Would you say that the employment service—the United States Employment Service or its California branches, are doing a good job?

Mr. POMEROY. I think the California State Employment Service is not doing a good job. I believe one reason for this is that concentration of attention has had to be given in developing and perfecting the unemployment insurance phase of the work, and that has overshadowed at various times the employment service work directly, and then I believe there has been an absence of a directed effort to work out with employers, agricultural and otherwise, methods of concentrating upon the employment of California workers first.

Mr. OSMERS. My own observation, Mr. Pomeroy, has been in other States that the State employment services could do a great deal more than they are doing now with employers.

Mr. POMEROY. May I give you an——

Mr. OSMERS (interposing). If they adopted a more aggressive attitude.

Mr. POMEROY. Well, I agree with you completely and I would give you an illustration. During the early spring of 1937 we were concerned about the size of the relief load, particularly in agricultural areas where the load was high, due to the severe winter and almost total lack of winter employment. We knew that we had on the relief rolls thousands of families whose workers had harvested the crops the fall before.

I was relief administrator at that time, and I went to the California State Chamber of Commerce, to Mr. Robert Wilson, the head of the agricultural department, described the situation to him, and that organization was responsible for bringing out 13 regional meetings throughout the State where, representing the State relief administration, I could meet with agricultural leaders representing all of the principal agricultural areas of the State. The employment service was brought into it, and the statement that I made on behalf of the Relief Administration at that time was that, "Here are the people on the relief rolls who harvested your crops last year. You can make up your minds as to whether or not you want to make a conscientious effort to reemploy these people now as you need them in the spring and summer and fall work this year, or whether you want to employ a new group and then pay the bill in relief through taxes." Excellent cooperation was had!

In some instances there was complaint that, "Well, we can't get the people off the relief rolls and the employment service won't cooperate and the relief officers won't cooperate." And we brushed those aside, and there was a willingness to cooperate and the farm leaders said, "Yes; surely. We can tell you two weeks in advance when we are going to need workers." And by that aggressive effort we were able to accomplish considerable, and I believe much more can be done and that the employment service should be much more aggressive and take a much greater directional leadership than it ever has in this State.

Mr. OSMERS. Under the line of reasoning that you have advanced where Californians would be given preference in employment, what would happen to the new arrivals?

Now, I want you to answer that, keeping in mind your original statement that the people that come here do not come here for California reasons; they come here for reasons that originate outside of California, so that they would continue to come here.

Mr. Pomeroy. The overall——

Mr. Osmers (interposing). What would happen to these new arrivals?

Mr. Pomeroy. Well, assuming only a given amount of employment available, the overall result would not be to better the situation. It would shift emphasis a little bit. There would be our own agricultural workers in California employed a greater number of months each year, and the new arrivals coming here would be definitely outside the labor market and you would have a need to deal with them still there, and concentrated. And the only effect for good over a period of time would be to lessen the tendency to come to California by reason of lessening employment opportunities.

Mr. Osmers. Of course, now in addition to these people being outside the labor market, these people that would come here, they would also be outside of the relief picture in the State of California; under the settlement laws they would have to be here for 5 years before they were eligible for State relief?

Mr. Pomeroy. Well, they would be outside of relief; yes. The Farm Security Administration undertakes to aid those who have just arrived and continues to carry those families, I think, now, for almost an indefinite period of time, although I don't know that that is true right now.

Mr. Osmers. I don't believe that the Farm Security is taking care of all of them.

Mr. Pomeroy. No.

Mr. Osmers. I don't think the nature of their appropriation would permit them to.

Mr. Pomeroy. No. The Farm Security Administration is taking care of a comparatively small part of them. But because of the extremity of that condition, those families here not being able to secure employment, the Farm Security Administration did adopt a direct cash grant relief program in the spring of 1938.

Mr. Osmers. They did?

Mr. Pomeroy. Yes. And that has continued, I believe, up to and including the present time.

Mr. Osmers. I think that is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. Thank you very much for your very valuable contribution.

(Witness excused.)

The Chairman. Dr. Schaupp.

TESTIMONY OF DR. KARL L. SCHAUPP, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The Chairman. Doctor, what is your present address?

Dr. Schaupp. 490 Post Street, San Francisco.

The Chairman. I believe you have submitted a paper to the committee, Doctor.

Dr. Schaupp. Yes; it is a paper on the development of health services for migrants.

(The paper submitted by Dr. Schaupp is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF KARL L. SCHAUPP, M. D., FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, PRACTITIONER OF MEDICINE IN SAN FRANCISCO AND CALIFORNIA, AND MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, A. W. H. AND M. A.

Development of Health Services to the Migrant Population in California and Arizona

The movement of migrants has deep seated social and economic roots which include the increased mechanization of farm processes and the resultant growth of large farms; the pressure of population increases in rural areas and inadequate health facilities in areas of migrant embarkation. The economic background will undoubtedly be covered by other witnesses and sources. The health of these people has been my particular concern. For many years I have been interested in medical problems of the indigent population in both rural and metropolitan areas. Most of my activities in various offices which I have held in both county and State medical associations have been primarily concerned with this phase of medical care. California as a whole has developed its medical programs on the county level—naturally there has been a considerable variation in the extent and quality of services rendered. This is also true if a comparison should be made of the medical facilities of States. One feature in common of all States and counties is that medical care has been essentially geared to care for only its resident population. We have been watching an ever-increasing number of migrants appearing in many States. The number in California and Arizona has been particularly great. From the health point of view tremendous problems have resulted. Under almost prohibitive conditions many children were being born and nursed. The many diseases of humanity often necessitated care in shacks, tents, rear seats of automobiles, or ditch banks. A great majority had not had benefit of modern application of preventive medicine. The rigors of travel and lack of adequate and proper food created a background of increased susceptibility to all diseases. The general situation could best be described by the word primitive. No amount of description in writing has completely described the circumstances. It is necessary to have seen it through the eyes of a physician during its early stages to gather the full import of such neglect. This I have seen personally. I have also been privileged to help and watch an attempt to solve some of the many great health problems which had previously been untouched.

DISEASE AMONG MIGRANTS

This whole problem had been slowly developing over a number of years and reached its peak approximately in 1938. The first signs of the need for such a service was in the sporadic outbreaks of communicable diseases in various parts of the States of California and Arizona. Small epidemics of smallpox, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and some of the less virulent communicable diseases such as whooping cough, measles, were making their appearance amongst groups of migrants. There was also being reported to the Farm Security Administration a general state of malnutrition among the children who were in schools. The already existing medical facilities to which these people would normally apply were gradually becoming overburdened taking care of their own indigent problem. While the individual physicians in communities were giving the best of their service and the county facilities were taking care of emergency situations amongst this group, it was still felt that the whole problem needed special consideration. Due to the residence laws of the State people who had less than 1 year's residence were theoretically not eligible to receive any services from the county units unless a state of emergency existed. This meant that from a medical point of view public health and the many illnesses of lesser degree were neglected. Inasmuch as the group as a whole constituted a public health hazard to the resident population and because reports of surveys made by the California State Board of Health showed the general health of the migrants to be poor, it was felt that a specific approach to the problem should be made.

PROGRAM OF MEDICAL AID TO MIGRANTS IN CALIFORNIA

The general situation had no precedent in medical experience in the United States so that it became the responsibility of the regional office of the Farm

Security Administration to develop a suitable plan to extend medical services. The major problem to be considered was the extreme mobility of the case load and the development of a method to expose the greatest number of people to the service. Because of the mobility of the case load the traditional system of giving grants did not seem to be a feasible administrative approach. To this end a corporation system was evolved. This meant the creation of a nonprofit corporation for both the States of California and Arizona which could receive grants from the Government. Tentative plans were drawn up for an estimated case load of some 25,000 families. It was estimated that this would require an annual budget of approximately $1,000,000.

The administrative body of the corporation was to be a board of directors. The board consisted of the regional director of the Farm Security Administration, the assistant director, the regional economist, and the regional finance director. The California State Department of Public Health was to be represented by one physician and the California State Medical Association by two physicians.[1]

In line with the general policy of other medical programs of the Farm Security Administration, the State department of public health and the medical associations of California and Arizona were approached formally to aid in working out the professional and technical details of administration. Members of the board met with the presidents and secretaries of component medical societies throughout the region to arrange for a basic fee schedule and a basic system of medical ethics. Having enlisted the cooperation of the State departments of public health and the medical professions of both States, the mechanical development of the administration of the program was begun.

Membership certificates were issued to families in need of medical care. This was restricted to persons who had an agricultural background and who had been in the State less than 1 year. Presentation of this certificate identified the person as being eligible for medical service. An obligation on the part of the person receiving medical care to reimburse the corporation in the event of favorable change in financial status was a provision of membership. Offices were then set up in strategic areas along the migratory tract from the eastern part of Arizona through the San Joaquin Valley, and as far north as Yuba and Sutter Counties in California. The need for the service was very quickly shown by the rapid increasing number of families applying for the service.

The original conception of the administrative setup was allowed all licensed physicians eligible though not necessarily a member of a medical society to participate. This allows free choice of physicians in their offices. This system was modified in the early stages of the program in the State of Arizona to include intake diagnostic and treatment centers. In these centers a salaried physician was employed and facilities for diagnosis and treatment were established. These centers soon showed many advantages. In the first place large numbers of people could be seen. It created facilities where the department of public health could enter with their immunization program and contact a large number of people in a relatively short period of time. The advantages of this development were so obvious that it was felt that it should be characteristic of the entire program and they were gradually extended throughout the whole region. To date there are 20 such centers.

In entering any community it has been the policy of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association to consult with the county medical society. Agreements are entered into with them so that physicians willing to participate are rotated in service in the clinics. This method of dealing with the medical profession has met with excellent response and has aided in establishing a respect for the program and has obtained cooperation of the medical profession.

As the program is now operating patients are either seen first in a physician's office on referral from one of the district offices where a clinic does not exist, or he is first seen in one of the diagnostic centers. The great majority, approximately 70 percent of all patients, are now being seen for the first time in the diagnostic centers. From the diagnostic centers a patient is referred to a physician in his own office or may be referred directly to a hospital under the care of a private physician, according to medical need. Hospital care is always given in private hospitals. An exception is made in this policy in the case of communicable diseases. This type of case is cared for in county hospitals at no expense to the association. Arrangements have been made with the various hospital associations in both States to care for patients at a somewhat reduced flat fee. It has been found that the percentage of patients requiring hospitalization is extraordinarily high. This is primarily due to poor housing conditions. Where there is an illness which is of sufficient severity to confine a patient to bed adequate nursing care cannot be carried out in the homes that are available to these people. This has accounted for the fact that 25 percent of all patients seen require hospitalization. This has been one of the outstanding problems for the association.

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[1] Later modified to include 1 representative of the California State Dental Association.

CONVALESCENT CENTERS

To meet this situation it has been proposed to construct convalescent centers in strategic areas. These convalescent centers would provide adequate housing in a medical atmosphere. Medical and nursing supervision and good food would be available. They would be in a position to take care of minor and borderline illnesses which ordinarily would not be hospitalized. It would tend to break the vicious circle of disease by taking care of patients in the early stages of disease rather than waiting until a condition had progressed to a point where hospitalization became imperative. Private hospitals would be used for the more severe cases just as at present but when the case becomes convalescent it would be transferred to one of these centers. This would result in a longer period of convalescence at a reduced cost.

Construction of one such center has already been started. This is at Eleven Mile Corner, Pinal County, Arizona. This area has been shown to lack adequate hospital facilities to meet the association's need. It has often been necessary to send many patients for care to Phoenix. This entails a trip of over 50 miles and often causes considerable hardship. In considering the construction of this type of facility the association's hospital problem, and its high cost were carefully discussed with the Arizona State Medical Association and the practicing physicians in the Pinal County area. Endorsements by the Arizona State Medical Association and the Pinal County physicians were obtained as approving the project. Their advice on the administration and the ethics of the practice is part of the agreement and their cooperation in running the hospital is to be expected.

CLINICS

To sum up, then, the operation of the association involves the use of various principles of medical care. It preserves in essence the traditional patient-physician relationship by allowing free choice of physician. The system has been modified by the introduction of clinics which have served as a medium of reaching more people, extending the amount of medical service that ordinarily would not have been given, and producing medical service at a considerably reduced cost. It is expected that the introduction of convalescent centers in areas where they are needed will further reduce the cost of operation and provide more extensive medical service than has heretofore been available. The plan utilizes both the fee schedule, as it relates to the practice of physicians in their own offices, and salaried physicians working in the diagnostic centers.

The past 2½ years has witnessed the development of a unique medical service to meet a specific need. In its early conception medical benefits were to be given only for acute emergent conditions. Because of the obvious need for a service beyond these limitations, an administrative technique has evolved which has allowed the association to give almost complete medical coverage for all illnesses. To achieve this certain basic principles traditional to the ethics of the medical profession had to be modified. This has always been done only after frank discussion of the association's problems with representatives of the medical profession. In all instances this approach has led to a satisfactory solution agreeable to both parties. The result has been the achievement of close cooperation by organized medicine and the association. There has also been a close cooperation developed with the State boards of health and the county health departments. It can safely be said that the migrant population as a whole has had benefit of immunization to smallpox, diphtheria, and typhoid. The effect of this is shown in public health reports. There have been practically no outbreaks of these diseases in the past 2 years. The combination of an adequate medical service and preventive program has resulted in a noticeable improvement in the general health of the migrant population.

Aside from pure medical service much of this may be attributed to incidental projects of the association working in cooperation with the Farm Security Administration grant program. Two such projects are worthy of mention.

NURSERY CENTERS

Nursery school lunches are provided for the preschool children in the nursery centers which have been developed in most of the Government camps. This feature has been of great importance in supplying some of the elements of prevention. The good food supplied in the nurseries has the effect of increasing the general nutrition of these children and considerably increases their resistance to ordinary medical hazards. Rest periods, supervised play, and education are part of the nursery centers' activities. These also contribute in raising health standards.

It has been the policy also of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association to provide lunches for those children attending school. In the Budget period from 1940 on, this has been deleted as one of the services of the association and it is to be assumed by the Federal Surplus Marketing Corporation. The benefit of this service is also largely preventive and will show its effect in the general health of these children in years to come, and also will increase their resistance to diseases to which they are constantly subjected.

A statistical survey is now in the process of being made to study the various phases of the association. This survey is not quite complete but from information that has already been gathered it is showing some interesting statistics. The most significant feature of the program is that the great majority of expenditures are related to the care of a youthful population. Over 50 percent of the total expenditures are for services to persons under the age of 25. As shown in table 7, the bulk of expenditures in the age group 15 to 24 is related to services incident to pregnancy, childbirth, and the puerperal state. Practically every child is born in a hospital.

Another significant aspect of the program is that the bulk of expenditures for services occur in five major diagnosis groups. These are diseases of pregnancy—childbirth (24 percent) diseases of the digestive system (22 percent), diseases of respiratory system (16.5 percent), diseases of genito-urinary system (9.6 percent), and accidents (7.6 percent). All other causes total 19.7 percent.

These figures relate to 1 year's experience in caring for an average of 50,000 people, from July 1939 to June 1940.

Exhibit A. shows a detailed break-down of the following:

Table 1. Active Membership, by State Where Member Applied, April 1939 to June 1940.

Table 2. Number of Cases and Persons to Whom Medical Aid Was Rendered, July 1939 to June 1940.

Table 3. Summary of Monthly Expenditures for the Fiscal Year 1939–1940.

Table 4. Percentage of Operating Expenditures for Specified Months by Classification of Vendor, Fiscal Year 1939–1940.

Table 5. Amount and Percentage of Operating Expenditures in Specified Months by Diagnosis Groups, Fiscal Year 1939–1940.

Table 6. Amount and Percentage of Operating Expenditures in Specified Months by Types of Service.

Table 7. Percentage of Operating Expenditures in Specified Age Groups by Important Diagnosis Groups, Fiscal Year 1939–1940.

Table 8. Total Expenditures to Doctors and Average Expenditure per Doctors and Average Expenditure per Doctor for the Six-Month Period, July-December 1939, by District.

Table 9. Total Expenditures to Hospitals and Average Expenditures per Hospitals for the Six-Month Period, July-December 1939, by District.

ELIGIBILITY RULES

Several things need consideration for future planning as it relates to the medical problems of the migrant. At the beginning of the program the residence laws of the State were of such a nature that coverage of this particular group was well taken care of by including only those people who had an agricultural background, and less than 1 year's residence in the State. In March of 1939 it became apparent that there were an increasing number of people who had gained State residence but were still not eligible for county medical aid. At this point the eligibility rule of the association was revised to include those persons who had more than 1 year's residence in the State and who were still eligible to receive grants from the Farm Security Administration for subsistence. Medical care through the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association became available to this group. Recent legislation by the State now imposes a 3 years' residence in the State before they are eligible to receive subsistence relief. This will require consideration and further revision of the eligibility rules in both the grant program and the medical association. It seems evident now that perhaps all persons who have had less than 3 years' residence in the State would probably have to be eventually cared for through the association. This again will tend to increase the load.

It is becoming increasingly evident that there will always be a large number of people in the agricultural field who will move from State to State and from county to county and will have difficulty in ever attaining State residence. There is less likelihood that they will ever attain county residence. Inasmuch as eligibility rules of medical service in the counties conform with the State law there would then seem to be no freely available medical facilities for these people. It is becoming apparent that this situation must be looked upon as a permanent one.

At this point it might also be pointed out that there are a great number of people in the migratory labor track who cannot qualify with an agricultural background. This applies not only to the rural areas but is evident in metropolitan areas. The State relief administration in caring for its case load does not recognize occupational background and takes care of persons who have had more than 3 years of State residence. Many of these have not attained county residence and therefore medical services for them are also not available. This latter category of people, who have not the occupational background and who may be either in rural or metropolitan areas, may be truly classified according to our present definition as migrants. The medical aspect of these people is one and the same as those which are being taken care of through the facilities of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association. Some thought should be given to their medical needs. The State of California has witnessed in the past 5 years a development of a medical program in the State relief administration to meet its own specific problems. Essentially the basis of its program was to take care of those people who were not eligible to county facilities. The people receiving medical aid are those who lack the proper residence qualifications to receive county aid. The Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association has taken care of those who were not eligible to the State relief administration.

Both programs have therefore developed to meet a specific problem without particular relation to the other, although theoretically they were to fill in the gaps that had become evident. It is now becoming apparent that the specialization of these programs has tended toward agency isolation rather than integration. It is now recognized, however, that coordination is desirable from every viewpoint. It is felt that the best method for attacking the problem of medical aid to the migrant, both rural and metropolitan, has not been developed. It seems evident that the evolution of such a program necesitates a review of the present methods employed by various agencies. It would seem desirable that various Government agencies now engaged in providing medical assistance to the migrant should be coordinated.

TABLE 1.—*Active membership, by State, where member applied*[1] *April 1938 to June 1940*

Month	Arizona and California		Arizona		California	
	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons
1938						
April	11	44			11	44
May	682	2, 930	3	16	679	2, 914
June	1, 538	6, 412	10	49	1, 528	6, 363
July	2, 409	9, 803	16	70	2, 393	9, 733
August	3, 069	12, 276	23	97	3, 046	12, 179
September	3, 352	13, 353	64	309	3, 288	13, 044
October	3, 845	15, 469	308	1, 466	3, 537	14, 003
November	4, 679	18, 572	670	2, 964	4, 009	15, 608
December	5, 767	22, 526	1, 251	5, 222	4, 516	17, 304
1939						
January	6, 466	25, 017	1, 744	7, 232	4, 722	17, 785
February	7, 085	27, 167	2, 140	8, 827	4, 945	18, 340
March	7, 689	29, 478	2, 582	10, 554	5, 107	18, 924
April	8, 222	31, 299	2, 920	11, 896	5, 302	19, 403
May	8, 522	32, 324	3, 156	12, 844	5, 366	19, 480
June	8, 790	33, 541	3, 325	13, 481	5, 465	20, 060
July	9, 311	35, 696	3, 458	13, 969	5, 853	21, 727
August	10, 080	38, 617	3, 800	15, 195	6, 280	23, 422
September	10, 782	41, 435	4, 081	16, 111	6, 701	25, 324
October	11, 317	43, 280	4, 181	16, 318	7, 136	26, 962
November	12, 269	46, 785	4, 593	17, 507	7, 676	29, 278
December	13, 323	50, 709	5, 098	19, 292	8, 225	31, 417
1940						
January	14, 211	53, 337	5, 469	19, 910	8, 742	33, 427
February	14, 617	54, 776	5, 629	20, 331	8, 988	34, 445
March	14, 677	54, 825	5, 683	20, 451	8, 994	34, 374
April	14, 441	53, 807	5, 662	20, 422	8, 779	33, 385
May	13, 858	51, 704	5, 660	20, 154	8, 298	31, 550
June	14, 743	55, 535	5, 919	21, 862	8, 824	33, 673

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[1] Some cases have been transferred from one State to the other if an extension of membership has been taken out in the State of destination.

TABLE 2.—*Number of cases and persons to whom medical aid was rendered July 1939 to June 1940*

Month	Arizona and California		Arizona		California	
	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons
1939						
July	4, 065	6, 801	1, 790	3, 730	2, 275	3, 071
August	4, 587	7, 808	1, 898	4, 090	2, 689	3, 718
September	4, 780	8, 176	1, 978	4, 122	2, 802	4, 054
October	5, 268	8, 170	2, 242	3, 600	3, 026	4, 570
November	6, 290	10, 188	2, 724	4, 674	3, 566	5, 514
December	6, 873	10, 583	3, 135	4, 892	3, 738	5, 691
1940						
January	8, 176	12, 909	3, 871	6, 156	5, 305	6, 753
February	8, 713	13, 988	4, 066	6, 577	4, 647	7, 411
March	9, 544	15, 115	4, 362	7, 013	5, 182	8, 102
April	8, 514	13, 421	2, 673	4, 459	5, 841	8, 962
May	8, 526	13, 168	3, 084	5, 186	5, 442	7, 982
June	7, 649	11, 528	2, 787	4, 578	4, 862	6, 950

TABLE 3.—*Summary of monthly expenditures for the fiscal year 1939–40*

Month of expenditure	Total expenditures	Classification of expenditures				
		Salaries	Travel	Procurement	Operations	School lunches and nursery meals
Total fiscal year	$1, 103, 089. 07	$121, 904. 61	$29, 043. 82	$55, 801. 84	$872, 860. 48	$23, 478. 32

TABLE 4.—*Percentage of operating expenditures*[1] *for specified months by classification of vendor, fiscal year 1939–40*

Classification of vendor	Total	Month of expenditure											
		July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Physicians	48.3	67.5	52.9	52.7	49.7	52.2	49.2	49.1	47.6	46.5	45.1	46.0	45.6
Hospitals	41.9	26.6	42.2	39.8	43.0	39.3	41.0	40.8	39.5	43.3	42.9	42.9	45.3
Dentists	3.6	3.0	2.2	2.7	3.0	3.1	3.3	3.8	4.8	3.9	4.1	4.2	3.3
Nursing	.6	.4	.4	1.1	.8	.3	.6	1.2	.1	.8	.3	.4	.6
Special diets	.9	.6	.6	.9	1.2	1	1	1	1.6	1.5	1.2	.6	.3
School lunches	2.6	.3	--------	--------	--------	1.8	3.2	2.1	4.1	2.4	4.2	3.9	2.9
Nursery meals	.4	--------	.3	.6	.3	.1	.2	.6	.5	.2	.5	.5	.3
Miscellaneous	1.7	1.6	1.4	2.2	2	2.2	1.5	1.4	1.8	1.4	1.7	1.5	1.7

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[1] Does not include expenditures for prescriptions.

TABLE 5.—*Amount and percentage of operating expenditures*[1] *by diagnosis groups fiscal year 1939–40*

Diagnosis group	Amount	Percentage
Total	$792, 604. 60	100. 0
Diseases of pregnancy, childbirth, and the puerperal state	184, 267. 48	23. 3
Diseases of the digestive system	174, 027. 71	22. 0
Diseases of the respiratory system	127, 146. 15	16. 0
Diseases of the genitourinary system	73, 553. 13	9. 3
Accidents	59, 738. 98	7. 5
Noninfectious general diseases	40, 545. 14	5. 1
Infectious and parasitic diseases	18, 145. 73	2. 3
Diseases of the eyes	17, 632. 17	2. 2
Diseases of the circulatory system	15, 897. 81	2. 0
Diseases of the skin and cellular tissue	14, 565. 71	1. 8
Diseases of the ears	9, 847. 35	1. 2
Congenital malformations	6, 562. 13	. 8
Diseases of the bones and organs of locomotion	5, 902. 29	. 7
Diseases of the nervous system	4, 419. 55	. 6
Ill-defined and other causes	15, 625. 34	2. 0
Examination only	1, 251. 04	. 2
No diagnosis reported	23, 476. 89	3. 0

[1] Does not include expenditures for prescriptions.

TABLE 6.—*Amount and percentage of operating expenditures*[1] *by types of service fiscal year 1939–40*

Type of service	Amount	Percentage
Total	$792, 604. 60	100. 0
Routine treatment	95, 903. 55	12. 6
Examination	48, 770. 02	6. 4
Obstetrical fee	60, 474. 50	7. 9
Minor surgery	48, 427. 94	6. 4
Major surgery	82, 509. 50	10. 8
Operative assistant	11, 443. 15	1. 5
Consultant	1, 289. 75	. 2
Anesthetic fee	20, 509. 20	2. 7
Ward service	235, 460. 69	30. 9
Operating room	44, 614. 36	5. 9
Private room service	5, 676. 50	. 7
Drugs [1]	20, 114. 51	2. 6
Dressings	4, 336. 46	. 6
Laboratory	20, 717. 37	2. 7
X-ray	20, 763. 16	2. 7
Special nursing	4, 772. 50	. 6
Ambulance service	1, 256. 10	. 2
Special diets	97. 89	----------
Mileage	6, 757. 48	. 9
Dental work	25, 558. 25	3. 4
Miscellaneous	2, 355. 15	. 3
Service not reported	30, 796. 57	(2)

[1] Does not include expenditures for prescriptions.
[2] Not included in percentage distribution.

Table 7.—*Percentage of operating expenditures*[1] *in specified age groups by important groups fiscal year 1939–40*

Diagnosis group	All ages	Age groups									
		Under 5	5 to 9	10 to 14	15 to 19	20 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 and over
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Diseases of pregnancy, childbirth and the puerperal state	24.0	......	......	.8	46.5	49.0	31.2	16.5	1.5	......	.1
Diseases of the digestive system	22.6	20.9	15.8	29.1	23.9	19.3	21.8	26.6	27.3	23.5	19.3
Diseases of the respiratory system	17.2	32.0	47.0	33.5	10.8	7.1	9.5	11.2	17.1	31.5	21.3
Diseases of the genito-urinary system	9,6	3.0	2.0	1,5	5.4	11.0	16.5	14.0	8.1	12.8	9.0
Accidents	7.6	8.1	15.7	15.8	5.4	4.8	6.0	7.2	7.8	15.0	4.2
All other diagnoses	19.0	36.0	19.5	20.3	8.0	8.8	15.0	24.5	38.2	17.4	46.1

[1] Does not include expenditures for prescriptions.

Source: Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, statistical section, Sept. 19, 1940.

Table 8.—*Total expenditures to doctors and average expenditure per doctor for the 6-month period, July–December 1939, by district*

District	Number of doctors	Expenditures to doctors July–December 1939	Average expenditure per doctor	Average monthly expenditure per doctor
Arizona and California	838	$134,342.97	$160.31	$26.72
California	683	92,679.92	135.70	22.62
Fresno	107	11,229.96	104.96	17.49
San Joaquin	122	18,750.68	153.69	25.62
Tulare	80	16,500.96	206.26	34.38
Madera	49	10,336.45	210.95	35.16
Yuba	62	11,108.32	179.17	29.86
Santa Clara	133	7,018.90	52.77	8.80
Sonoma	29	1,025.20	35.35	5.89
Imperial	42	4,301.55	102.42	17.07
Kern	59	12,407.90	210.30	35.05
Arizona	155	41,663.05	268.79	44.80
Phoenix	77	10,784.20	140.05	23.34
Buckeye	9	1,345.00	149.44	24.91
Avondale	17	3,591.40	211.26	35.21
Chandler	12	5,672.50	472.71	78.79
Yuma	15	3,898.40	259.89	43.32
Coolidge	16	12,267.50	954.22	159.04
Safford	9	1,104.05	122.67	20.44

TABLE 9.—*Total expenditures to hospitals and average expenditure for hospital for the 6-month period, July–December 1939, by district*

District	Number of hospitals	Hospital expenditures July–December 1939	Average expenditure per hospital
Arizona and California	116	$102, 385. 79	882. 63
California	92	71, 363. 52	775. 69
Fresno	9	9, 851. 46	1, 094. 60
San Joaquin	14	13, 905. 68	993. 26
Tulare	14	10, 942. 31	781. 59
Madera	9	8, 124. 77	902. 75
Yuba	9	8, 610. 84	956. 76
Riverside	11	2, 811. 55	255. 59
Santa Clara	10	6, 743. 90	674. 39
Sonoma	6	995. 59	165. 93
Kern	10	9, 377. 42	937. 74
Arizona	24	31, 022. 27	1, 292. 59
Phoenix	9	9, 358. 86	1, 039. 87
Buckeye	3	803. 18	267. 72
Avondale	3	1, 411. 74	470. 58
Chandler	2	4, 209. 59	2, 104. 79
Yuma	1	2, 142. 85	2, 142. 85
Coolidge	4	12, 572. 20	3, 143. 05
Safford	2	523. 85	261. 92

TESTIMONY OF DR. KARL SCHAUPP—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, you have filed a very fine statement here, and it will be incorporated in full in the record. We have had many witnesses today and so instead of reading that statement, I would like to ask you a few questions and bring out the pertinent points.

In the first place, do you hold any office in the medical association?

Dr. SCHAUPP. I represent the medical association—the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association. Until just recently I have been chairman of the council of the California Medical Association.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first get interested in the humanitarian idea of taking care of the indigent sick without pay?

Dr. SCHAUPP. My father died when I was 8 years old and left his wife and six children and we lived in much the way that some of these people are living now. That was my original stimulus for going into medicine.

From the time I began the study of medicine I felt that the people who are indigent or unfortunate and who cannot provide their own medical care, have been giving to the medical profession an experience in payment for the services they have received and that the medical profession therefore owes care to that group of people in the future.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, Doctor, you know what this committee is doing; investigating the migrant problem?

Dr. SCHAUPP. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So, then, we will hurry on to the proposition: Your connection with the care of migrants, whom you have cared for; is that true?

Dr. SCHAUPP. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In a brief way will you tell us about that, Doctor?

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION AID IN INITIATIVE MEDICAL PROGRAM FOR MIGRANTS

Dr. SCHAUPP. I think we can do it very simply. In the end of 1937 and the beginning of 1938, a situation existed in the valley; the storms came along and the people were caught unprepared without having had a great deal of help, and the State relief association couldn't take care of them. The Farm Security Administration stepped in and made an effort to help. They came to the medical association at that time for advice toward medical care. It happened that I at that time was chairman of the council of the association, and was designated as a representative of the California Medical Association to assist the Farm Security Administration in working out a plan.

Out of that grew our Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association. At its inception there were four men from the Farm Security, headed by Jonathan Garst, who was then regional director, and two physicians representing the California Medical Association and one representing the Department of Public Health of the State of California. We met with these individuals to advise, at first, then we formed a corporation under California law and we became the directors of this corporation.

With the advice and help of Dr. A. E. Larson, who at that time was the medical director of the State relief administration, we worked out a plan whereby we could take care of the people under the Farm Security responsibility.

In order to put it into effect over the feeling, of which doctors are always afraid, that government is stepping in to administer medical care to all the people—and I agree with that—they invited the secretaries and the presidents of the county societies throughout the valley and in places where we thought we might operate, to come to San Francisco. This was done at the expense of the medical association. We met and laid out a plan which was approved. We set up a fee schedule which was objected to at first, but when it was explained that a large measure of their service was for the community need the doctors readily agreed.

We had no intention of paying them what the services were worth, but at least to pay the cost and let them contribute to the community need by giving service at a lesser rate.

The plan immediately began to operate throughout the valley from the border up to Marysville, and then we extended into Arizona after consulting with the Arizona Medical Association. The result has been that we have had a very fine cooperation from the medical men, and I know—and I think you do—that the migrant is at the present time well cared for medically.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the relationship between the health conditions of the people in the community and the migrants?

Dr. SCHAUPP. A good example of that is what happened in Arizona about a year and a half ago, when at Casa Grande there was some smallpox in a growers' camp. It spread throughout a large district in Arizona. Typhoid fever developed in the same area. Improper health regulations in the area at that time allowed this spread. It came up as far into California as Indio, not only affecting the migrants, but the people in the community in which they happened to be living at the time.

The health of the migrant is a very important factor in the health of the community in which they live.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your opinion of the medical assistance given by the F. S. A.?

Dr. SCHAUPP. Farm Security Administration?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Dr. SCHAUPP. Without it we couldn't operate. The group is definitely controlled by the Farm Security Administration—because at the present time we have five members of the Farm Security Administration on the board and we have three physicians and a dentist, so they always have the majority—but we were made to understand at the very beginning that the men from the Farm Security Administration knew nothing about medical care that they would depend upon us as physicians to direct that medical care and abide by our advice. This they have done in every case, they would provide the funds and try to administer it fairly and economically, and that they have done. Without it, we couldn't have put on the service at all.

CARE OF CHILDREN

Mr. OSMERS. Do you notice, Doctor, any great number of ills traceable to nutritive causes?

Dr. SCHAUPP. With children; yes. One can't miss that, when you consider the children who go to school with a fried potato sandwich, those children don't do well. We have had the advice and help of medical men like Dr. Cordes, who went into the San Joaquin Valley to investigate the eye conditions among the migrants, mainly children. There we find that a good many of the conditions are due to nutritive faults. We find that the resistance is lower among children. Anyone who goes into a camp such as has been set up and sees the individuals who haven't had access to proper dietary control, you realize that their resistance is lowered. They have respiratory and eye infections. Consider the nursery school. That is one of the biggest things we do. Because the nursery school children are taken in in the morning and fed at noon. They are given a well-balanced meal once each day, and it has raised the health standard of those children tremendously. It starts them on the way, and that, I think, is the place where the most good is done. I don't believe we are going to do so much with the adults, but with the children we are. We are training them to better things, training them to better health conditions and educating them along lines where they hadn't had education at all.

VENEREAL DISEASE

Mr. OSMERS. Dr. Schaupp, had the migrants brought a great deal of syphilis and other contagious diseases into the State of California?

Dr. SCHAUPP. No, sir. As a matter of fact I can't tell you the figures, but it is comparatively little, and I think that danger is tremendously overrated.

Mr. OSMERS. It isn't in the East and other sections where we have traveled, and I wondered what it is here.

Dr. SCHAUPP. We can get those figures for you and give them to you.

Mr. OSMERS. We tested our potato pickers in 1936 and 35 percent of the women and 42 percent of the men——

Dr. SCHAUPP (interrupting). There is nothing like that in California, either among the migrants or among the natives. There were two cases—there were eight cases altogether for all the migrants that were taken care of in June.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you blood test nearly all of them that come under your care?

Dr. SCHAUPP. Through the State board of health. It is not a requirement such as it is to get married in California.

The CHAIRMAN. Who supplies the food, Doctor, for these nursery lunches?

Dr. SCHAUPP. That comes out of our budget, as I understand it; out of our budget. We carry that in the Agricultural Health and Medical Association. We also gave it to children going to high school, but there they are being cut down. We figure that the cure of the malnutrition of a child is just as much a medical procedure as to give them quinine when that is indicated.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the largest item of this medical care?

MATERNITY CARE

Dr. SCHAUPP. Maternity care. I might add that in June, July, and August we took care of 627 live births through the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association. They were scattered throughout Arizona and California, and came, not only from the Government camps, but from any place where they might apply. Of that group 626 were taken care of in the hospital; only one was not. And I think that if you know that so many women were having babies and only one that didn't get to a hospital, that is a pretty good record.

Mr. OSMERS. How is the infant mortality rate?

Dr. SCHAUPP. The infant mortality rate is not very high. I can't give it exactly. That is one thing we are trying to work out in our statistics. The difficulty with that is we take care of them, but we don't bury them when they die. That becomes a county problem; so it is hard to check up.

Mr. OSMERS. You are working on these figures, however?

Dr. SCHAUPP. Yes sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider hospitalization more necessary for these migrant mothers than the resident community mothers?

Dr. SCHAUPP. Quite definitely. It is not any more necessary than for the resident group of the same economic condition. I know this question is asked for the record, but if you could see some of the camps, you would realize that a woman could have but shouldn't have a child in such a shelter. Even in the Government camps where you have nice quarters for them, the whole family lives in that cabin. That is not good for the community in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Doctor, we have your full statement and you have given us a very valuable contribution, and we think you are doing a wonderful work. Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a 3-minute recess.

(Whereupon a brief recess was taken, after which proceedings were resumed as follows:)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order.

(At the request of L. L. Gourley, Washington, D. C., counsel for the American Osteopathic Association, Shoreham Building, Washington, D. C., the following revised statement of Dr. Lily G. Harris was later accepted for the record. The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF LILY G. HARRIS, D. O. (OAKLAND, CALIF.), DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND CHILD WELFARE, CALIFORNIA OSTEOPATHIC ASSOCIATION

There can be no doubt that the money furnished by the Federal Farm Security Administration to the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association for the provision of medical care to agricultural migrants has been of great benefit not only to the migrants themselves, but to the communities in which they are located.

It is becoming more and more generally recognized that the health of the individual has a direct relation to the health of the community. That is the basis of the reporting and the segregating of cases of communicable diseases, which is an established practice in most all communities. Workmen's compensation and employers' liability laws are other instances. The Federal and State Governments recognize that measures for preserving the health of the indigent are not only justified as good economy, but otherwise necessary for the general welfare, and Government appropriations of money out of the public revenues are made for the specific purpose.

An instance of these appropriations is that authorized in the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, under which the Farm Security Administration was created by Executive order to rehabilitate low-income farmers, including migratory farm workers. In order to provide medical care to its clients, the Farm Security Administration sought the cooperation only of State associations of doctors of medicine (medical associations). It entered into agreements with the medical associations whereby, allegedly in consideration for the cooperation of the medical associations, the Farm Security Administration offered to stand good for medical bills of Farm Security clients under procedures restricting the client's choice of physician to doctors of medicine—doctors of medicine who are either members of the medical associations or eligible for membership. The Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association is based on such an agreement. Notwithstanding the good which the agreement otherwise accomplishes, we submit that to the extent that it represents a combination to restrict the client's choice of physician to doctors of medicine, and to outlaw the cooperation of all other physicians, it is antisocial and requires correction.

As chairman of the committee on public health and child welfare of the California Osteopathic Association, I have on a number of occasions manifested the desire of the association to cooperate with the Farm Security Administration and the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association in providing medical care to the agricultural low-income groups and farm labor migrants. On each occasion my efforts have been rebuffed and I have been confronted with citations from the charter and bylaws of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association which read in part, as follows:

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' HEALTH AND MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

ART. II. * * * the objects and purposes for which it is formed are: * * * to engage in any activity involving or relating to the obtaining for its members of medical and dental treatment and the services and any surgery, nursing, or hospitalization, and medical and surgical supplies and appliances * * * to make provision for the payment for and to pay bills for services rendered and supplies furnished to its members by physicians and dentists duly licensed to practice medicine or dentistry in the State of California or in such other States in which this Association shall qualify to do business * * *.

BYLAWS, AS AMENDED

Title I. The association will engage in providing medical and dental care to migratory agricultural workers for whom local, county, and State medical facilities are not available due to local residence regulations.

Title II. Procedure for receiving medical and dental care: * * * The member will be referred to doctors of medicine holding unrevoked licenses to practice in the State of California, eligible to membership in the county medical societies and who have agreed to participate in the program or dentists holding unrevoked licenses to practice in the State of California.

Examples of the operation of the above provisions of the articles of incorporation and bylaws, insofar as the cooperation of State and local osteopathic associations and the provision of osteopathic services are concerned, are as follows:

DECEMBER 5, 1938.

Mr. JONATHAN GARST,
Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association,
San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR SIR: I would like to make application to be on the panel and handle migratory agricultural workers, which is administered through you, as I understand, from Federal funds.

I feel that I am adequately trained to handle any and all conditions which may be sent to me. I have had 3 years premedical training at the University of California at Los Angeles, and spent 4 years at the College of Osteopathic Physicians and Surgeons in Los Angeles. After graduation in 1935 I spent 3½ years at the Los Angeles County General Hospital, having resigned from there holding the position of senior resident physician on surgery. I hold an unlimited physician and surgeon's certificate in California.

I have just recently established an office and practice here in Visalia. You may expect my fullest cooperation in the care of migratory indigents.

Sincerely,

ROBERT P. HARING, D. O.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS HEALTH AND MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,
Fresno, Calif., December 10, 1938.

Dr. ROBERT P. HARING, *Visalia, Calif.*

DEAR DR. HARING: Your letter of December 4, addressed to Mr. Jonathan Garst, president of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, has been referred to me for consideration and reply.

I am sorry to have to report to you that our panel of doctors is open only to *doctors of medicine duly licensed to practice medicine* in the States of California and Arizona. As this provision is set up specifically in our articles of incorporation and bylaws, we have been unable to extend our services to include referral to osteopathic physicians and surgeons.

We thank you for your interest, and regret that we are unable to accept your application.

Yours very truly,

R. W. LYON, *General Manager.*

[Italics mine.]

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS HEALTH AND MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

FRESNO, CALIF.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., *February 4, 1939.*

WILBUR A. LOSE, D. O., *Fresno, Calif.*

DEAR DR. LOSE: This is in reply to your letter of December 2, 1938, and January 27, 1939, addressed to Mr. Jonathan Garst.

The board of directors of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association has authorized me to inform you that the bylaws of the association provide that *only doctors of medicine who are eligible for membership in the county medical societies may qualify to participate in the program* of the association.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT J. GRAVES, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

[Italics mine.]

The migrant, who is the Farm Security client, in making application for membership in the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, undertakes that he will repay the money expended by the association in providing him medical services, if he can, and he subscribes to the charter and bylaws, and rules and regulations of the association when he accepts membership. Yet the migrant in a great number of instances, if not most instances, does not realize that in subscribing to the bylaws, his choice of physician is restricted to doctors of medicine, and if he did so realize it, he is not in the position to do anything about it. The migrant is left no choice, when being indigent he is confronted with the proposition of taking a restricted type of medical care or else getting none at all.

The contention of the California Osteopathic Association is that this arbitrary restriction against freedom of choice of physician is not only an infringement of the rights of the indigent migrant—and we contend that it is rights rather than the charity concept which is involved—it also dilutes the efficient operation of the plan because, among other reasons, in a number of instances qualified osteopathic physicians and surgeons are more readily accessible than qualified doctors of medicine, indeed they may be the only physicians available at the time.

Apparently, the refusal of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association to furnish for the migrant-client-member any medical services other than that supplied by doctors of medicine, has the sanction and stamp of approval of the Federal Government, because the Farm Security Administration, which is a Federal functionary, not only furnishes the money to the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, but has now, and has had from the beginning, a maporitry representation on the board of directors of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association. That majority representation on the board of directors makes the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association essentially and practically a Government corporation.

In operating the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, the Farm Security Administration is engaged in direct medical relief to the needy agricultural migrants. As such a direct medical relief agency, when it enjoined the restriction against freedom of choice of physician to doctors of medicine. Was it following precedents established in prior Federal programs of direct medical relief to the needy? Let us see.

In 1933 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration made grants to the States from Federal funds for the payment of medical attendance and medical supplies for families receiving relief. Under the rules promulgated, adequacy of such relief was made an obligation on the State emergency relief administrations and on all the political subdivisions of the States administering relief. The rules further provided for recognition, within legal and economic limitations, of the traditional family and family physician relationship in the authorization of medical care for indigent persons in their homes. Another rule stated: "Participation shall be open to all physicians licensed to practice medicine in the State, subject to local statutory limitations." Construing that rule, the medical consultant for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration stated:

"The phraseology chosen may be interpreted as a deliberate recognition by the Administration that it would not be improper for local relief officials, in their discretion, to authorize duly licensed osteopaths to perform professional medical services, subject to the restrictions of law."

Osteopathic physicians and surgeons licensed under the California laws were declared eligible under that interpretation and did participate and cooperate in rendering professional services to indigent families on relief.

Following the expiration of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Federal Government established the Civil Works Administration and placed the responsibility of medical relief for the Civil Works Administration workers upon the Federal Compensation Commission. In 1938 (Public Law 558, 75th Cong.) Congress amended the Federal Compensation Act to specifically require that in the provision of medical services for this group as well as for the classified civil-service employees, the services of osteopathic physicians and hospitals should be made available, as follows:

"The term 'physician' includes surgeons and osteopathic practioners within the scope of their practice as defined by State law.

"The term 'medical, surgical, and hospital services and supplies' includes services and supplies by osteopathic practitioners and hospitals within the scope of their practice as defined by State law."

Therefore, in view of the fact that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration authorized osteopathic care to Federal relief clients, and in view of the fact that Congress has specifically authorized the provision of osteopathic services for the Federal emergency employees as well as the classified civil-service employees, and in view of the fact that a number of the farm migrants prefer the services of osteopathic physicians, and in view of the fact that the principle of freedom of choice of physician should be kept inviolate, and in view of the fact that the migrants are obligated to repay the Federal money made available to them for medical services, and in view of the fact that there are approximately 1,600 osteopathic physicians legally licensed and practicing their profession in the State of California, and in view of the fact that there are State and local associations of such osteopathic physicians in California willing to cooperate in the program, it is respectfully submitted that the Farm Security Administration in its program of health rehabilitation of farm migrants and low-income farmers, whether acting directly or indirectly, shall proceed in such manner as to preserve freedom of choice of physician under rules making available the services of licensed doctors of medicine and licensed doctors of osteopathy without discrimination.

TESTIMONY OF CAREY McWILLIAMS, CHIEF, DIVISION OF IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The Chairman. Will Mr. McWilliams take the stand? Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you, Mr. McWilliams.

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. McWilliams, give the reporter your full name and title.

Mr. McWilliams. My name is Carey McWilliams. I am chief of the division of immigration and housing of the department of industrial relations, State government of California.

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. McWilliams, I have read your statement rather closely dealing with labor contractors. I have enjoyed it very much.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF CAREY McWILLIAMS, CHIEF, DIVISION OF IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING, CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Labor Contractor System in Far-Western States

Feeling that the agricultural labor contractor system, as practiced in such States as California, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Utah, and Idaho has a direct bearing upon the interstate migration of destitute people, the general subject matter of your investigations, the division of immigration and housing is submitting the following report:

The relevance of this report, as it pertains to the subject matter of your investigation, may be outlined, as follows:

First. There are numerous agricultural labor contractors who operate in some or all of the States above-mentioned and who habitually move or transport persons across State lines. The exact number of labor contractors who operate in two or more States is not known, nor can any estimate be made of the number of migrants who follow them in the course of their operations, but the division has evidence clearly indicating that the number of such contractors is larger than is ordinarily assumed and that the population involved in this interstate movement is quite sizable.

Because of the character of the operations of these contractors, it is felt that the matter of regulating their activities is one that falls generally within the province of the Federal Government, and certainly that the problem is of such importance as to warrant the Department of Labor in making a thoroughgoing investigation of the operations of those labor contractors who operate in two or more States.

Second. The operations of labor contractors in agriculture has an indirect bearing upon the subject matter of your investigation for the reason that, as will be pointed out later, these contractors have established definite patterns of migration within particular States. This migration is but part and parcel of a larger interstate movement of population. Furthermore, the operations of even those labor contractors who restrict their activities to California, serve as a contributing factor to the general problem of interstate migration in that, by the very nature of their operations, they attract many migrants from out-of-State, and these migrantes in turn form a part of the movement of workers generally in the West.

Third. The operations of labor contractors have a further bearing upon the subject matter of your inquiry, in that, by the very nature of these operations, the efficiency of public employment agencies is, to a considerable degree, frustrated. As long as the labor-contractor system is deeply entrenched in agriculture, it will be impossible or extremely difficult for the various public placement services to function efficiently. Furthermore, as will be developed later, the operations of labor contractors have a definite tendency to overcrowd particular areas during seasonal agricultural operations. By so doing, the system of labor contractors disrupts the local community labor market; it also has a tendency to disrupt local wage structures and local price conditions and to the extent to which the system has these effects, it is a contributing factor in the general problem of interstate migration. Labor contractors, by the very nature of their operations, have no concern with the relation which should be obtained between the actual labor needs of a particular locality in a particular season and the local supply of labor.

Fourth. And finally, the operations of labor contractors have a definite relation to certain Federal agencies and in particular should be a matter of concern to the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, from the point of view of child welfare. The facts supporting this statement will be set forth later, but it is sufficient to say that a contractor's camp is not the most ideal environment in which to raise children. Also, as will be developed later, the camp program of the Farm Security Administration is definitely affected by the labor-contractor system. For these and other reasons, therefore, it is felt that the following report would be of interest to the members of your committee.

BACKGROUND OF THE LABOR-CONTRACTOR SYSTEM IN CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURE

To understand the significance of the labor-contractor system in this State, it is important to remember that the system, itself, has a long history in California. It was originally developed and, to a considerable extent, is still connected with the use of alien racial minority groups in California agriculture. Certain definite reasons can be assigned for the development of the system, itself, namely:

First. Many of these groups, which were imported to work in California agriculture, did not speak the English language. This handicap worked in two ways: to make the alien agricultural worker dependent upon the "boss" or "foreman" of his race, who did speak English and also to make the employer dependent upon the same individual in order to communicate with workers.

Second. At the time of the importation of certain of these groups, and in particular, the Chinese and Japanese, the distances to be traveled in the course of employment were great; camp facilities were not generally available; and transportation was rudimentary.

Third. Also, at this early stage there were no public employment services, and in particular, such agencies as the United States Farm Placement Service were nonexistent. Therefore, to a considerable extent, growers were dependent upon labor contractors to recruit their labor supply.

Fourth. There was a natural tendency on the part of these alien workers to associate together and to seek through such association, the solution to many of the handicaps which they faced as aliens in a strange environment. They became, in this manner, peculiarly dependent upon their own leaders, who, in many instances, were labor contractors, and this tendency is noticeably apparent even at the present time in connection with the employment of Filipino workers in agriculture.

Fifth. Another reason for the development of the system is that workers needed guidance to find employment from crop to crop, from area to area, from season to season, and the labor contractor, because of his experience, possessed this knowledge. There is a great deal more that might be said concerning the background of the development of this system, but the foregoing will have to suffice for the purpose of this report. (A complete history, running to some 200 pages, of the contractor system in California agriculture can be found in a report bearing that title, prepared by the Federal Writers Project of the Work Projects Administration on file in the office of the Division of Immigration and Housing, San Francisco, Calif.)

THE PRESENT-DAY PREVALENCE OF THE LABOR CONTRACT SYSTEM

Although the use of alien immigrant labor in California agriculture, in relation to the use of so-called white American labor, has definitely decreased, nevertheless, the contract system obtains on a much wider basis throughout California agriculture, than is commonly assumed. Certain phases of the present-day use of the system in California can be summarized as follows:

1. Investigation made by this Division indicates that with respect to areas of production in California, that the contract system is fairly all-embracing. That is to say, the labor contractor system will be found in use in the Imperial Valley, in the southern California citrus belt, in the coastal counties, and in northern and central California. While the system is definitely entrenched in certain areas, as will be pointed out later, nevertheless, it can be said that there is hardly an important agricultural area in the State in which labor contractors do not operate. The prevalence of the system is indicated by the fact that there are some 150 labor contractors registered with the Division of Labor Statistics and Law Enforcement of the Department of Industrial Relations, and admittedly, there are a great many more unlicensed contractors in California than there are licensed.

2. The size of the labor operations of these contractors varies considerably. Certain contractors employ as few as 6 to 12 or 15 workers, but many of them conduct operations on a much larger scale, and investigations made within the last 3 months indicate the existence of numerous contractors who employ as many as 500 and 600 workers. It is not at all uncommon to find labor contractors in whose camps may be found a hundred or more families and in one hop camp, operated by a labor contractor investigated this year, there were found 500 men, approximately 200 women and approximately 100 children.

3. With respect to the area of operations, there is considerable variation among labor contractors. Some restrict their operations to a particular locality or county or to one or more adjacent counties. On the other hand, there are many contractors who follow a definite pattern of migration year in and year out, and these contractors have come to be looked upon by growers as the agencies through which a fixed seasonal labor supply is recruited. We have discovered labor contractors who move from the Imperial Valley to Santa Clara County, and from San Diego to Sacramento, and in certain instances, from Salinas to the Imperial Valley, to Arizona and return and in this connection,

we have discovered certain labor contractors who move from San Diego northward through the State to Oregon, Washington, and Idaho and in certain instances, from California to Utah and return.

4. One definite characteristic in connection with the use of this system at the present time is that the system seems to be most firmly entrenched in those segments of agriculture where the packing, processing, canning, shipping, and refrigeration aspects have come to have an ascendancy over the purely productive aspects. In other words, the system may be frequently found in use in those instances where crops are purchased in the field by the canneries or processing concerns who undertake, as part of the contract of purchase, to harvest the crop. Concerns of this character frequently use labor contractors and to the extent of which this arrangement is becoming more and more widespread, the contractor system is likely to increase in importance.

5. With respect to crops, the contract system is quite important in peas, lettuce, asparagus, tomatoes, sugar beets, spinach and celery, but our investigations indicate that the system is by no means restricted to these crops, for in the course of the investigation made this year, we have found labor contractors operating in the following crops: Prunes, apricots, grapes, hops, citrus, walnuts, almonds, peaches, melons, potatoes, figs, beans, pears, apples, cherries, olives, carrots, cotton, plums, and nectarines.

6. A further characteristic of the prevalence of the contract system today is that most, if not all, of the contractors from whom we have obtained statements or have interviewed, are, themselves, members of one or more of the various racial minority groups. The great bulk of the contractors whom we have contacted are Filipinos and Mexicans. To a considerable extent, as might be expected, these contractors show a preference for the employment of members of their own race. This is by no means true of all contractors, and as a matter of fact, many other groups will be found in the crews particularly of Mexican contractors including so-called white American workers. Contractors have a virtual monopoly in the harvesting of peas, and in peas in particular, many white Americans and so-called "dust-bowl" migrants find employment. Also in certain crops of which asparagus and sugar beets may be taken as examples, the system is so widely used as to be regarded as the all-inclusive form of labor employment. Sugar beet refineries customarily maintain lists of available labor contractors, and, in negotiating for the purchase of sugar beets from growers, arrangement for the use of contractors is customarily made in the office of the refinery.

7. A further circumstance in connection with the present-day use of this system is this: that in one or two areas, of which Salinas is the most notable example, the contractor system is so firmly entrenched that the contractors have a virtual 100 percent monopoly of employment. For a number of years, the contractor system in Salinas has come to be regarded as the accepted form of crop harvest.

8. In connection with the prevalence of the system today, it might also be said that most contractors work for a number of employers. We have found a few instances where contractors are more or less definitely employed on a year-to-year basis by one or another of the large produce firms, but in general, they will work for several employers during the year, and in some cases, for as many as 30 or 40 separate employers.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LABOR CONTRACTOR SYSTEM

From the investigation made by this Division based upon first-hand interviews with growers, agricultural workers, contractors and so-called fieldmen for the canning, processing, and shipping concerns, it can be said that the labor contractor system gives rise to the following vicious practices.

1. In the first place, the system is premised upon a divided employer's responsibility as between the primary employer and the labor contractor. The tendency is for the primary employer to shift more and more responsibility upon the labor contractor. In general, it can be said that the tendency is for the employer to use the labor contractor for the purpose of escaping his responsibility as an employer, with respect to Workmen's Compensation Insurance; the maintenance of labor camps and housing; the expense of recruitment; the expense of transportation; the expense and trouble, in some instances, of board-

ing workers; and generally, to avoid the overhead expense involved in supervising field labor, computing wages, maintaining records and obtaining competent workers. To understand the use to which this system of employment has been put, it is necessary to remember that there are a great many contractors in California agriculture, and with the single exception of the Salinas district, the contractors are not organized in any manner. Consequently, the existence of this system offers primary employers an opportunity to use competing labor groups as a means to force down wages and other labor costs. The competition that exists among labor contractors, as such, is almost as great as the competition that exists among agricultural workers for jobs.

2. The use of the contract system makes for irresponsibility; in fact, it is the essence of irresponsibility. In the first place, there is no legally responsible employer, for the reason that there is an infinite variation in the details of the contract used between the primary employer and the labor contractor, in those cases where the contract is written. And quite apart from this difficulty is the added circumstance that in a great many cases, perhaps in the majority of cases, there is no written contract. Because of the fact that many contracts are verbal and because of the fact that there is no standard form of agreement, the primary employer and the labor contractor can toss responsibility for particular items back and forth in an endless manner. The upshot of this reshuffling of responsibility is that insofar as workers are concerned no one is responsible. This is particularly true in part by reason of the fact that workers are not furnished copies of the contract between the primary employers and the labor contractor, nor do they have knowledge of the contents of the agreement. Consequently, half the time they do not know, nor could legal counsel advise them, by whom they are actually employed. A further factor, making for irresponsibility under this system, is that not only are the workers themselves migratory, but their immediate employer, the labor contractor, is also migratory. He usually has no fixed residence or office or headquarters, and he is proverbially as difficult to locate at any particular time or place as a needle in a haystack. It can be said, almost without exception, that labor contractors, even licensed labor contractors, maintain no books of account or records. Furthermore, in many instances, they are known to their employees only by given names or nicknames so that their actual identity is, itself, unknown. Furthermore, the system lends itself naturally to collusion between primary employers and contractors. For example, it is a means through which blacklisting can be made particularly effective, and the operation of the system has a direct tendency to prevent the organization of workers for the purpose of self-protection. Also, in those cases where the use of the system has been developed to the point where the contractors have a monopoly of employment, it makes it impossible for workers to obtain employment except through labor contractors, and in these areas, the contract system performs the same function as the illegal company dominated union performs in industrial relations. Likewise, the granting of concessions by the primary employer to the labor contractor, such as concessions with respect to board, camps, stores, and transportation, lends itself to grave abuses. It can be said generally in industrial relations that wherever some individual or agency is interposed between the source of the pay roll and the workers, that the opportunity is created for chiseling, so-called "kick-backs," bonuses, and similar practices.

3. The operation of this system naturally creates a situation whereby the primary employers can play different groups, each having different standards of living against the other, with the tendency being to show a preference in employment to those having the lowest standards, thereby reducing all standards to the lowest common denominator. A perfect example of this tendency may be found in connection with peas as pointed out above. Labor contractors monopolize employment in the pea harvest, and because they do, migrants from the Dust Bowl who are to be found in large numbers in pea camps, have been reduced to the standards of Mexican field labor.

4. Another abuse to which this system lends itself has to do with the manner and method of wage payment. Since most labor contractors are wholly without means, they cannot finance a pay roll. Consequently, they must resort to various credit devices until they in turn are paid. Hence, the use of checks, counters, script, tickets and other devices of this type are generally prevalent among labor contractors. Another means whereby credit is obtained is for the

contractor to arrange credit at a particular store at which tickets or script issued in lieu of cash payment for wages may be used to purchase commodities. The effect of this system, of course, is to restrict the opportunities of workers as consumers and to force them to buy from a particular store. It should be noted that the stores to which such arrangements are made include not only grocery stores, but also gasoline stations and general merchandise stores. The ticket method is perhaps the most common of all of these devices. A sample of the type of ticket used is the following:

"C. Lopez—Contractor Man

"Fruit and Peas Picking

"Stockton, California

"These tickets are redeemable at Beacon's Service Station and East Market only."

Naturally, where this type of system is used, there is a considerable barter among workers with respect to tickets; tickets are frequently exchanged for cigarettes and other commodities, and tickets are often sold at a severe cash discount. It also frequently happens that the contractor overdraws his credit at the store with the result that issued tickets are repudiated, and in some instances, the storekeeper is left "holding the sack." Another difficulty which arises where tickets are redeemable at a store is that storekeepers will refuse to give back change and insist that all tickets be used for the purchase of commodities. Another consequence is that some merchants who honor arrangements of this type will charge higher prices for ticket-purchases in order to insure against the risks natural to this type of arrangement. Definitely connected with this problem is the fact that there is no standard method by which labor contractors are themselves compensated. They may, for example, receive a differential between prices paid by the grower and the price which they pay the workers for a given unit of operation. A sample of this was found in connection with a labor contractor in prunes this year who contracted to harvest prunes at $3.15 per ton, and who in turn, paid his workers $2.90 per ton, retaining the difference of twenty-five cents as his compensation. This unit differential is the most common method of compensating the contractor, but it is by no means the only method. A contractor may receive a percentage of the pay roll—usually 5 percent—for his compensation or in some instances, he may be paid a per diem fee, or he may obtain his compensation by an exclusive concession with respect to board, camp, store or transportation. Some contractors themselves work in the field and where they do so, they are usually paid a higher hourly rate, where the hourly method of pay is used. Because of the infinite variation that occurs, it is extremely difficult to say in any particular case whether a labor contractor is actually, as a matter of law, an independent contractor, or whether he is merely a foreman, row boss, or superintendent. The absence of any settled custom or practice is one of the most serious disadvantages of this system. Another practice which makes for considerable unrest among workers is that labor contractors are frequently charged with changing the rate of compensation from day to day or from week to week without notice.

5. A serious disadvantage of the system arises in connection with transportation. Where contractors have their own trucks to transport workers they will be found to be, for the most part, old, dilapidated, unsafe, and unfit for the transportation of passengers. Reports of accidents occurring in connection with the transportation of agricultural workers by contractors show many flagrant cases. A sample of this type of situation is that which occurred at McAllen, Tex., on March 14, 1940. In this case, a truck was struck by a railroad train and of the 44 workers in the truck 29 were killed; of those killed, 11 were children under 16 years of age. (This incident was investigated by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor and a full report of the accident was submitted to a subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor pursuant to S. Res. No. 266, on May 27, 1940.) This Division has recently investigated a parallel case which occurred near Tracy, Calif., on August 20, 1940. The facts with respect to this case are as follows:

"On August 20, 1940, a truck, overcrowded with some 60 tomato pickers, overturned on Highway U. S. 50, Route B-5, at the intersection of Tom Paine

Road, five miles east of Tracy, at 6:45 A. M. The tomato pickers, who were being transported to work from the Stockton Skid Row, were thrown in all directions upon the highway. Twenty-nine of these men were taken in ambulances and privately commandeered cars to the San Joaquin County Hospital at Stockton. These twenty-nine persons all received injuries. Five of the injuries were serious, including such conditions as fractured skulls, dislocated shoulder, scalp wounds, rib fractures, etc. The truck was driven by Roy Mitchell, 29, negro, of 1119 South Center Street, Stockton. According to the records of the Stockton office of the State Highway Patrol, the workers riding in the truck claimed that they had shouted warnings to the driver of his carelessness. The 60 men were crowded into this flat-bed truck and were forced to stand therein. Mitchell, the truck driver, was in the employ of Aurellio Ramirez, who is the owner of the El Jalisco Restaurant, 14 South Center Street, Stockton. (Ramirez is also the owner of the truck.) The driver of the truck was being employed at a wage of $3 as a driver. Ramirez' interest in transporting the workers was the collection daily of 15 cents per worker for a round trip from Stockton Skid Row to the tomato field, and the sale to the workers of a daily lunch which they carried with them, at a charge of 15 cents per worker. This arrangement had been made between Ramirez and Augustin Luga, ranch foreman for Tony Bastion, a tomato grower. Bastion, however, is a lessee, the owner of the ranch being one Joe Petric. The driver of the truck was not properly licensed under the Motor Vehicle Act. Three workers were interviewed who stated that when they rode to the ranch in a private car Ramirez deducted ten cents apiece from their wages as penalty for not riding in his truck. Needless to say, none of the parties carried workman's compensation insurance or public liability insurance. Ramirez was not licensed under the Motor Vehicle Act, nor was he licensed by either the Board of Equalization or the California Railroad Commission to operate as a common carrier for hire. The workers were receiving compensation of five cents per box for tomatoes picked. This episode is a perfect illustration of the utter irresponsibility and the viciousness of the method of labor recruitment at present in vogue in many agricultural sections of California. Accidents of this kind are occurring all the time."

It is interesting to note that previous to this accident and on or about December 10, 1939, in the vicinity of Stockton, an accident occurred again in connection with the transportation of workers by a labor contractor. In this case, the side boards on a truck collapsed and 10 workers were injured and consequently treated at the San Joaquin County Hospital. The absence of a responsible employer adequately insured both with respect to workmen's compensation insurance and general liability is conspicuous in these three instances. Not only are these cases illustrative of the lack of responsibility in the system itself, but other grave abuses arise in connection with transportation. One instance was called to the attention of this Division on February 20, 1939, when workers on a large industrial farm in the delta district complained that they were being charged 2 cents an hour for transportation from field to field on the same company's property. Transportation charges made by labor contractors can be, and frequently are, excessive and may run as high as 15, 20, or 30 cents a day which of itself is a very large item when related to the daily earnings of agricultural workers. It frequently happens, also, that a contractor has an exclusive monopoly on transportation, that is to say, that unless workers will agree to ride in his truck and pay for transportation, he will not secure for them a job or if they do work on this particular job, but have their own means of transportation, he will deduct from their earnings a stipulated charge for transportation.

6. Another and severe disadvantage of this system arises by reason of the fact that contractors regard themselves as being in opposition to public employment services. Occasionally a labor contractor will try to secure help through the California State Employment Service, but generally he does so only to supplement a crew. For the most part they never go near a public employment service and because they employ so many workers in agriculture, this circumstance prevents the employment service from efficiently discharging one of the functions for which it was established. Not only do contractors interfere with the proper functioning of the employment services, but they generally recruit their crews outside the area of operations, which militates against the chances of local labor finding employment. Even in those cases where labor contractors recruit crews

in the locality, their operations give rise to grave abuses. An illustration of this may be found in the conditions prevailing in the so-called "skid-rows" of such communities as Sacramento, Stockton, and Fresno. Into these tenderloin districts labor contractors bring their trucks at 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning to recruit crews from the curb and also from the cheap rooming houses, restaurants, and saloons. This practice has become so well established that the labor contractor can be said to be one of the factors making for the perpetuation of "skid-row." It also happens that in some instances the restaurant or cafe owners have concessions to provide lunches at a fee and workers obtain employment through the restaurant owner, who is a contact for the labor contractor, but they do so only on condition that they buy lunches from the restaurant owner. Rooming-house operators in "skid-rows" have much the same arrangement. These "skid-rows" have all of the evil aspects of metropolitan tenderloins in an aggravated form. To appreciate the extent of the social evils associated with these "skid-row" districts, one has only to interview the doctors and attendants of the nearest county hospital and to discuss with them the type of "wino" drunk who finds his way into the county hospital out of "skid-row."

7. Another tendency of the labor contractor system is for the contractor to force more and more of the expense of operation upon his employees, particularly in connection with the purchase of supplies and equipment and other expenses. We have discovered instances where employees, out of their earnings, have been forced to purchase the trade-mark labels that go on agricultural products and the wrapping in connection therewith. In certain instances, these charges result in deductions from the employee's earnings of as much as 20 and 25 cents a day. We have also encountered cases of where labor contractors have charged employees the amount of the premium on policies of workmen's compensation insurance, in those occasional instances where the contractor maintains workmen's compensation insurance. Similarly, labor contractors frequently force crews to live in a particular camp as a condition of obtaining employment. This circumstance seriously affects the Farm Security Administration program as it results in workers being forced to move out of the sanitary camps maintained by this agency and to move into a contractor camp in order to secure employment. In an incident investigated this year, to which reference is later made, we found that a labor contractor was charging workers $2.50 per week for tents on platforms in his camp and $1.50 per week for the privilege of putting their own tents on platforms.

8. Another serious consequence of this system is that labor contractors will frequently move workers into a particular area or direct them to collect in a particular area before work is available, thus forcing them to run debits at his store or gasoline station. As an example of this situation reference is made to the following case investigated by the Division this year. In this case, the labor contractor had a contract with a large cannery to harvest 800 acres of spinach in lower Alameda County for canning purposes. The contractor communicated with a former row boss, who at that time was living in Brawley, Calif. in the Imperial Valley. Acting on his instructions, the row boss dispatched workers from Brawley, Calif., to Alameda County. Each worker was given a letter or card which contained the following:

> Phil Hernandez, 25402 Niles Road, Hayward.
>
> Give ------------------ work. Hired in Brawley. They understand that the spinach has to be put in the crate clean. Not good after March 10, 1940.
>
> JACK MINYARD,
> *Niles Canyon,*
> *For cabins Niles, Decoto, Hayward.*

Pursuant to these instructions, approximately 200 people, in their own cars and at their own expense, came from Brawley, Calif. to the Niles Canyon Camp, referred to in the note. The distance traveled was approximately 625 miles. They arrived in the camp in accordance with their instructions before March 10, 1940. Most of these people, who made this long trip, were migrants from Oklahoma, Texas, and Kansas and although they all reported for work on March 10, 1940, and the first of them actually went to work on March 25, 15 days later and the work was practically through by April 9, 1940. Although the inference in the note quoted is that cabins and tent camps were furnished free, they were charged for the dubious privilege of camping in this particular camp. Certain of these individuals were personally interviewed. One of them had obtained 7 days of employment; one obtained 9 days employment; a man and wife, during the period they were employed, earned $9, to earn which they had traveled 625 miles. Another factor which must be considered is the following, namely, that because of the competition among contractors they, themselves, work under the same pressure that their own employees are subject to. Their margin of profit is extremely slight and they are forced by circumstances to cut corners, to chisel and to engage in shady practices. The labor contractor, on a large job, has certain fixed operating expenses, that is to say, he must employ in such crops as spinach, a certain number of "row bosses" for the number of workers and over the "row bosses" must be a field foreman for each field in which a crew is operated. These "row bosses" and foremen are paid a per diem fee. Consequently, the contractor is under constant pressure to finish the job as soon as possible. This in turn is a strong inducement to him to overcrowd the field, to speed up labor operations, to work long hours, and this in turn reduces the average period of employment and the aggregate amount paid for labor. It is not at all an uncommon sight to see in a hundred acres of peas four crews at work, one starting from each end and two from the middle, working toward the outer boundaries. With the piece-rate system of payment, which is used in peas, this practice makes it impossible for any individual worker to make a decent day's wages.

It should also be borne in mind that by using a large crew in the field, at a low piece rate or a low hourly rate canneries frequently make substantial savings in their overhead expenses. For example, spinach can be cut "below the ground" by a horse-drawn vehicle. When this method is used, very little field labor is required, but since the spinach when cut in this manner is dirty, this method doubles the requirement for labor in the canneries and since field labor is paid less than shed labor, most canneries insist that spinach be cut by hand above the ground, thereby saving themselves considerable sums of money. It should be noted also that many contractors handle, in the course of a particular "deal," a sizable sum of money. Their weekly pay roll may run as high as $5,000 and there is always adherent in this circumstance the risk of defalcation.

The records of the Department of Industrial Relations, over a period of a great many years, clearly indicate many complaints with respect to the nonpayment of wages by labor-chiseling contractors. Also, the same records indicate complaints with respect to labor contractors chiseling on the computation of daily earnings. How common complaints are of this character is indicated by testimony given on the Labor Dispute Act, hearings before the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, Seventy-fourth Congress, first session, on H. R. 6288, March 13, 14, 19, 20, and 28 and April 3 and 4, 1935, at which hearings it was testified that from May to August of each year in Imperial Valley, California, 90 percent of the claims filed with the Deputy Labor Commissioner in that area involved charges of chiseling by labor contractors. See also Imperial Valley Democrat published at Brawley, Calif., June 24, 1934.

9. In connection with board, also, grave abuses arise in those instances where a contractor insists that workers board in his camp or on his premises. Charges for board range from 75 cents a day to as high as $1.35 a day and our attention has been called to numerous circumstances which make this practice oppressive. For example, if a worker goes away over Sunday for a weekend, he is charged board just the same as though he were present. He is also charged board whether he works or not and complaint has been made to this Division that some contractors interrupt labor operations for the purpose of prolonging the period when board is charged.

10. Perhaps, the most serious disadvantage of this system is the following, namely, that it offers no opportunity of advancement to the workers; no possibility of steady employment; no possibility of establishing an employment record through continuity of employment. It is a "dead end" system. This is perhaps its most vicious feature. Coupled with this is the circumstance that there is no personal relation between the primary employer and the employee, in fact, no contact whatever.

When they do maintain camps, labor contractors' camps are as a rule below the standard of those camps maintained directly by growers. The worst labor camps in this State, in the experience of the Division, are the pea camps which are exclusively labor contractors' camps. We have encountered instances of where liquor has been sold in camps by labor contractors and gambling of one type or another, particularly in connection with cock fights, is a common occurrence in labor camps. When these factors are considered and when the number of children residing in labor camps is also considered, the undesirability of a labor contractor's camp from every point of view is all too apparent.

In submitting this report, the Division would like to point out that it is not alone in its condemnation of the abuses of the labor contractor system. The condemnation of the labor contractor system may be found in the following sources:

Annual Report, Division of Immigration and Housing, January 1927, pages 17 to 20.

Pacific Rural Press, October 1, 1936.

Mexicans in California, a report of Gov. C. C. Young's fact-finding committee, October 1930, ch. 6, p. 125.

San Francisco News, May 4, 1938.

Statement of Roy Stockton, former chief, California State Employment Service.

Fresno Bee, May 11, 1938.

Article by Robert E. Girvin, San Francisco Chronicle, May 10, 1937.

Report by Campbell McCullough for the Los Angeles Regional Board entitled "Labor Conditions in Imperial Valley," January 1934.

San Diego Sun, January 31, 1934.

Santa Barbara Morning Press, November 22, 1934.

The Agricultural section of the California State Chamber of Commerce as reported in the Pacific Rural Press, February 21, 1937.

San Jose Mercury Herald, February 21, 1937.

In this same connection, it is also significant that among the causes for strikes in agriculture it has been found that the third most common cause of such strikes as shown in the list of grievances presented by agricultural workers is a demand for the abolition of the contract system. (Labor Dispute Act.)

In fact, the problem of labor contractors provoked so much trouble that it has resulted in at least one county ordinance regulating their operations; that of Santa Barbara County, ordinance No. 500, adopted April 26, 1937.

At the present time a labor contractor must comply with the regulations governing employment agencies where the contractor charges a fee for obtaining employment. A labor contractor is defined as follows:

> "A labor contractor is any person who, for a fee or other compensation, employs an individual to render personal services to, for, or under the direction of a third person." Labor Code, section 1551, subdivision C-1.

The only legal consequence attached to labor contractors under the provisions of the labor code is as follows: That all labor contractors, within the meaning of the above definition, must obtain a license and on obtaining a license pay a fee and post a bond of $500. The bond, however, is designed to guarantee repayment of the fee exacted for obtaining employment under certain circumstances, but it is not a bond conditioned to insure payment of wage claims.

TESTIMONY OF CAREY McWILLIAMS—Resumed

Mr. **Sparkman**. That has been made a part of the record, but I would like for you to summarize it or touch the high spots and handle it in any way you see fit.

Mr. **McWilliams**. Well, the statement is an attempt to analyze the extent to which labor contractors are still an important factor, and we have found that they are very definitely an important factor in this entire problem in California.

ABUSES UNDER LABOR CONTRACTOR SYSTEM

We have found, for example, quite a number of labor contractors who recruit labor for employment in two or more States, and because of the nature of their operations, I think they have a demoralizing effect upon the local labor market, upon wage structures in localities, and also upon price conditions in localities. And furthermore, even those labor contractors who only operate within the State have been a factor in establishing patterns of migration within the State, which draw or attract migrants from outside the State; and I think their operations are one of the important elements which should be considered.

I won't take the time to delve into all of the abuses that have grown up in connection with this system, but with your permission I would like to refer to two specific instances that are set forth in this report, one having to do with the matter of transportation.

You will find on page 2539 reference to a detailed investigation of an incident that took place on August 20, 1940, in Stockton, a very common type of incident in this State, where a labor contractor had recruited a crew of 60 tomato pickers from the curb in the skidrow, so-called, in Stockton, to pick tomatoes at 5 cents a box. He loaded the 60 tomato pickers in one truck. Incidentally, these pickers were charged 15 cents a day for transportation and also 15 cents for the lunch that was provided them. If they did not buy the lunch or did not agree to ride in the contractor's truck, they could not secure employment.

In going to work the truck had an accident. Tomato pickers were scattered along the highway for a hundred yards. Twenty-nine of them were seriously injured and treated at the San Joaquin County Hospital. There was no workmen's compensation or other insurance. This is a typical thing that develops out of irresponsibility, this constant division and constant reshuffling of responsibility between a primary employer and a labor contractor.

And it is interesting to note that in the same locality on December 10, 1939, the sideboards of a truck collapsed under similar circumstances, and 10 workers were seriously injured and treated at the San Joaquin County Hospital. I mention that as merely an example of the high degree of irresponsibility that is inherent in this system.

I would like also to refer to one other incident which I personally investigated this year. A labor contractor had a contract to harvest 800 acres of spinach for one of the largest canneries in this State. The cannery had bought the spinach in place in the field so that the growers of the spinach were not a factor in the problem at all.

This contractor wrote to a former foreman who at that time was living in Brawley, Calif. He asked this foreman to recruit a crew and have them sent from Brawley, Calif., to the lower end of Alameda County, a distance of 625 miles.

Each of the families was given an order signed by the foreman as follows—and it was addressed to the contractor in Hayward: "Give so and so work. They understand that the spinach has to be put in the crate clean. Not good after March 10, 1940."

Now, approximately 200 people came from Brawley, Calif., to lower Alameda County, were all there by the dead line, March 10, 1940. The first of them went to work on March 25, 1940, 15 days later. The work was all over, so far as they were concerned, by April 9, 1940.

Now, incidentally, the note which they were given had on the bottom of it, "For cabins, Niles, Decoto, and Hayward," referring to three towns in lower Alameda County, the inference being, in my judgment, that cabins were furnished free. When they got there they found that they were charged $2.50 per week for tents on platforms in the contractor's camp, or $1.50 per week for the privilege of putting their own tents in the camp site.

Now, in connection with the earnings of some of these people, we interviewed a number of them personally. One man had obtained 7 days' employment. One had obtained 9 days' employment, and a man and a wife that I talked to who had worked on that deal, earned $9 for which they had traveled 625 miles at their own expense, which is, I think, a rather definite indication of the irresponsibility of this system.

Now, it is complicated by a further factor, namely, that there is scarcely a labor contractor in California who can finance a pay roll. Consequently, the use of a system of tickets, script, or counters is almost universal insofar as this system is concerned. That is to say, the contractor will pay his employees with a ticket similar to the ticket that you get when you go into a motion-picture theater, which will be good for the particular unit of operation. In this case it was good for 20 cents for a crate of spinach.

Most of these tickets will provide on their face that they can only be redeemed at a particular merchandise store or gasoline station or both, in the locality of the work. Or in some cases they may be redeemed on Saturday.

Now, the stores and gasoline stations and commissaries are directly operated by the labor contractor, so that the bulk of the tickets are never picked up in cash, but are turned in at the store. And this system has the effect, of course, of limiting the rights of workers as consumers and forcing them to buy from a particular store.

It also frequently happens that the labor contractor skips. The store is left holding the sack with respect to tickets, and other abuses of that kind arise in connection with the system.

Furthermore, I would like to emphasize the point, labor contractors operate on an extremely small margin of profit, themselves; and they have certain fixed operating expenses. They must employ a certain number of row bosses for the number of men in the field. They must employ a field foreman in each field in which they have a crew operating. They have a fixed expense because they pay these employees on a per diem basis. Consequently, it gives them a great incentive to finish the job as quickly as possible. And they will recruit crews out of all relation or proportion to that which would be considered a normal demand for the particular crop in that particular locality.

I have seen in a hundred acres of peas where two crews will start from each end of the field and two from the middle and the work is done in no time at all, and it is simply impossible for workers under that arrangement to make a living in peas.

I have tabulated the daily earnings of pea pickers in California at Nipomo and Clarksburg and the other important pea areas, and frequently found them as low as 40 and 50 cents a day. So I feel that in considering why average daily earnings are reduced and the average period of employment itself is shortened, this contractor system is one of the key factors to the situation.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I was also asked to furnish a statement in connection with the housing conditions affecting migrants in California. I have prepared a report and I have some extra copies which I would like to file with you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That will be set out at this point in the record.

(The report referred to is as follows:)

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF CAREY McWILLIAMS, CHIEF, CALIFORNIA STATE DIVISION OF IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING

Housing Conditions Affecting Migrants in California

In furnishing at the request of counsel for the committee a statement of housing conditions as they affect migrants in California, I have assumed that the committee is not interested in the general housing problem as it affects migratory labor in this State but rather with the question of the peculiar housing conditions that have arisen in connection with the Dust Bowl migration to California.

Generally speaking, those migrants who have not been assimilated in urban areas in California will be found residing in the following types of housing:

(1) *Farm Security Administration.*—Those types of housing which have been developed in connection with the program of the Farm Security Administration in California, namely, in the mobile camps, migratory camps, farm laborers' homes, and the projects such as the Mineral Kings Farms, which have been established in this State. The details of this housing program and the number of migrants that are housed in the facilities of the Farm Security Administration in this State are set forth in detail in the testimony of Mr. Laurence I. Hewes, Jr., before the La Follette committee hearings in California, Volume 59, commencing on page 21,778. These housing facilities are for the most part excellent and certainly superior to the general run of migrant housing in this State. The program, however, operated at full capacity, provides decent housing and camp conditions for only a small percentage of the migrants in California.

(2) *Auto and trailer camps.*—A large number of migrants will be found living for a considerable portion of the year in auto and trailer camps in California. The division of immigration and housing has charge of the enforcement of the Auto Camp Act and the Trailer Camp Act (Public Health and Safety Code, division XIII, p. 2, ch. 1) which applies to those auto and trailer camps in unincorporated areas in California which cater to transients. In other words, we do not have jurisdiction over those auto and trailer camps which cater to permanent tenants. For this reason, unfortunately, the division does not have jurisdiction over many of the auto and trailer camps in which migrants may be found residing at the present time. Generally speaking, migrants reside in auto and trailer camps upon their arrival in California during the period when they are endeavoring to find a foothold or gain permanent settlement and when they are moving about the State. There are approximately 300 odd auto and trailer camps in the State that cater almost exclusively to migrants. It is impossible to fix the number of camps with any greater degree of certainty. Furthermore, it is impossible to fix the number of migrants who reside in this type of accommodation, but the number would probably be around 15,000. Auto camps of this type have become, in fact, a kind of "labor supply camp or depot." They are not, of course, used throughout the year by the same migrants, but

they cater generally to this type of agricultural worker and they are used throughout the year, and for this reason they must be regarded as a type of permanent housing. This type of housing is used throughout the year in some sections of California, notably in Imperial Valley where there are about 21 large auto camps which fall into this category housing about two or three thousand people. As stated above, many of these auto camps are properly to be regarded as labor supply camps or depots for they have come to be known in the communities as places where agricultural workers reside so that growers, labor contractors and employers in general frequently recruit farm labor directly from these camps. One of the largest camps of this type in the State, namely, the O. R. Davis camp at Brentwood, is operated by a licensed labor contractor, who is in the business of furnishing labor as well as providing camp facilities. Many labor contractors work out of auto and trailer camps of this type and the combination of camp owner-labor contractor is frequently encountered.

This development, namely, of auto and trailer camps becoming a form of permanent housing, is a matter of serious concern to the division of immigration and housing. The auto and trailer camps which cater to this type of clientele are, of course, among the cheaper grade camps in the State. They were never constructed, laid out or designed for any other purpose than to provide overnight accommodations to tourists, and when units of an auto camp of this kind are used to house families on a more or less permanent basis it makes for extremely bad health and housing problems. Furthermore, when auto and trailer camps are used for this purpose they rapidly take on many of the characteristics of small communities, that is, gasoline stations, stores, beer parlors, etc., begin to develop around the auto camp, so that many sites of this character are the nuclei of new communities, but, of course, they were never planned or designed or laid out with any such purpose in mind. This problem has long assumed serious proportions in California by reason of the large concentration of camps of this kind in the State. The Bureau of the Census, for example, in 1935, reported that one-fourth of the tourist and auto camps in the United States were to be found in the four States of California, Texas, Colorado, and Minnesota. Two factors are responsible for this development in California: namely, year-round auto travel; and, second, an actual housing shortage of cheap rental housing which has existed for a great many years. In this connection the division of immigration and housing on March 28, 1923, prepared a report of housing shortage which was submitted to the Governor of California. The division found at that time that as a result of migration to California and as an aftermath of wartime expansion a serious housing shortage existed throughout the State; in the words of the report, "that every conceivable means of shelter was utilized as congestion in cities and similar towns became almost unbelievable." The rapid expansion of auto camps and tourist camps after 1922 was in part an attempt to devise an inexpensive type of housing to meet an emergency need that had arisen in this State. In other words, and as will be pointed out later in other connections, the Dust Bowl migration has merely aggravated a housing problem which has existed in this State since at least 1920.

(3) *Labor camps.*.—A great many migrants will be found living for a considerable portion of the year in one or more of the various private labor camps in agriculture. The division of immigration and housing enforces the Labor Camp Act of this State (labor code sections 2410–2425). This act applies to those camps where 5 or more persons are employed and where in connection with their employment the employer undertakes to furnish living accommodations. There are approximately 5,437 labor camps in agriculture alone in California and this figure, of course, does not include mining, logging, and lumber, railroad and construction camps. With respect to the camp problem as such in California, I shall merely refer to the report which I presented to the La Follette committee which is to be found in volume 59 of the La Follette committee transcript commencing on page 21,774, together with exhibits, submitted in connection with that report. In that report will be found an analysis of the labor-camp problem and the pertinent statistics in connection therewith from 1913 to January 1, 1940. Merely to indicate the magnitude of this problem I might say that in 1939 this division estimated that there was a labor-camp population in the State of approximately 145,000 people—men, women, and children, who were residing a considerable portion of the year in some one

labor camp. Here again, the problem existed long before the Dust Bowl migration but has become much more acute as a result thereof. The migrants have complicated the problem for this reason—namely, that the private labor camps in this State, particularly in agriculture, were designed to purposes of seasonal occupancy not to exceed say from 2 weeks to 3 months. They were never designed for permanent occupancy. Yet by reason of the fact that migrants have had no place to go at the end of the harvest period, notably in cotton, they have in many instances continued to reside in the camps throughout the winter months. During the winters of 1939 and 1940 a large number of migrants continued to reside in some of the 470-odd cotton camps of the State, a situation that made for very miserable housing conditions.

(4) *Shacktown.*—The most characteristic of all housing in California in which migrants reside at the moment is the shacktown or cheap subdivision. Most of these settlements have come into existence since 1933 and the pattern which obtains is somewhat similar throughout the State. Finding it impossible to rent housing in incorporated communities on their meager incomes, migrants have created a market for a very cheap type of subdivision of which the following may be taken as being representative:

In Monterey County, according to a report of Dr. D. M. Bissell, county health officer, under date of November 28, 1939, there are approximately three well-established migrant settlements. One of these, the development around the environs of Salinas, is perhaps the oldest migrant settlement of its type in California. In connection with this development I quote a paragraph of the report of Dr. Bissell:

"This area is composed of all manners and forms of housing without a public sewer system. Roughly, 10,000 persons are renting or have established homes there. A chief element in this area is that of refugees from the Dust Bowl who inhabit a part of Alisal called Little Oklahoma. Work in lettuce harvesting and packing and sugar beet processing have attracted these people who, seeking homes in Salinas without success because they aren't available, have resorted to makeshift adobes outside the city limits. Complicating the picture is the impermeable substrata which makes septic tanks with leaching fields impractical. Sewer wells have resulted with the corresponding danger to adjacent water wells and to the water wells serving the Salinas public. Certain districts, for example, the Airport Tract and parts of Alisal, have grown into communities with quite satisfactory housing, but others as exemplified by the Graves district are characterized by shacks and lean-tos which are unfit for human habitation."

In addition to this particular development there is another similar development in Monterey County in East Monterey near Seaside and Marina where Dust Bowl refugees have set up makeshift shacks which do not possess the first essentials of good housing. Some of these lots were purchased for $20 to $50 and were constructed of old doors and scrap lumber serving as structure for dwellings. In this particular development approximately 3,000 people are living. Also, in Monterey County there is a development—Castroville, Moss Landing, and Pajaro—similar in type in which some 4,000 people have found settlement. Thus, in Monterey County alone, in these 3 communities, the creation of which is by and large due to the influx of Dust Bowl migrants, some 17,000 people have found settlement.

Second, as a representative of the same type of development, reference might be made to the Olivehurst tract, more commonly known as Bull tract, a subdivision of 800 acres lying on the west side of the Marysville-Wheatland (99E) Highway and located about 3 miles south of the Yuba River in Sutter County. This tract opened in 1934 and has increased rapidly until there are about 4,000 people living in the area. These migrants have come from some 13 or 14 States but arrivals from recent years have come largely from Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. They find seasonal employment on the fruit ranches of Yuba and Sutter Counties and are generally on relief for a considerable portion of the year. Lots for acreage are sold in the tract for a small payment down, with the average price being $300 per unit. An appraisal made of this land by the agricultural commissioner of the county indicated that the lots were not worth more than $50 a lot. Soil conditions are extremely poor, a meager topsoil overlying a hardpan which has apparently defeated the most persistent attempts at garden production. The type of construction is similar to that found in all migrant settlements, namely, improvised housing of all types. There is extremely poor natural drainage due to low terrain and storm waters collect and form lakes during the rainy season. The domestic water supply is obtained mainly by hand pumps from wells averaging 30 feet in depth and the casings used in connection therewith are not adequately protected from surface contamination. This state of affairs is particularly objectionable by reason of the fact that the settlement is dotted with privy type toilets. This settlement in particular is typical of many other settlements in that the location from the outset was highly undesirable and should never have been made available for the development of a community of this size.

Typical of the shacktown problem are two such areas near the city limits of Sacramento, one on the east side of B Street, extending from Twelfth Street to the Sacramento city dump and incinerator; and the other so-called Hoovertown, adjacent to the Sacramento River and the city filtration plant. In these two areas there were on September 17, 1939, approximately 650 inhabitants living in structures that, with scarcely a single exception, were rated by the inspectors of this division as "unfit for human occupancy." The majority of the inhabitants were white Americans, with the exception of 50 or 60 Mexican families, a few single Mexican men, and a sprinkling of Negroes. For the most part they are seasonally employed in the canneries, the fruit ranches, and the hop fields of Sacramento County. Most of the occupants are at one time or another upon relief, and there are a large number of occupants in these shacktowns from the Dust Bowl area. Describing the housing, an inspector of this division reports:

"The dwellings are built of brush, rags, sacks, boxboard, odd bits of tin and galvanized iron, pieces of canvas and whatever other material was at hand at the time of construction."

Wood floors, where they exist, are placed directly upon the ground, which because of the location of the camps with respect to the Sacramento River, is damp most of the time. To quote again from the report:

"Entire families, men, women, and children, are crowded into hovels, cooking and eating in the same room. The majority of the shacks have no sinks or cesspools for the disposal of kitchen drainage, and this, together with garbage and other refuse, is thrown on the surface of the ground."

Because of the high-water table, cesspools, where they exist, do not function properly; there is a large overflow of drainage and sewage to the surface of the ground. Many filthy shack latrines are located within a few feet of living quarters. Rents for the houses in these shacktowns range from $3 to $20 a month. In one instance a landlord rents ground space for $1.50 to $5 a month, on which tenants are permitted to erect their own dugouts. The Hooverville section is composed primarily of tents and trailers, there being approximately 125 tent structures in this area on September 17, 1939. Both areas are located in unincorporated territory. They are not subject at the present time to any State or county building regulation. In Hooverville, at the date of the inspection, many families were found that did not have even a semblance of tents or shelters. They were cooking and sleeping on the ground in the open and one water tap at an adjoining industrial plant was found to be the source of the domestic water supply for the camp.

The southern section of Salida, located in Stanislaus County may be considered typical of the cheaper development brought into existence by the settling down of the migrant white from the middle western area. As in most of this type of community there is little regulations of building construction or sanitation, consequently the houses erected for use are substandard when new and rapidly grow worse.

The following figures will indicate the present occupation of this section of the community being about 6 square blocks adjacent to the railroad.

Trailers	7
Tents	3
Shacks (too dilapidated to be called houses)	12
Houses (new) (1 and 2 room)	15
Homes (old) (mainly 1 and 2 rooms, all houses substandard construction)	27

Lots 50 by 150 feet may be secured for as little as $100 with payments almost at the convenience of the buyer. This fact coupled with the circumstance that the shacks usually built contain very little investment in material, makes it a feasible arrangement for the person whose economic condition is such that it is impossible for him to buy or rent a decent place in which to live.

While a majority of the people here are trying to buy a place to live in, there are some rental units with rates running from $8 to $13 per month. Most of these places are, if anything, worse than the shacks constructed by impoverished buyers. In one block lots were held out for rent at $1.50 a month with the tenant supplying his own shelter and sanitary facilities. This shelter ranged from trailers and tents to shacks built of old boards, tin, etc., that could be collected at virtually no cost. Water for the area is supplied from a central plant which is checked for purity by local authorities. Pit privies in this development are primarily the only sanitary concession as garbage, etc., is generally disposed of on the ground surface, although the county health department has been able to eliminate any excessive insanitary conditions and has been fortunate in controlling disease in the area.

MIGRANT COMMUNITIES

An interesting development of recent years in "Little Oklahoma" is the settlement on the outskirts of Modesto in Stanislaus County. This community was surveyed by Lillian Creisler of the University of California. Reference is here made to certain findings in her report. This subdivision was created in 1935 to provide for the sale of lands at an average price of $125, payable $10 down and $5 a month. Up to January 1939 almost 400 lots had been sold, and an additional tract was being opened for subdivision. Approximately 200 families, representing a total of about 1,000 individuals, were living in this community in the summer of 1938. Over one-third of the group living in this colony came directly from Oklahoma; a number from Texas and Arkansas, and a few from the deep South. All of them had an agricultural background. About half had managed farms; one-fifth had owned farms and the others had been tenants or sharecroppers. This area is located in an unincorporated portion of Stanislaus County. At first the Modesto Little Oklahoma represented a crazy pattern of tents, trailers, privies, and shacks, all sizes, all shapes, made of packing boxes, cardboard, tar paper, anything that people could lay their hands on with which to build a shelter. One home was made of gunnysacks; two from large packing boxes housed two families; a commercial truck was utilized for a time as a home. Most of the houses were originally without windows and ventilation. Gradually, in the course of a short period of time the housing evolved from tents and improvised shacks into whitewashed frame houses. Miss Creisler describes this evolution as follows:

"At the time of arrival, the newcomers would up a quasi-tent or lean-to attached to their automobiles; then a separate tent would be placed close to the spot where the work was to be done and the house built. Soon the tent was boarded up the sides and perhaps another tent added. As it grew colder, a shack patched with various materials would be hurriedly constructed."

Today, tents and trailers have almost completely disappeared. In January 1939 the subdivision company reported that almost all of the purchasers had met their monthly installments; that 25 percent had completely fulfilled their contracts and that only 4 percent of a total of 301 purchasers had forfeited their contracts. Most of the sales contracts provided that purchasers must be American-born citizens and that they must build within ten years a home upon the property valued at $2,000. In February 1938 over 60 percent of the homes had unimproved outdoor toilets; 50 percent disposed of their garbage on the surface of the ground, there being no regular garbage or sewage disposal facilities. Most of the homes were built with the labor of the occupants, using discarded lumber and equipment, majority of the homes costing as little as $150. There was, of course, the usual situation with regard to relief, a large number of occupants of the colony being on relief during some portion of the year. The Works Progress Administration in Modesto estimated that 95 percent of the population of Little Oklahoma had worked on Works Progress Administration projects at one time or another. It is interesting to note that, according to the local authorities, juvenile court and probation officials had reported that neither juvenile crime nor delinquency had increased since the settlement was established. Because of the character of the settlement, Miss Creisler reports that real estate subdivision companies have created similar subdivisions elsewhere and are selling otherwise worthless land to these agricultural refugees, and that because of the location of the colony and the circumstances under which it came into existence there is a real danger of its becoming a permanent slum area in the community.

The Planada community is a better than average migrant community. It is located in the unincorporated area of Merced County, about 9 miles south of the city of Merced and adjacent to the main highway leading from that city to Yosemite Valley. The site is a commercial subdivision started during the boom days as a high class residential area. At that time roads were surfaced, electroliers were installed and roadside trees were planted. The promoters of this subdivision went bankrupt during the depression and in order to revitalize the area for residential purposes, the building restrictions were removed about 3 years ago by the present tract owners and since that time development in the tract has been primarily by former migrant workers. The tract covers an area approximately a mile long by a half mile wide. Lots in this subdivision having an area of approximately 50 by 150 feet sell for from $50 up. A portion of the tract has been reverted to acreage, which may be purchased for from $100 to $200 per acre. This property may be secured by a small payment down and a smaller payment monthly. As there are no regulations on building construction, the structures are generally poorly built and are inadequate in furnishing protection from the elements or sufficient area for living quarters. While most of the construction has been on an ownership basis there are some rental units provided. Rents in this area vary from $8 to $12 per month; none of the rentals could be classified as standard housing. In addition to the permanent housing in the area there are two camps, one being for Mexicans only. During the fruit season these camps are heavily overcrowded with resulting insanitary conditions. At other times the few inhabitants therein are generally those who are endeavoring to secure some permanent connection in the area. The following figures will give an indication of the present housing conditions of the community:

Trailers	4
Tents	51
Shacks	7
Houses (new)	120
Houses (old) (with all but a few being distinctly substandard)	29

As this community is just starting to develop along these lines and there is ample space for expansion, we may expect in the near future rather a large housing and sanitary problem in this area. The water supply generally is furnished by a privately owned company at a rate of $2 per month for each service. In many cases individuals not being able to pay the monthly water rate have driven private wells equipped with pitcher pumps which may be used by one or more families. An apparently safe water supply at approximately 30 feet and still another at 45 feet makes the area particularly adapted to this type of installation where economy demands it. No sewage-disposal system is available in the area, consequently the pit privy is the primary development, with an occasional water-flush toilet installation using septic-tank disposal.

Typical of the migrant developed or occupied sections in and adjacent to cities in the San Joaquin Valley is the area in the southeast portion of the city of Sanger in Fresno County. This area, consisting of about 8 square blocks in the city and a more or less permanent camp of approximately 10 acres, one-fourth mile south of the city limits, is occupied about 30 percent by Mexicans with the remainder being primarily the former dust-bowler.

The following tabulation gives the range of housing units with those listed as houses being the better-constructed buildings in the area, although only a very few of them would pass as anything but substandard.

Trailers	12
Tents	16
Tent house (very bad condition)	9
Shacks	10
Houses (new)	23
Houses (old)	113

In this area existing building generally has been taken over by migrants with rentals ranging from $6 to $15 per month, with little or no new migrant-built houses. In the camp area where space rents for $3 a month, tent houses have been constructed. The Fresno County State relief administration office indicates that their caseload in the area at the present time is 15, and based on past experience they expect around 200 cases during the winter, which would indicate that practically all of these families would be on relief during the winter season. Water for the area within the city is provided from the city system, while that in the camp area is from a pitcher pump on a driven well 30 feet in depth. Pit privies are general in the entire area, those within the city being in the main in good condition while those in the camp area were rather insanitary. Garbage and refuse is well collected and taken care of within the city, while in the camp area it creates very insanitary condition. It appears that this area will be a permanent slum area unless some plan of replacing it can be put into operation.

The Farmersville migrant community is in two sections, aside from the well-constructed and well-operated Farm Security Administration Farmersville migrant camps and subsistence homes a few miles away. This area is also typical of the development occasioned by the desire of the economically oppressed migrant people to secure a home. One of these sections is immediately adjacent to the original village. The other, known as the Brundage addition, is approximately a mile and a half north. The original village has been in existence for many years and is occupied by permanent farm workers in the area, largely Mexicans, while the new area has a predominantly white population, which is endeavoring to secure some degree of permanent status. The following tabulation will give an indication as to the proportionate development of the several sections and the type of units in each:

	Houses		Shacks—tin, box, etc.	Tents and tent houses	Trailers, bona fide and makeshift	Total
	2 to 5 rooms, new	1 to 8 rooms, old				
Original village	27	113	26	11	3	
New growth adjacent	31	11	4	14	7	
Brundage addition	30		3	15	4	
Total	88	124	33	40	14	299

The area adjacent to the village includes two camp grounds and several small rental units, with rentals varying from $8 per month for two rooms in new units to as high as $15 a month for some of the larger old houses. Building lots with 50 foot frontage, varying depths, may be secured at from $75 to $150 with acreage costing less in proportion to the area involved. Terms may be secured on all of these so that the monthly payments may be as little as $5 per month. The original village and the area adjacent to it are served by a water system privately owned, but as this system has a generally inadequate pipe line to provide the necessary distribution, a majority of the owners in the new section are using driven wells with pitcher pumps similar to those used in the Brundage addition to the north. Ground water is available at a depth of 10 to 15 feet with a satisfactory domestic supply available at either 30 or 55 feet. Water flush toilets have been installed in scattered instances but pit privies are almost exclusively used. Little garbage or refuse appeared in the area and the health department reports no disease epidemic in this section.

A majority of the residents apparently have ceased to migrate as school records indicate little fluctuation in average daily attendance and contacts with a number of people in the area elicited the information that a majority of them have been economically forced to remain in a fixed area as their earnings in following the crop had decreased to the point where it would not pay the expenses of migration. The State relief administration reports a present caseload of 78, with an estimated winter peak of 225 cases. The Farm Security Administration indicates they have 68 cases in this area with an estimated peak of 135 cases, exclusive of cases in their own camp.

Another settlement fairly typical of the cheaper type of subdivision that has come into existence is that of Earlimart, located in Tulare County. The community of Earlimart, unincorporated and consequently subject to but very little regulation of any housing or sanitation, has been in existence for a considerable period of years with a very slow growth, the primary population being those occupied in the particular area on steady work. However, in the past few years the growth has been accelerated due to agricultural activity, and all indications point to a doubling of its dwelling units, and undoubtedly its population, in the near future. The past growth in the main has been of the shack variety, running all the way from a small two-room house, generally overcrowded, down the gamut to the dilapidated tent with an earth floor. The exterior premises are a general catch-all for trash and garbage disposal.

The following table of housing units well indicates to what an extent this condition prevails in the area:

Tents:	
With platforms	13
On ground	8
Trailers and house cars	15
Individually owned 1- and 2-room shacks:	
New	61
Old	52
Rented 1- and 2-room shacks:	
New	16
Old	33
Residences (3 rooms or over):	
New	14
Old	24
Total housing:	
New	91
Old	109
Tents, etc	36
2-room units and less	198
3 rooms and over	38

All shack housing is substandard, with some much worse than others, of course, as to structure, use, etc.

This dilapidated and substandard housing has been the result of the Dust Bowl migrants' endeavor to acquire fixed homes, preferably their own, even when economic conditions are such that they could not secure adequate food and clothing, let alone materials to construct suitable homes.

Property in the area, extending from 2 to 3 blocks away from the main highway and some 6 to 8 blocks along it, was originally in 2 major holdings and has been cut in two plans of sale: one section is using a 25 by 125 foot lot, sells them at $50, $5 down and the rest when they can get it on a sort of contract, and then the water company serving that area requires that they buy a $100 share of water stock, $10 down and a note for the balance, before they may have domestic or any water on the lot, which then costs a flat rate of $2 a month. The other and newer section using a 50 by 150 foot lot sells them at $75 with the same terms as before and the water company serving the property requires only that the monthly water service charge, averaging $2 a month, be paid to secure service.

The foregoing will give a fair idea as to the proportion of rental units as practically all habitations, tents, etc., not noted as rented, are on property being purchased by the occupants. An investigation of them indicates that they are now mainly followers of the crops with the families to a large extent remaining in the home at least during the school season, for the school population shows very little fluctuation and a little turn-over. State Relief Administration officials estimate that their caseload in the area will be in the neighborhood of approximately 150 this winter and from the total number of resident units available it would seem that somewhat over 50 percent of the total population, estimated at about 1,000 (with about 400 children) will be on relief. In addition to this amount there are a few families on Works Projects Administration and another small number on old age pensions. Peculiarly, the population is almost entirely white, as only 15 or 16 Mexicans families furnish any change in race.

As a result of the water stock situation mentioned before many of the lots in the older section are not supplied with water and secure their supply from some neighbor's faucet, which works considerable of a hardship on the people involved, as well as tending to foster uncleanliness and ultimate sickness. Pit privies are the only means of waste disposal, and garbage must be either privately hauled away or thrown around the yards, which is done in some cases. It is a situation where many lots are vacant entirely and, in other lots, privies, garbage, and habitations all fight for room.

The community has a good school in its midst and the area is provided with adequate roads paved by the county. Reports of the county health officer indicate that there has not been any unusual amount of sickness, etc., in the area.

It would seem that some type of housing and sanitation regulation should apply to such an area, possibly of a State nature, but first, some agency must be developed whereby people in such economic circumstances as these may secure a type of financial aid in constructing proper housing and providing adequate sanitation. Otherwise the application of regulatory legislation will only separate them and keep them on the move, thus distributing an unhealthy condition to all sections instead of concentrating them where they can at least be controlled by the health departments.

Another similar Dust Bowl subdivision community is that of Arvin, located in Kern County. Arvin is of comparatively recent origin and began to take shape in the middle 1920's, when large tracts of land nearby were opened up and planted to cotton and fruit. A few shacks and stores were thrown together and a subdivision opened for prospective home owners, but it was not until the early 1930's that there was any considerable amount of building. As much additional cotton growing developed in the general vicinity it naturally carried with it a demand for labor and, because of that demand, which tied in with the exodus of the refugees from the Dust Bowl and other sections of Texas and Oklahoma, Arvin soon became a mecca for those migrants from the Southwest, with the result that there is today a population of about 3,500 persons in the town and its general vicinity. This population is preponderantly white American families from Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, with the exception of between 20 and 30 Mexican families and a sprinkling of Negroes. They are employed mainly at the present time on cotton picking and grape packing, with the usual quota on Works Projects Administration and State relief administration. Later a few will migrate to other sections of the State, following the crops, but the major portion will remain and when there is no employment they will go on relief until such time as work picks up again. They are replacing the old time migratory agricultural worker who is rapidly vanishing from this and other areas.

The communty of Arvin, in its unregulated growth, is undoubtedly a composite picture of all that has been said and written about the various types of camps, shacks, traps, subdivisions, and other havens for Dust Bowlers scattered up and down the San Joaquin Valley, because it embodies a combination of all of these classifications molded into an inseparable mass.

The town proper covers in the neighborhood of 18 square blocks, having a total of 355 lots, and the community as a whole seems to have passed through several stages of "tuckerites." A number of years ago Tucker Town began to take form in the north portion of the townsite and gradually enlarged, introducing into the community a host of makeshift hovels to which additions have been made from time to time, forming the present crowded conglomeration. In due course, the original townsite filled and slopped over into Tucker Addition a little to the southwest, completely occupied several square blocks and finally developed a third barnacle known as Tucker Acres. There are 421 houses on the townsite, 68 shelters having materialized since January 1 of this year, and in excess of a hundred habitations at the Addition and Acres. Tucker Addition, as a subdivision, was recently put on the market. Lots have been sold there in a price range of $400 on long-term payments, and the entire tract is now practically covered with habitations in varying degrees of structural stability.

Arvin is unincorporated and, as such, there are no building-construction regulations, a condition that has nurtured the development of a large rural slum area where many habitations are constructed of sacks, canvas, boxboard, and whatever other material was at hand at the time of erection, and the broken-down auto trailer is there in vast numbers. Many entire families are overcrowded into this general class of housing, a situation that no doubt contributes to the fact that the community has a high tubercular rate, according to the records of the Health Department. One-room shacks are prevalent throughout the territory, the occupants cooking, eating, and sleeping in the same compartment.

Despite the lack of building regulations there are several newly constructed model dwellings and a scattering of well maintained older habitations, but these are outshadowed in number by substandard housing and shacks.

Investigation brought out the fact that there was an appreciable number of home owners in the area surveyed and it was observed that there was a decided tendency to crowd additional small shelters on the rear of their lots and rent them out for prices ranging from $5 to $12 per month. This practice was in general vogue among the particularly thrifty group of American-born Mexican families that still cling tenaciously to their holdings. Rentals for street-front houses range generally between $5 and $20 per month, and it was very evident that no attempt was being made to repair or rehabilitate many of these rapidly decaying hovels that in several instances are owned by out-of-town landlords.

There is a widespread practice by the poorer families throughout the section surveyed to rent ground space and pitch a tent or shack habitation thereon. One family of 7 "tractored-out" in Oklahoma that had been here for 2 years were renting tent space for $5 per month, and this family was representative of that particular group of tenants in the community.

The main town of Arvin is fortunate in having a good community water supply and the same may be said of Tucker Addition but a most objectionable domestic water situation exists at Tucker Acres, where some 30 or 40 families have "holed in" for the cotton-picking season. In the latter case, water flows through irrigation pipes into unprotected cisterns and from there it is pumped into buckets and other receptacles for use. The major portion of the community has access to gas and electric power. There are no sewer facilities available and although water-flush toilets connected to cesspools and septic tanks are gradually replacing insanitary pit toilets, there is still an appalling number of the latter present. That situation, together with indiscriminate garbage and trash disposal, perpetuates a fly nuisance of a most abominable nature. It is reported, however, that a movement is now under way to establish a sanitary district here and that arrangement should provide the first steps toward a clean-up.

Nor are such settlements restricted to rural communities. It has taken, essentially, the form of a squatting or settling on the periphery of existing communities, both urban and rural. Driven from submarginal lands, migrants have located in California on unoccupied marginal areas. To illustrate this tendency, I want to use one or two existing communities by way of reference. Bell Gardens and Garvey Acres in Los Angeles County may be taken as examples of urban squatting. In 1934 the Bell Gardens community was virtually nonexistent; today it has a population of 26,000 people. Located in an unincorporated portion of the county, the community has no locally organized fire or police protection. Local self-government is nonexistent. Sewer facilities do not exist.

In the years since 1934, migrants have moved into the settlement and dug in, so to speak, as they have dug in elsewhere in California. They have purchased lots—ludicrously designated as "garden farms"—at prices ranging from $200 to $375, with a few dollars down and a few dollars a month. Largely by their own labor they have built shelters. The progression in the type of shelter follows the characteristic pattern: first, tents and trailers; second, shacks or shanties; and, finally, the small one-, two-, or three-room house. Here, as elsewhere in California, the form that the settlement has taken is an eloquent tribute to the ingenuity and the resourcefulness of the people involved. They have, for example, improvised shelters out of the most miscellaneous materials. Wholly unplanned and undirected, the new Bell Garden exists in Los Angeles today as a result of the necessity of its inhabitants and the indifference of the larger community of which it is a part. Needless to say, although the residents of Los Angeles proper do not seem to be aware of the fact, they have a new problem child on their doorstep. Garvey Acres, near El Monte, is a similar community, but, unlike Bell Gardens, where water is available from a private water company, water is not available through regular connections and the squatters have had to dig shallow wells equipped with pitcher pumps. And this quaint anachronism, mind you, exists in the heart of metropolitan Los Angeles.

RÉSUMÉ OF MIGRANT HOUSING CONDITIONS

The trends indicated in the foregoing surveys are confirmed in a report issued July 1, 1939, titled Survey of Kern County Migratory Labor Problem, prepared by C. F. Baughman, chief, sanitation division of the Kern County Health Department. This report reflects the progression in housing followed by most of the dust bowl migrants in Kern County—from the squatter camps on their first arrival, to the cheaper auto camps after their arrival and from this point to smaller self-constructed homes purchased in the cheaper type of subdivision. The report observes that the migratory worker is rapidly disappearing, that his place has been taken by the dust bowl migrant, with a permanent residence in the county, and indicates generally that "the growers have lost their fluid Mexican workers who miraculously appeared on harvest day and silently slipped away after their work was done." I quote from page 7 of this report:

"Bakersfield has experienced the creation of new subdivisions almost completely inhabited by people from Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Many have purchased lots for as low as $3 per month; houses have been constructed of any materials that can be salvaged from the alleys, or retrieved from dismantled structures in exchange for labor. Some of these communities have no satisfactory water supply, poor sewage disposal, no gas nor electricity; yet, they are teaming with hopeful life, buildings spring up overnight; shrubs, flowers, and scraggly trees swelter in the California sun drooping for the water that in some cases must be carried a considerable distance from a rasping, rusty pitcher pump.

"On many of these properties can be seen three stages of the owners' life in the Golden State. On the back lot may be the remains of the family car or truck with obsolete license plates from the State of origin; the chicken shed was once the pasteboard and refuse house of their squatter camp residence and on the front of the lot is a crude house of good, used lumber, perhaps with one side partially stuccoed or otherwise finished; built piece by piece as the family income permits. The lots generally are strewn with the litter of wire, boards and tin destined for a part in the finished home. Crude, often offensive, toilets dot the alley line, which threaten to leech their contents into the same strata of sand and subsoil from which comes the water supply.

"The large squatter camps of yesterday are no more. Now, only a few isolated squatters can be located during a busy harvest season and none at all during the slack periods.

"In isolated areas the growers have accepted the responsibility of housing their workers.

"But, rural and suburban slums are now the problem which Kern County must face. In these slums live the agricultural shock troops: the men and women who harvest the cotton in the fall, go on relief until May, harvest the potatoes in the spring, work the vegetables and fruits in the summer and rest on relief until cotton harvest again. They work within a radius of 30 miles.

They are learning to can vegetables, preserve fruits and otherwise augment their annual income in ways that are impossible for itinerant migratory workers."

The foregoing may be taken as quite typical of the growth of migrant settlements in California and many similar communities can be found scattered throughout the San Joaquin Valley. In connection with these migrant settlements, or "Little Oklahomas" as they are called, one or two observations should be made.

In the first place, settlements of this type were not unknown prior to the dust-bowl migration. During the period from 1914–30 when thousands of Mexicans migrated to California they were forced under somewhat similar circumstances to create a parallel type of development. It began to be noticeable, for example, around 1922, that there were four distinct types of Mexican settlements in California. First, the old Mexican quarter around the Plaza or center of the town, which had been in existence for many years and which had become a slum area; second, the so-called "second settlement" or the newer Mexican settlement which had grown up on the outskirts of incorporated communities, particularly in southern California. This type of settlement, being generally known today as your Mexican shacktown or "Jimtown", is in many respects a parallel development to your "Little Oklahoma" or migrant settlement. A third type of Mexican settlement noted was the seasonal labor camp and the semipermanent housing which had been provided for Mexican labor in the citrus industry; and, fourth, the typical roadside or squatter camp located under the trees along the canal bank, under the bridge or railroad right-of-way (see The Mexican Immigrant, by Dr. Emory S. Bogardus, Journal of Applied Sociology, May 1927). Not only are the Mexican settlements a parallel for the migrant communities but many so-called shacktowns or squatter camps had developed in California in the years immediately subsequent to the depression. The California State Unemployment Commission, in hearings held throughout California in April and May 1932 and as set forth in a report entitled Abstract of Hearings on Unemployment, August 1932, describes in detail how these camps or shacktowns came into existence. The administration of welfare or relief was at that time inadequately organized and the entire problem of providing assistance to the destitute was handled on an informal, temporary and makeshift basis. This situation was somewhat alleviated by the creation of a series of state labor camps or shelters during the winters of 1931 and 1933 (see Report on State Labor Camps, by S. Rexford Black, a publication issued by the California State Unemployment Commission, July 1932). When these camps were closed out it was immediately observed that the shacktowns began to flourish once again (Social Forces, March 1937—The Poor Migrant in California). Likewise, after the suspension of the Federal Transient Service on September 20, 1935, it was immediately observed "that jungles and shacktowns have reappeared and are increasing daily" (San Francisco Examiner, February 6, 1936). Thus it is apparent that the pattern for the development of communities of this type had existed for a good many years in California before the dust-bowl migration, and many migrant communities today are merely an outgrowth or extension of the squatter camps of 1931 and 1932.

Generally it can be said that migrant settlements of the type indicated all have certain characteristics.

First, they will be found located in unincorporated areas of the county adjacent to established communities. By reason of their location they are not subject to the requirements of the State Housing Act or to any other type of building regulation or supervision. One or two counties have so-called anti-squatter ordinances, but the enforcement of these ordinances has merely eliminated the roadside squatter camp and is itself a factor responsible for the growth of the cheap subdivision.

Second, by reason of the unplanned and unsupervised character of these settlements, they will be found generally lacking in the minimum requirements for the future growth of an established community, namely, lacking in streets, adequate water connections, fewer facilities, and local fire and police protection.

Third, because the housing has been wholly unregulated, it is of the most makeshift variety, ranging from tents, trailers, lean-tos, and shacks, to one-, two-, and three-room houses.

Fourth, these developments are not of a temporary nature, but are permanent in character, and they represent not two or three units of housing but are of such sizes and of such proportions as already to constitute communities of a sufficient number of people to warrant their incorporation as separate towns with local self-government. Because of their location, lack of facilities, and type of construction, they constitute potential slum areas which must be added to the already sizeable number of rural slums in California.

Another observation to be added is this:

That with widespread unemployment in California, welfare agencies have indirectly placed a premium on the cheapest type of housing which has been actually in great demand.. There are, for example, auto camps and trailer camps in this State which make a practice of catering exclusively to State relief administration, Work Projects Administration, and Farm Security Administration clients. They do so in part to be able to be certain about rental collections. How important this factor has been is indicated by the fact that in the fall of 1939 the State relief administration in the San Joaquin Valley counties alone was spending approximately $100,000 for rent per month and its importance on a State-wide basis is indicated by the fact that the Governor's commission on reemployment in 1939 stated that State relief administration rental allowances totaled something like $10,000,000 a year. Not only does this put a premium on cheap rental units, but a considerable amount of rental expenditures have gone into the creation of shack town equities. Also, the creation of these newer migrant subdivisions and the increasing use of auto camps to house agricultural workers has resulted in a decrease of private labor camps. Because of the existing surplus of labor, growers in many areas in California today refuse to operate private camps. In certain instances they are not operating existing camps already located on their premises. They state that there is no reason why they should build or operate a camp when they can rely on so-called drive-in labor. More and more agricultural workers tend to reside in established communities in one or another of the various types of camps.

In order to afford the committee a more detailed understanding of the housing problem which has developed in this State largely in connection with the influx of migrants I am submitting three detailed reports, to wit:

(1) Report of survey of substandard dwellings of the county of Sacramento prepared by the Housing Authority of the County of Sacramento.

(2) A social survey of housing conditions among Tulare County relief clients prepared by the State relief administration in cooperation with the division of immigration and housing.

(3) Russell City, housing and sanitation, by Anne W. Dierup and Bernie Firestone, in cooperation with the division of immigration and housing.

RECOMMENDATIONS

By way of recommendations on the housing problem as it pertains to migratory workers, the division of immigration and housing makes the following suggestions:

(1) That the Work Projects Administration, acting in conjunction with the Farm Security Administration, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the division of immigration and housing, undertake a State-wide survey of rural housing conditions. In this connection the division of immigration and housing has worked out the preliminary details for such a survey in conjunction with other cooperating agencies and I am filing herewith a draft of an outline of such a survey prepared under date of April 12, 1940. I am also filing herewith a minority report of the housing and slum clearance committee of the Assembly of the State of California, and copy of the report of the State Planning Board of California entitled "A Housing Program for California," together with a copy of a proposed act creating a State housing authority.

(2) That the Farm Security Administration program, both in relation to the migratory labor camps and the farm laborers' homes be extended.

(3) That community camps should be established by the counties under the Public Service District Act for all short-season crops; failing this, that the Farm Security Administration expand its mobile camp program to provide facilities in all of the short-season crops; or, as an alternative to the foregoing, that the State undertake to provide such facilities.

(4) That a State housing authority be created to work in conjunction with the United States Housing Authority to institute a series of housing projects

for agricultural workers and to this end that the amendments now pending to the United States Housing Act, particularly with respect to liberalizing the provisions of the act on the subject of rural housing, should receive favorable consideration.

(5) That every effort be made through this division to improve existing housing conditions in the private labor camps in the State with the thought in mind, however, of as rapidly as possible moving workers out of private labor camps located on employer premises into decent and permanent housing. To this end the provisions of the Labor Camp Act and of the Auto Camp and Trailer Camp Acts in the Public Health and Safety Code should be amended to provide for better housing standards and more rigid enforcement.

TESTIMONY OF CAREY McWILLIAMS—Resumed

HOUSING

Mr. McWilliams. Now, in connection with that statement, I have a considerable selection of photographs taken by the division of immigration and housing in the fall of 1939, representing all types of migrant housing in California, indicating in most instances the rents that were being charged.

Now, you will find in this report I shall only refer——

Mr. Sparkman (interposing). May I ask: Are you making this available to the committee?

Mr. McWilliams. If you care to have them, I will be glad to present the entire collection. However, I should like to have them returned.

Mr. Sparkman. We will be glad to have a look at them.

(The documents referred to were marked as an exhibit.[1])

Mr. McWilliams. In connection with this report on housing I have assumed that you were not so much interested in general agricultural housing in California as you were with those types of housing which particularly relate to migrants, and this report is primarily concerned with an analysis of the types of housing in which migrants will be found at the present time, and I will just, if I may have a moment or two, summarize those types for you.

Mr. Sparkman. Go right ahead, sir.

Mr. McWilliams. The first, of course, is the facilities of the Farm Security Administration. I understand that information will be given you by representatives of the Farm Security Administration.

These facilities are good, but they do not accommodate many migrants in California.

The second type of housing in which you will find migrants living is the classification of auto and trailer camps. This State has perhaps more auto and trailer camps than any other State in the Union. We know of at least 300 auto and trailer camps that cater almost exclusively to migrants, and in these camps perhaps 15,000 migrants are living in the State.

These camps are designed for overnight tourist accommodations. They were never designed as a permanent type of housing and are not constructed for that purpose. Yet they are being used for that purpose. And many of these cheaper auto and trailer camps are known in the communities as a kind of labor supply depot out of which labor contractors work and to which growers can go for farm labor.

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[1] This collection of photographs was returned to Mr. McWilliams at his request.

They constitute one of the important type of migrant housing in California.

The other is the private labor camp in agriculture. We endorsed the labor camp act of this State, and I might indicate the magnitude of that problem by saying to you that there are approximately 5,437 private labor camps in agriculture alone in California with a resident camp population for 1939 of something like 145,000 people; that is, that number of people who lived all or a considerable portion of the year in some one labor camp.

And then the most characteristic of all types of migrant housing in California is the cheap subdivision or shack town, your characteristic "Little Oklahoma" or "Little Arkansas" which has come into existence all over the State of California.

In this report I have made a survey for you of 13 representative subdivisions of that kind in the State and, incidentally, gentlemen, they are by no means restricted to the San Joaquin Valley.

The Bell Gardens community in Los Angeles County was practically nonexistent in 1934. Today it is a community of approximately 25,000 people. It is a typical shack town, right on the outside of metropolitan Los Angeles without sewer facilities, with a private water company, with no building regulations and the most nondescript type of housing imaginable.

We have summarized in this report such typical cheap subdivisions of this character as the "Bull Track," so-called, at Marysville, in which some 3,700 or 4,000 migrants are living. In this instance lots have been sold for as high as $300 which were appraised by the agricultural commissioner of the county as being worth not more than $50. The land is a hardpan land, very bad drainage, impossible even to grow gardens, garden produce, and so it goes down through all of these typical migrant shack towns or cheap subdivisions which have grown up in California.

All of these communities have certain definite characteristics, and I would like to touch upon those just very briefly.

In the first place the pattern for the existence of these communities existed in California before the migrants ever came to California. When Mexicans were being imported by the thousands from 1914 to 1927 we noticed throughout California the growth of the typical Mexican shack town or "Jimtown" as it is called. These "Jimtowns" we still have with us as a result of that Mexican migration. And the Dust Bowl migration, so-called, has followed almost exactly the same pattern, namely, by the creation of these shack towns which are invariably located on the outskirts of an incorporated community but are not themselves a part of the incorporated community. Therefore, they are not subject to the State housing act; they are not subject to county regulation; they are mushroom communities, and anything goes so far as housing is concerned.

Mr. **Osmers**. May I interrupt?

Mr. **McWilliams**. Certainly.

Mr. Osmers. On whose land are they established, generally?

Mr. McWilliams. They are established generally upon the land of private land companies who have seen an opportunity in Dust Bowl migration to sell land; who have subdivided it and who sell lots for $50, $75, $200, or perhaps, as a maximum, $300, with $5 down and $5 a month and the privilege of the purchaser to go upon the land and build a shack.

Now, the building follows the definite migration pattern, and you can see the pattern in almost any typical migrant shack town in California.

First the tent, maybe a trailer, a lean-to, an addition to the lean-to, and possibly a one- or two-room frame house. Considering the difficulties facing these people and the fact that they have used sheet metal, cardboard boxes, cast-away lumber, anything that they could get their hands on, they have done remarkably well and show a great deal of ingenuity and resourcefulness.

The Chairman. Right there, Mr. McWilliams, may I ask how large a family occupies this one- and two-room shack?

Mr. McWilliams. Sometimes pretty good-sized families.

Now, one of the difficulties with these communities is this: First, they were never properly planned, and many of them are located in the most unlikely areas with respect to soil conditions and drainage conditions.

The second is there was no initial building regulations of any kind.

The third objection is that the groundwork or the framework for the future growth of a community was never there—and I am referring particularly to water, to streets, to sanitation. I am not concerned so much about the housing itself which might be improved over a period of time, but the initial framework is not there. So we have added to the collection of Mexican slums or shack towns, for the period of 1920–30, these additional potential slum areas in the State of California.

Mr. Osmers. Well, now, Mr. McWilliams, interrupting you again, these shack towns, so-called, on the outskirts of incorporated villages or municipalities are governed by whom?

Mr. McWilliams. With the exception of the powers of the county health officer to go in from the point of view of solely public health, they are not subject to any regulation.

Mr. Osmers. Well, where is the police power vested?

Mr. McWilliams. Well, these communities, because they are unincorporated, they have no local organized fire protection or police protection. They would have to rely, for example, upon the sheriff's office of the county or the countywide agencies. They have no locally organized services.

Mr. Osmers. Do you have State police in California?

Mr. McWilliams. We have a highway patrol.

Mr. Osmers. I see. A highway patrol.

Mr. McWilliams. And one further characteristic of these communities, which I would like to point out, is this: They are not just cases of a few shacks. They are sizable communities at the present time.

Mr. OSMERS. What would the population of a typical one be?

Mr. MCWILLIAMS. There is one at Modesto, Little Oklahoma, on one side of the canal bank, Little Arkansas on the other side, which I should say has 1,200 people in it. The Bull Track, so-called, at Marysville has 4,000; the Little Oklahoma at Salinas perhaps 10,000 or 12,000. And so it goes. Arvin has perhaps 4,000 people. They are sufficient size so that they might be incorporated as separate communities at the present time, and perhaps that may develop. I don't know.

Mr. OSMERS. Do these people have the right to vote?

Mr. MCWILLIAMS. If they have been within the county the requisite period of time, they could vote in the State-wide elections or county-wide elections.

Mr. OSMERS. Where would they register and where would they cast their ballot?

Mr. MCWILLIAMS. They would register at the county seat.

Mr. OSMERS. And cast their ballots there, too?

Mr. MCWILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. OSMERS. And there would be no local candidates on the ballot; only county and State and national?

Mr. MCWILLIAMS. There is not. That is correct, Mr. Congressman. One phase of this matter which might perhaps be called to your attention, namely, that by ruling of the attorney general, migrants in Farm Security Administration camps although they may be in the county the statutory period of time, are still deemed transients and they lack one of the elements of residents according to this ruling because, as the attorney general says, if they are living in a camp established for migratory workers, how can they have that intention of permanent residence which is one of the requisites of the statute? So we have cases this year in Inyo in Farm Security Administration camps who have lived there the requisite periods of time.

Mr. OSMERS. As a matter of fact, do these people vote? You have established that they apparently have the right to vote if they care to go to their county seat and register and cast a ballot.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS. In many counties the fact that they are voting is definitely indicated by the registration.

Mr. OSMERS. They are taking advantage of their constitutional right to vote?

Mr. MCWILLIAMS. That's right.

Now, the report that I have given you on housing is on a State-wide basis. I thought you might be interested in certain reports which I would like to leave with you as exhibits which break the thing down for particular counties and give you more detailed information.

I have here a report on housing in Kern County.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark that, please.

(The document referred to was marked as an exhibit, and made a part of this record.[1])

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[1] These documents were placed in committee files and not printed.

Mr. McWilliams. A report on housing conditions in Tulare County.

(The document referred to was marked as an exhibit and is held in committee files, not printed.)

Mr. McWilliams. The report on housing conditions in Sacramento County.

(The document referred to was marked as an exhibit and is held in committee files, not printed.)

Mr. McWilliams. A housing program for California.

(The document referred to was marked as an exhibit, made a part of this record, and appears below:)

CALIFORNIA STATE PLANNING BOARD[1]

A Housing Program for California

(Summarized Progress Report)

Housing is a complex issue with ramifications leading into many economic, social, and political fields. No well-balanced housing program can be simple, nor can it successfully be prosecuted by any one level of government. For maximum results, State action must be supplemented by Federal, county, and city action. A housing program for California is outlined which proposes a more extended, more effectively coordinated attack upon all phases of this problem. Definite suggestions are made for achieving desirable goals, largely through new or accelerated work by existing public agencies.[1]

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

A. The prime objective of any housing plan and program is a decent, sanitary home for every citizen.

B. The quantity and quality of homes depend upon the ability of people to have sustained employment and adequate wages, and this ability in the last analysis rests directly upon wise use of natural, human, and technological resources.

C. Good housing starts with proper subdivision and use of land, the establishment of orderly, efficient regional and community patterns, and the enforcement of sound regulatory and protective measures.

D. California must be concerned with housing in its broadest sense, with the adequacy and kinds of shelter which the people of this State have provided, and with all possible private and governmental means for the improvement of housing conditions.

E. Our form of government and political ideals, our social standards, and the nature of our economy make it desirable that suitable housing for all be encouraged through private means. Every available device of private initiative and the resources of capital and labor should be employed to bring decent shelter within reach of all groups.

F. Families in the middle and upper income brackets now are reasonably able to secure homes compatible with decent American standards.

G. The demand for better shelter by low-income families can be met by various means, including increased real wages, lower home building and maintenance costs, more new housing for families in the upper- and middle-income brackets, elimination of substandard housing, and by Government subsidy.

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[1] The State planning board itself has limited functions in housing. It deals with the broader aspects of State development and with the governmental machinery required for progressive action in this and other fields. Under the law, the State planning board cannot "exercise any of the powers or duties of any other State department or agency."

This State has a commission of immigration and housing authorized, if provided with adequate funds, to carry forward a more extensive housing program. Such a program could be instituted immediately, if sufficient funds were made available, either through a special appropriation by the legislature, or through the allocation by the Governor of money from the emergency fund.

H. Demolition of foul, unhealthy dwellings, firetraps, and flimsy shacks is justifiable on the same ground which supports removal from the market of tainted meat and diseased fruit, and is an essential step toward provision of safe, sanitary dwellings for low-income families.

I. The recourse to governmentally subsidized housing is now regarded as a proper alternative to meet the minimum needs of the lowest-income groups which cannot otherwise be provided with decent shelter.

J. Public housing of permanent types is properly considered a local responsibility subject to reasonable State or Federal regulation and assistance.

PRIVATE HOUSING

(Major fields of governmental activity for stimulation of construction, establishment of standards, research in methods and materials, neighborhood and community planning and aid in financing homes for owner occupancy or rental)

WHAT MORE CAN THE STATE DO?

A. *Division of immigration and housing.*[2]—1. Reorganize division so that it may function more effectively in all matters pertaining to housing and may devote its funds and effort more largely to the following functions related to housing, as set forth in the Labor Code:

(*a*) Gather information as to the agricultural possibilities and opportunities for settlement on land (sec. 1462).

(*b*) Collect information with respect to the need and demand for labor by the several agricultural, industrial, and other productive activities (sec. 1463a).

(*c*) Cooperate with the proper authorities to extend education to labor camps and other localities from which the regular schools are not easily accessible (sec. 1467).

(*d*) Examine records of city departments charged with the enforcement of the tenement house law and other building regulations and secure from them reports and copies of their records (sec. 1476).

(*e*) Enter and inspect tenement houses, buildings, and dwellings to secure compliance with State tenement and building laws and municipal ordinances, and to prevent violations thereof (sec. 1475).

(*f*) Gather evidence for the purpose of instituting prosecutions by the proper authorities against persons violating the laws of any municipality, county, the State, or the United States concerning any of the matters covered in this part (sec. 1483).

(*g*) Make investigations of the housing of working people (sec. 1477a).

(*h*) Investigate and report on defective housing, the evils resulting therefrom, and the work being done to remedy such evils (sec. 1477c).

(*i*) Study the operation and enforcement of building and tenement laws and of housing finance (sec. 1477d).

(*j*) Promote the formation of organizations intended to increase the supply of wholesome homes for the people (sec. 1477e).

(*k*) Receive from city housing commissions annual reports which include conflicts of authority, lack of cooperation, and recommendations for needed legislation (sec. 1478).

(*l*) Furnish information and suggestions to city governments, housing commissions, and public, semipublic, and private bodies to promote the purposes of this part (sec. 1481).

(*m*) Call conferences of representatives of city housing commissioners, housing inspectors, and other municipal officers (sec. 1479).

(*n*) Make an annual report on housing to the Governor (sec. 1481).

2. Provide additional funds immediately by legislative appropriation, or from Governor's emergency fund, to enable the Commission of Immigration and Housing to carry out provisions of law, particularly those relating to responsibilities of the State in both rural and urban housing.

3. Revise and recommend to the legislature improvement of the State housing act to provide, among other things:

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[2] Because of the dominant importance of private housing, suggested housing research activities for many governmental agencies are listed here. Most of these activities, however, also would be aids to public housing.

(*a*) Minimum standards more consistent with California climatic and cultural conditions.

(*b*) Complete, State-wide jurisdiction.[3]

4. Enforce the State housing act strictly:

(*a*) Employ more inspectors.

(*b*) Act promptly to stop violations.

5. Determine why the limited dividend housing corporation act, the community chest land act, and the public service district act have not functioned, and suggest means for making them usable and effective.

6. Supplement census and other surveys and investigations where necessary for determining sound housing policies.

7. Encourage appropriate private and cooperative low-cost housing projects.

8. Cooperate with local planning, health, and other agencies to encourage private housing and the elimination of factors causing slums and blighted areas.

9. Cooperate with the State relief administration, National Youth Administration, and other agencies, in conducting experiments in low-cost housing adapted to small cities and rural areas.

B. *University of California.*—1. Extend and amplify research in design, materials, and construction methods for housing of all types under typical California conditions.

2. Investigate and report on social and economic factors related to housing, particularly on agricultural and rural land problems and employment opportunities in various regions of the State.

3. Establish courses in housing and city and regional planning, and undertake research in land and subdivision, transit, industrial employment, population trends, and other matters related to housing.

C. *Real-estate commissioner.*—1. In cooperation with the Federal Housing Administration, the universities, and other agencies, develop and publish reports and plans for the establishment of higher standards in land subdivision.

2. Undertake the revision of State law to provide more effective State and local regulation over the design of subdivisions.

3. Strictly enforce laws governing the subdivision and marketing of land for residential uses.

D. *Attorney General.*—1. Prosecute violations of State laws intended to improve the quality of housing, to encourage and protect home ownership and investments in residential property, or to reduce costs of home building.

E. *State planning board.*—1. Cooperate with division of immigration and housing and other State and Federal agencies concerned with housing policies and programs.

2. Stimulate the establishment of local planning commissions.

3. Upon request, assist local planning agencies by reveiewing master plans, zoning and subdivision ordinances, and other measures related to housing.

4. Provide limited advice to local planning commissions, particularly with reference to the assembly of facts dealing with the elimination of slums, construction of decent housing, and advancement of the State housing program.

WHAT MORE CAN FEDERAL AGENCIES DO?

A. *Federal Housing Administration.*[4]—1. Direct continuing efforts toward reducing the cost of dwelling construction.

2. Provide adequate inspection to assure compliance with regulations governing standards.

3. Increase educational efforts to demonstrate the advantages of good neighborhood plans and sound construction.

4. Amplify and extend efforts to interest private capital in the clearance of slums, reclamation of blighted areas, and provision of decent housing for low-income groups.

5. Study the factors which cause neighborhood deterioration.

6. Develop improved and more economical patterns for the subdivision of land for residential use.

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[3] The present State housing act applies only to dwellings in incorporated cities.

[4] The chief function of this agency is to guarantee loans for private dwelling construction, and should be distinguished from that of the United States Housing Authority which assists in the financing of and sets standards for local low-cost public housing.

7. Establish contacts with local officials and housing authorities for the purpose of developing low-cost-housing projects adapted to suburban and rural areas.

B. *Farm Security Administration.*—1. Develop and publish for distribution in this State reports and plans for cheap, satisfactory, agricultural labor camps suitable for private construction.

2. Study and report upon means to reduce the ill effects and expense of family migration by enabling the families of agricultural workers to stay at a permanent home while the man alone follows the crops.

C. *Federal Security Agency.*—1. Make available in wider circles information in files of the Farm Placement Service relating to areas for possible settlement.

D. *Bureau of Agricultural Economics.*—1. Develop and publish in California, in cooperation with State agencies, data and information regarding agricultural lands adapted to settlement and use for rural housing.

E. *Department of Justice.*—1. Continue investigating monopolistic practices in the building industry which tend to increase home construction costs.

2. Prosecute individuals and groups where violations are found.

F. *National Resources Planning Board.*—1. Study and report upon the extent and significance of farm abandonment, the causes of migration, and measures for the rehabilitation and rehousing of farm families in other States.

2. Help each State maintain income and decrease emigration through development and application of broad plans for the conservation and wise use of natural resources.

3. Eliminate unnecessary public expenditures through drafting programs of Public Works projects related to such plans.

4. Investigate and prepare plans for the stabilization of employment.

G. *Bureau of Standards.*—1. Test new building materials and forms of construction adapted to California and the Southwest.

2. Publicize the results and findings of such tests.

H. *Forest Products Laboratories.*—1. Continue research in the development of new wood materials and uses of wood products for California homes, including use of waste resulting from Pacific coast lumbering.

2. Publicize results of such tests applicable to California and Pacific coast.

I. *Bureau of Home Economics.*—1. Continue research on the functional arrangement of kitchens, bath rooms, etc., with view to greater economy in home construction, maintenance, and operation.

2. Publish results of such research in bulletins and supplements for use in California home-building circles.

J. *Census Bureau.*—1. Provide for the early tabulation and release of returns from the 1940 housing census, especially the schedules covering rural areas.

2. Conduct supplemental housing and land-use surveys with Work Projects Administration assistance.

WHAT MORE CAN COUNTIES AND CITIES DO?

A. *Planning commissions.*—1. Make investigations and surveys of housing and other related matters called for by the planning act.

2. Complete and adopt a comprehensive master plan as soon as possible.

3. Revise old, unsatisfactory zoning ordinances in accordance with the master land-use plan.

4. Extend modern, protective zoning to all urban and suburban residential areas.

5. Rigidly administer zoning regulations in residential areas.

6. Develop new patterns for subdivisions and strictly enforce subdivision regulations.

7. Review local building, housing, and sanitary codes, and recommend changes for the establishment of higher standards wherever possible.

B. *Housing authorities.*—1. Conduct surveys and publish reports dealing with substandard and deficient private housing, confer with representatives of banks, lending institutions, and realty interests regarding means for improvement of unfavorable conditions and enlist the aid of the Federal Housing Administration in development of large-scale housing projects for clearance of slum areas and provision of low-cost housing.

C. *Health officers.*—1. Strictly enforce sanitary and health regulations and order the elimination of dwellings with a consistently bad inspection record.

2. Cooperate with the planning commission and legislative body in the review and improvement of local health and sanitary regulations.

D. *Building inspectors.*—1. Cooperate with the planning commission and legislative body in the review and revision of local building codes.

2. Strictly enforce building regulations.

E. *Attorneys (district and city).*—1. Vigorously prosecute violations of building, housing, and sanitary codes and zoning regulations.

2. Cooperate with the planning commission and building and health inspectors in the revision and preparation of ordinances.

F. *Engineers (county and city).*—1. Provide adequate but minimum cost pavement in residential areas.

2. Develop an orderly, economical program of street improvement, sewer construction, and other public works.

G. *Assessors.*—1. Periodically review evaluations so as to reduce inequalities which operate to the disadvantage of home owners.

PUBLIC HOUSING

(This section deals with desirable new or amplified Government activity in the actual construction and management of decent, sanitary dwellings for those lowest-income groups not reached by any private housing program)

WHAT MORE CAN STATE AGENCIES DO?

A. *State-wide coordination of housing.*—1. The many problems involved in the operation of a sound well-integrated program for housing and rehousing the families of less privileged citizens of California, especially in rural areas and small towns where the establishment of active local housing authorities meets with budgetary difficulties, indicate the need for a State agency, properly equipped and financed to perform functions such as:

(*a*) Conducting an initial and continuing survey of housing as related to rental and population statistics, and the State-wide and regional geography of employment markets.[5]

(*b*) Disseminating systematic but popular information on housing problems, existing conditions in need of remedy, and proposed methods of improvement.

(*c*) Engaging in constructive research concerning the planning standards, grouping, materials, and structural systems especially suited to the climate and material resources of California.[6]

(*d*) Providing for the systematic and gradual elimination of substandard dwellings, either by their improvement to comply with standards of the health and State housing acts, or by demolition.

(*e*) Facilitating the use of all suitable parcels of tax-deeded land for public housing project sites.[7] In certain cases this would involve the consolidation of tracts by exchanges or other means.

(*f*) Arranging through the department of public works for the provision of lacking but necessary highway and water facilities at otherwise desirable sites for housing developments.

(*g*) Arranging through the State department of education and local school districts for the provision of lacking but necessary school facilities at or near otherwise desirable sites for housing developments.

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[5] The State agency could act as a sponsor in obtaining Work Projects Administration workers for such a survey.

[6] This is necessary because United States Housing Authority, Federal Housing Authority, and Department of Agriculture studies of housing site plans and unit plans, based primarily on eastern, and to some extent middle western living standards, are in many ways less fitting and adequate when applied to California conditions.

[7] A. B. 47, based largely on recommendations contained in the State planning board's report, Tax Delinquent Land in California, among other things would establish a procedure whereby public agencies readily could secure tax deeded land classified as especially desirable for housing sites, parks, or other public purposes.

(*h*) Cooperating with the United States Housing Administration, Federal Security Administration, Federal Housing Administration, National Youth Administration, State relief administration, and other governmental agencies actively interested in and financially able to assist public housing authorities in Californa.

(*i*) Obtaining loans and grants from the United States Housing Administration for building and operating low-cost housing projects where either local housing authorities do not exist, or where they are not able to function.

2. Under existing law, the commission of immigration and housing has authority to perform all functions of a State housing coordinating agency except that, not being a corporate body, it is unable to build and operate subsidized public housing projects with United States Housing Authority assistance. (See p. 4 for a complete statement of this authority.)

3. A complete State housing coordinating agency, with full power to build and operate subsidized public housing projects, may be established by:

(*a*) Enacting A. B. 57, or some similar legislation, establishing a State housing authority and, in addition, transferring to this new authority certain functions now assigned to the commission of immigration and housing,[8] or

(*b*) Making the commission of immigration and housing a corporate body with authority to build and operate subsidized public housing projects, and providing it with sufficient money—either by legislative appropriation or from the emergency fund—to fully exercise its existing powers.

B. *Division of immigration and housing.*—1. Help counties and cities desiring to establish housing authorities.

2. Assist local housing authorities in the development of appropriate construction programs.

C. *University of California.*—1. Train personnel for the technical service of public housing agencies, and for the management of public housing projects.

D. *State relief administration.*—1. Provide relief labor to local housing authorities engaged in building low-cost homes.

WHAT MORE CAN FEDERAL AGENCIES DO?

A. *United States Housing Authority.*—1. Give local housing authorities more freedom to bring subsidized urban housing into conformity with California climatic and cultural requirements by, for example:

(*a*) Permitting single-family units wherever possible.

(*b*) Allowing less permanent, cheaper types of construction which can be amortized in less than 60 years, and

(*c*) Making it possible for the tenant ultimately to purchase his home if he is able to do so.[9]

2. Develop more effectual procedure for elimination of slums by:

(*a*) Construction of projects on slum property wherever possible, and

(*b*) Full application of equivalent elimination requirements.

3. Amend present law and regulations to permit a more economical and practical approach to problems of rural housing.

B. *Farm Security Administration.*—1. Provide immediately more temporary camps and other forms of decent shelter for transients and migratory families.

2. In cooperation with other Federal and State agencies, conduct studies and report on:

(*a*) Present and prospective labor needs of California agriculture, and

(*b*) Appropriate Federal, State, and local housing plans for part-time agricultural workers and depressed migrant families.

3. Experiment further with camps of different sizes and types, trailers and small farm housing projects adapted to California agricultural conditions.

C. *Federal Housing Administration.*—1. Under terms of section 207 (the small-scale housing program), offer financial aid to local housing authorities seeking private capital for participation in the construction of low-cost dwellings or housing projects for low-income families.[10]

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[8] Unless such a transfer of functions were made, there would be an undesirable and wasteful duplication and overlapping of powers and duties.

[9] An amendment to the United States Housing Act, now before Congress, would permit both the sale of project homes and increased activity in the field of rural housing.

[10] Recent changes in Federal Housing Authority regulations make possible larger participation of private capital in housing for low-income groups.

D. *Works Progress Administration.*—1. Revise policies to permit low-cost home building projects sponsored by county housing authorities and other public agencies.

E. *National Forest Service.*—1. Make available to Civilian Conservation Corps or other relief workers timber suitable for making shakes and lumber necessary for use in public low-cost home-building projects.

F. *Civilian Conservation Corps.*—1. Provide personnel and equipment in national forests to make shakes and lumber for use in public low-cost home-building projects.

G. *National Youth Administration.*—1. Allow local housing authorities engaged in the construction of low-cost dwellings to use National Youth Administration labor working under the direction of skilled artisans and avail themselves of drafting projects and tooled-up National Youth Administration shops.

WHAT MORE CAN LOCAL AGENCIES DO?

A. *City or county housing authorities.*—1. To be established when surveys by the planning commission or some other agency indicate the:

(*a*) Existence of slums which are a social menace to and an economic drain on the community; and the

(*b*) Inability of private agencies to provide minimum essential housing facilities.

2. Develop programs to build and operate housing for those lowest-income and relief families which no phase of private endeavor can supply with decent, sanitary shelter.

3 City housing authorities to take full advantage of present opportunities to construct public-housing projects in cooperation with the United States Housing Authority.

4 County housing authorities, if United States Housing Authority assistance is not adapted to rural and suburban housing needs, may with advantage enlist the aid of various other agencies such as the Federal Housing Administration, Work Projects Administration, National Youth Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and the State Relief Administration in the development of low-cost rural housing projects. Assistance in these and other matters should be available from the State division of immigration and housing.

WHAT CITIZEN GROUPS CAN DO

A. *Governor's housing committee.*—1. Composed of leading citizens representing labor unions, banks, contracting concerns, building material dealers and other groups directly concerned with housing.

2. Charged with the duty of investigating and reporting on:

(*a*) Improvement of credit facilities for housing;

(*b*) Reduction of labor costs in home construction;

(*c*) Lowering of building material and supply costs;

(*d*) Equitable residential property taxation; and

(*e*) Encouragement of private investment in low-cost housing.

B. *Local housing councils.*—1. Composed of leading local citizens representing service groups, women's clubs and other public-spirited organizations.

2. Established for the purpose of:

(*a*) Studying housing laws;

(*b*) Investigating substandard housing and the community cost of blighted areas;

(*c*) Reviewing projects designed to provide decent housing for low-income families;

(*d*) Considering the relation of housing to city and county planning;

(*e*) Gathering data on housing management; and

(*f*) Publicizing all pertinent facts and findings.

Mr. McWILLIAMS. Russell City Survey, which is the survey of a typical Mexican shack town.

(The document referred to was marked as an exhibit and made a part of this record.[1])

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[1] The document was placed in committee file and not printed.

Mr. McWilliams. Here is an outline of a proposal for a State-wide rural housing survey in California.

(The document referred to was marked as an exhibit, made a part of this record, and appears below:)

Exhibit 12

Final Draft of Report of Subcommittee for Rural Housing Survey Committee, Meeting of April 10, 1940

April 12, 1940.

Mr. Carey McWilliams,
Chief, Division of Immigration and Housing,
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. McWilliams: This subcommittee consisted of the following persons:

Dr. James B. Sharp (chairman), Work Projects Administration Research and Records Section.

Dr. Davis McEntire, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Mr. Carey McWilliams, Division of Immigration and Housing.

Mr. Ormsby and Mr. Wilson, State Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Von T. Ellsworth, California Agricultural Farm Association.

Mr. Peyton Stapp, United States Housing Authority.

Mr. Harold Pomeroy, Associated Farmers.

Professor M. R. Benedict, Giannini Foundation.

Dr. Omer Mills, Farm Security Administration.

Of the above-named the last four were absent from this meeting.

The report of the subcommittee is as follows: In any preliminary determination of actual housing conditions the principal delimitation in surveying rural housing conditions is to establish as within the scope of the project those geographical areas which are nonincorporated areas. The scope of various types of rural-housing studies discussed were:

(1) Rural housing used by agricultural labor in all areas.
(2) Rural housing in so-called shack towns.
(3) Rural housing in new subdivisions.
(4) Housing of farmers.
(5) Rural housing in unincorporated areas.

It would not be possible to secure (1) unless a complete housing enumeration by occupation classification of the householder was made of all urban and rural areas. This would be too costly and further the United States census will obtain adequate details on urban-area housing. A special tabulation by occupational classification of householder could be requested to secure housing conditions of farm laborers. Special studies could be made to secure (2) for this is incidental to rural slum clearance and to secure (3), say, by the State real-estate division as a follow-up of agreements entered into at the time the petition was granted to establish the subdivision. It is likely the United States census will secure adequate detail on (4). This leaves (5). The proposal to confine rural-housing studies to unincorporated areas has another survey advantage besides the precise geographical delimitation; namely, it will provide comparable data to study population movements and finally will provide factual data indicating need for controlling by means of a State-wide inspection of unincorporated housing settlements.

To further clarify the two principal fields of survey, it should be here added that in addition to (1) survey of physical housing conditions that (2) survey of social and economic data controlling in the survey field of physical facilities or in affecting needs for additional housing are essential though supplementary to the surveys of actual housing facilities.

At present, two projects can be immediately developed to collate, tabulate, and analyze schedules and inspection reports already on file in two agencies noted below (see items 3 and 6 of supplementary notes).

(1) Farm Security Administration applications for emergency family aid cases provide information as to housing conditions. Approximately 10,000 completed schedules will be made the basis for this study.

(2) The various untabulated detail now available in the files of the Division of Immigration and Housing relating to inspection of truck and trailer camps as

well as private farm laborers housing. This detail can be assembled to prepare a significant contribution regarding rural housing conditions in California.

These projects will be developed for submission soon for Work Projects Administration assistance.

Now in the survey fields of actual rural housing facilities it is recommended:

(A) Regional studies of San Joaquin and Sacramento Valley Counties, primarily in unincorporated areas in line with above discussion.

(B) Special localized studies of housing in—

i. Shack towns.
ii. Newer subdivisions.
iii. Squatters, settlements.

(C) For A and B it is essential to develop a manual of procedure, providing technical details for field and office work, the duties of and instructions for workers, tabulation plans, etc., comparable to that now used in the Work Projects Administration real property surveys of urban areas. This rural housing procedure would be of use to any rural community which takes sufficient interest to sponsor a rural housing project and would be basic for setting up any project along regional or localized lines.

(D) It is further recommended that another subcommittee be appointed to outline what data can be assembled to indicate housing facilities needed in specific rural areas. This data would include information on (*a*) actual physical housing conditions; (*b*) number employed in agricultural and other industries who reside in rural areas; (*c*) determination of where agricultural workers actually live; (*d*) other social and economic data controlling or affecting needs for additional housing.

The above recommendations (A to D) will be the primary subjects for discussion at the next meeting of the larger subcommittee.

Attached hereto are some supplementary notes on sources of information by agencies on rural housing conditions in California.

Very truly yours,

JAMES B. SHARP.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON SOURCES OF INFORMATION BY AGENCIES ON RURAL HOUSING CONDITIONS IN CALIFORNIA

1. United States Housing Authority states they have no primary data on rural housing conditions in California.

2. Work Projects Administration has completed one small intensive study of the Sacramento depression settlements in the year 1935. (The Work Projects Administration has urban housing surveys in operation in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and comparatively little interest has been shown except in Kern County, in Vallejo, and in Mill Valley.)

3. The Farm Security Administration has collected some information from their loan clients as to the housing conditions in which these clients live. This material has not been tabulated to date. A proposed study of about 10,000 schedules to arrive at some detailed information regarding rural housing conditions among migrants securing emergency relief aid is now being developed by Clerk Kerr of Stanford University, who intends to utilize Farm Security Administration schedules.

Mr. W. F. Baxter of the Farm Security Administration published a tract in the Quartermaster Review, July–August 1937, on "Migratory labor camps." This article has been reprinted and is available through the Farm Security Administration. It presents some of the conditions under which migratory labor has lived and what the Farm Security Administration has done about it, especially in California.

4. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, according to Dr. McEntire, has some material similar to that which the Farm Security Administration has on file. One thousand one hundred schedules on a welfare and income study of migrant workers are being tabulated to show type of house lived in, number of rooms, family size, sanitary facilities, location and rental or ownership status. These schedules were collected in representative shack towns. The sample was random except that all schedules represent families who have entered California since 1930 and who have settled in a given locality which they regard as home.

5. The Kern County Health Department undertook to develop a preliminary technique for a rural housing study for their county in 1939. The project was suspended due to the failure of the sponsor to supply the required nonlabor items such as transportation. The preliminary plans are deposited in the Kern County Health Department and include a spot map of settlements.

6. Division of Immigration and Housing probably has the best source of untabulated data now available regarding housing conditions in rural areas. Several sets of data will be coded and tabulated including *(a)* auto-camp inspection reports; *(b)* trailer-camp inspection reports; *(c)* private farms with five or more housing units for workers; some additional information is available for *(c)* shack towns of El Monte (Hick's Camp) and of Alameda (Russell City); for *(d)* recent subdivisions of Tulare, Arvin, Earlimont, Modesto (Little Oklahoma); and for *(e)* Stockton and Tulare State relief administration client housing schedules.

7. The State planning board may have projected some studies of rural housing conditions, but no details have been published. The only publication available is a general statement useful for local agencies in setting up local housing authorities.

8. The Los Angeles County Planning Board may have some detail regarding low-cost housing conditions in Los Angeles County and the need for public housing by localities.

9. The Commonwealth Club undertook in one of its sections to study rural housing conditions, but was diverted into discussing public housing in urban areas during the section's meetings and the report is primarily on housing in urban areas. This diversion may be considered a devious precedent for handling of housing problems by the State planning board.

10. The State emergency relief administration made several sporadic studies in various sections of the State on rentals of relief clients, which studies have not been published.

11. The United States Bureau of Census schedule fails to provide space for detailed data such as are needed for local area housing plans.

12. The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California under date of February 27, 1939, issued a review on the problem of transients and migrants, prepared by Victor Jones, research assistant. The problem of housing in California is dealt with on pages 38–44, giving in general the historical conditions which have led to serious rioting, and the statement is made that "from the wheatland riots, 1913, to the present day the most persistent complaint of migrant agricultural workers has been that they are housed in overcrowded and unsanitary quarters," page 38.

In his treatment, it appears that the distinction between transients and migrants is not clearly established and that the problem of the new western migration beginning about 1933 is not sufficiently emphasized. Some references are also made to the reports which have been published, including the California State Relief Administration report in 1936 on "Migratory Labor in California." This volume has a few illustrations showing the conditions under which these farm laborers live.

13. However, the most satisfactory photographs which have been taken are those under the direction of the Farm Security Administration, particularly those taken by Dorothea Lange. Some of these were published in the United States Camera Annual for 1938. The main body of these photographs, however, is collected and on file with the Farm Security Administration in Washington, D. C., and in San Francisco, Calif.

Miss Lange is now on the staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics engaged in a documentary photographic study of rural housing in California and Arizona.

J. B. S.

TESTIMONY OF CAREY McWILLIAMS—Resumed

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. McWilliams, we are going to have to be rather brief because we have one more witness before noon, but I do want to ask you a question or two. I have enjoyed both your statements, the one relating to housing, as well as the one relating to labor contractors.

First, with reference to the housing, you speak of some of the settlements having as high as 4, 6, maybe even 10,000 people in them. How permanent are they?

Mr. McWilliams. I am inclined to think that they are permanent. I think these people have every intention of sticking right there.

Mr. Sparkman. In other words, they are not in a constant flow?

Mr. McWilliams. No.

Mr. Sparkman. They have rooted themselves down there insofar as they have been able to?

Mr. McWilliams. That's right.

The Chairman. They really haven't any money to get out with; have they?

Mr. McWilliams. They have no money to get out with. Most of these shacks were built in large part with State funds. In 1939, November 1939, the State relief administration was spending in the six San Joaquin Valley counties approximately $100,000 a month for rent, and of the relief clients noted in those communities there were about 65 percent agricultural workers.

Mr. Sparkman. Do you believe that the Federal Government should participate in some kind of slum clearance or rural slum clearance? It is rather hard to conceive of a settlement of 10,000 people being classified as "rural" any more.

Mr. McWilliams. Well, in California we would look at housing problems from the point of the metropolitan housing, one classification, and then all other housing as "rural" housing, although, strictly speaking, you wouldn't call it "rural" housing.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, I want to ask you a few questions about the labor contractors. Your statement is very full and very clear, and I don't care about going into it in detail, but I draw this conclusion very clearly from your statement:

LABOR CONTRACTOR SYSTEM

First of all, that the labor-contractor system is certainly tied in with the agricultural system here in California.

Mr. McWilliams. Definitely.

Mr. Sparkman. And so definitely that it is rather hard—will be rather hard—to get rid of it, and yet you feel that, the way it has been operating, it is a vicious system?

Mr. McWilliams. I certainly do.

Mr. Sparkman. And ought to be eliminated?

Mr. McWilliams. That's right.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, I gather that one of the great objections to it is that it serves to keep the labor market in more or less a turmoil, disorganizing the labor market?

Mr. McWilliams. That's right.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, now, don't you believe that the employment service can very largely be used as a substitute?

Mr. McWilliams. I have heard the testimony here this morning regarding the fact that the employment service is not functioning properly. I agree with that statement. But one of the reasons that it is not functioning properly in California is because of the system of labor contractors in existence in California.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you not believe it can be made to function efficiently to such an extent that it may very largely eliminate the labor contract system?

Mr. McWILLIAMS. I will put it this way: That you will have to push the labor contractor out of the picture before the employment service can do a good job.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We have found, for instance, in Memphis, and again in Texas—I believe those were the outstanding jobs being done by the employment service. Now, Memphis related a story somewhat similar to yours, as to the way they used to get their labor there. Yet the employment service through a very aggressive program came in and simply substituted itself for that old system.

Mr. McWILLIAMS. Well, I am convinced that in the long run growers would profit by dealing with the employment service rather than with labor contractors. But I would like to leave this suggestion with you: That you will find that labor contractors concentrated in that segment of California agriculture where the shipping, processing, and canning phase has a clear ascendency over the productive aspect. In those segments, that is, where the canning, shipping, or processing concern goes in and buys the crop in place in the field, therefore, it must deal, or it feels it must deal with the labor contractor to harvest that crop.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, the other thing that you stressed was the irresponsibility of the labor contractors?

Mr. McWILLIAMS. That's right.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. SPARKMAN. With reference to a good many different things that you enumerated.

Now, that certainly is not a Federal problem. That is a State problem. Don't you agree with me?

Mr. McWILLIAMS. Yes; except that I think the Federal Government should investigate those contractors who operate between States.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, of course, only to that extent could it be a Federal problem.

Mr. McWILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But most of yours are intrastate operations?

Mr. McWILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And it seems to me, to be drawn from your paper, is this conclusion: That the Federal Government's participation should be limited to control of those operating across State lines and to a strengthening of the employment service or some similar agency. Then the State should step in and control by evidently more stringent regulations than you now have over the labor contract system.

Mr. McWILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. McWilliams, I have just one question, and now referring back to your testimony on these shack towns:

Do the laws of the State of California give ample authority for the removal of these communities if they become hazards to the public health?

Mr. McWilliams. They do not at the present time.

Mr. Osmers. Do you feel that they should?

Mr. McWilliams. I definitely do. I feel that the State Housing Act should be extended in certain respects to rental units in unincorporated areas or to housing generally in incorporated areas.

Mr. Osmers. I realize that government, I think, is limited under the decision of the United States Supreme Court—not being an attorney, I don't want to be too sure about this—to health, safety, and morals. That is the extent of the power that you can exert over these communities, and if it could be clearly demonstrated that they were menaces to the public health or to the public morals, or to the public safety, such as fire hazards, or something like that, you then could legislate for the State of California to go in there and remove them if that seemed to be the right thing to do.

Of course, you would still have 10,000 people on your hands?

Mr. McWilliams. That's the problem.

Mr. Osmers. You would be worse off than you were in the beginning, probably?

Mr. McWilliams. Yes.

The Chairman. Mr. McWilliams, the committee is very grateful to you for this very fine presentation, especially your statement and your exhibits. You know what you are talking about, by the way. We appreciate it very much.

Mr. McWilliams. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

The Chairman. Miss Bauer.

TESTIMONY OF MISS CATHERINE BAUER, SECRETARY, CALIFORNIA HOUSING ASSOCIATION

Mr. Sparkman. Miss Bauer, will you give your name and your official connection to the reporter?

Miss Bauer. Catherine, C-a-t-h-e-r-i-n-e, Bauer, B-a-u-e-r. I am the secretary of the California Housing Association; also the Rosenberg lecturer at the University of California, and also a consultant on the United States Housing Authority.

Mr. Sparkman. We have your statement here and it will be made a part of the record. We don't want to hurry you, but I understand you have to get back to your work for this afternoon. So will you just proceed and handle the subject as you see fit?

Miss Bauer. I will just leave my statement for the record and merely bring out some highlights here and there.

(The statement submitted is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY CATHERINE BAUER, SECRETARY, CALIFORNIA HOUSING ASSOCIATION; ROSENBERG PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA; CONSULTANT TO THE UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY

The Housing of California's Agricultural Workers

Housing is always a complicated question. Housing conditions, good or bad, urban or rural, are always the result of complex cross-currents—the economic limitations of particular families on the one hand plus the choices based on habits and hopes which they exercise within those limitations, and the community pattern on the other hand, with its peculiar climate, topography and building traditions, the standards it has set for itself and the services it provides, and the responsibilities it either accepts or denies.

The question of adequate shelter for California's agricultural workers is no exception. On the contrary, it is probably even less a simple matter of sticks and stones than are most other types of housing problem.

That there are far too many examples in rural California of housing conditions which are bad by any standard, no one would deny. These conditions have received sporadic national publicity ever since President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership in 1930. There are still no State-wide figures to summarize the extent of the problem; but there are numerous scattered surveys which, with the facts available from the division of immigration and housing on certain special classes of dwelling, present a fair and even dramatic picture.

Mr. McWilliams, and others far better qualified than myself, have already shown you much of this picture. My own intention is not so much to extend these descriptions of bad conditions as to attempt to provide some framework for analysis of the problem, some indication of the factors which must be taken into account in its solution, and a brief description of the various measures already tried or available and the numerous remedies proposed.

In urban housing studies the most important fact in relation to actual physical housing conditions is family income. In California rural areas, however, the question of occupational status probably comes first. The housing problems of farm operators, of wage-earners whose sources of employment and income are reasonably fixed in one locality, and of wage earners with no settled base who follow seasonal employment wherever it may be found, are entirely different in nature, and require quite different methods for their solution. The 1940 census figures will throw a much more accurate light on the relative size of these three groups, but in the meantime the following very rough estimates, derived from various published and unpublished calculations by experts at the University of California, may provide at least a basis for discussion.

	Families
Farm operators (excluding those with small holdings who must seek cash income elsewhere) (about)	150,000
Wage workers, more or less settled in one locality[1] (about)	150,000
Wage workers, with no regular place of residence whatsoever (about)	50,000

[1] This includes many families who may leave their homes for several months every year and who often may not return to the identical dwelling they left, but who do feel that they belong somewhere. If normally city families who occasionally seek agricultural employment were included, the figure would probably be higher.

Since most of the professional farm operators are apparently able to satisfy at least their most critical housing needs on their own initiative through the usual building and financing agencies, they need not concern us greatly here. However, it is probably more difficult for the operator of even a successful family farm to borrow money on reasonable terms for the construction or improvement of a home than it is for middle class urban home owners, and some further study of this matter might well be warranted. The Federal Housing Administration, from the inception of their program to aid farmers in November 1938 until June 1940, insured only 88 mortgages on farm homes in their Northern California region (including Tulare and Kings Counties). Moreover, since these mortgages averaged over $8,000, most of these homes were hardly farmhouses in the ordinary sense of the word. These figures compare with 11.323 insured mortgages in urban areas in the same region during the same period.

The Rural Rehabilitation Program of the Farm Security Administration has, through extension of credit and expert guidance, helped many thousands of small California farmers to improve their methods of production both for the market and for home use and has thus doubtless benefited housing conditions, however indirectly. The Farm Security Administration has also endeavored to improve the security of tenant farmers in this region, by encouraging written lease agreements, of longer duration. Such arrangements would offer the possibility at least of somewhat improved housing conditions for tenants. Particularly bad housing conditions of tenant farmers are found in the Imperial Valley in cotton. Expert testimony has frequently pointed to the fact that the homes of small Mexican operators in this area are not vastly superior to those of their temporary hired laborers.

The big group of agricultural families who must depend for their living on wages (or, failing that, on relief) constitute, however, the major rural housing problem in California. Since poverty is almost always the prime cause of bad housing, the actual cash incomes of these families are, of course, very important in any analysis of the housing situation. But other factors are almost equally basic. There is a vast difference between the housing problem of a family who resides more or less permanently in one place, and that of a family who follows the will-o'-the-wisp of employment all over the State, or even into other States. And even among those who do have a relatively permanent base a big distinction must be made between families whose wage earners have regular jobs nearby, year in, year out (or even month in, month out), and families whose potential breadwinners (often necesarrily including women and children) must drive around the country on the off chance of picking up a few weeks, or days, or even hours, of employment. Gasoline and rubber go down on the list of absolute necessities even ahead of food, let alone shelter, in the budgets of many such families.

HOUSING FOR THE HOMELESS

So perhaps the appropriate question to ask first is, How many families are really mobile, with no home base at all? And the question that goes along with it if we are attempting to work out some housing solution is, How long must they remain so?

All the migrants seeking agricultural employment in California cannot by any means simply be lumped together in this strictly mobile homeless class. As a matter of fact, the principal characteristic of practically all migrants is their desire not to be migratory. The vast majority settle down almost immediately, even though the chances for any real economic security in a given locality may be very slim indeed. Conversations with practically any random sample of Okies and Arkies will bring out this fact. And the survey of school children conducted by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, already described in detail before this committee, provides impressive State-wide evidence. Describing the results of this survey in the Land Policy Review for July–August 1940, Mr. Janow and Mr. McEntire say:

"Even among these families (out of all families with school children who have come into the State since 1930—C. B.) who reported themselves as agricultural laborers in California in 1939, more than half said they had lived continuously in the same county since their arrival in the State; three-fourths of these families reported they had lived continuously in the counties where they were enumerated from within a year of the time they entered the State."

There has also been a marked trend, recorded by the division of immigration and housing, toward the transformation of quarters originally designed for purely temporary use—auto camps and auto courts, even employers' camps—into permanent residences. (This is, in fact, a serious problem for the division, since they lose jurisdiction over such accommodations when they become permanent homes.) The Farm Security Administration, in their transient camps, is encountering a similar problem—and recognizing it by providing a certain number of farm-labor homes near most of the camps for families who seem to be fairly permanently settled.

Nevertheless, there is still a very large number of literally homeless and rootless families in California, and my estimate of 50,000 is extremely conservative. Who are they? Racially and nationally, they are a very mixed group, including representatives of all the historic waves of migrants to California, but the vast majority are native white Americans, "tractored out" or blown out or dried out of the southern Great Plains region.[2]

How do they live? Most of them probably spend a large part of each year in labor camps maintained by employers or labor contractors. (The division of immigration and housing estimated that in 1938 about 145,000 people resided for a considerable period in the 5,347 such camps in California.) Physically, the typical camp dwelling is not a real house at all—merely the roughest sort of protection against the weather—rarely more than one room, often with only a dirt floor. Sometimes there is only a bare field in which to put up a tent, with a single spigot and perhaps a couple of privies adjacent. (The worst are probably in the newer and highly speculative cotton acreages, the best in citrus, which has reached a more stable stage.) Even according to the very simple standards set by the division of immigration and housing under the State Labor Camp Act (hardly adequate even for purely temporary quarters largely occupied by single men, which was the situation they were designed to meet), out of the 1,481 camps housing 74,000 people inspected in 1939, only 24 percent were rated good, 46 percent were fair, and 29 percent bad. About 40 percent offered no bathing facilities of any kind. Only 8 percent had flush toilets. Overcrowding was practically universal; in Madera County in 1939 there were on the average 4.9 occupants per one-room cabin. As the nearest thing to a home for thousands of American families, the usual proportion of women and old people and small children included, there is certainly something wanting in such standards.

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[2] In the camps inspected by the division of immigration and housing in 1939, 24 percent of the population was Mexican, 11 percent Filipino, 10 percent others—and 55 percent American. The proportion of Americans would be higher outside the labor camps.

Physical conditions are not the only drawback to such housing, however. This committee and the La Follette committee have both heard a great deal about labor disturbances up and down the valleys of California. Very often (the famous Wheatland and Imperial Valley strikes were examples) these are fairly directly caused by unbearable living conditions. More often, however, their violence and bitterness are the well-nigh unavoidable result of the repressions and denials of human liberty which seemingly go along with company housing. It is just too easy to throw them out, or to get in the proper frame of mind for righteous collusion with local officials. The pattern is essentially feudal in character, and there is apparently little means for redress of wrongs or gradual betterment within such a pattern except by violence and bitterness.

Also conducive to trouble in labor camps (and an added difficulty in solving the problem) is the fact that in general they are free—hence almost certainly a brake on any wage increases which might make it a little more possible for the laborer to secure his shelter on his own initiative.

The Farm Security Administration has 13 fixed camps and 5 mobile camp units in California, accommodating around 4,500 families or perhaps 18,000 people. These camps are of the simplest sort and do not constitute in any way a substitute for permanent homes; but they are sanitary and orderly and decent, and they do provide clean water, bathing, and laundry facilities, minimum health services, and a place for meetings, entertainment, and usually a nursery school.

In addition there are a very few public camps maintained by local authorities. Almost no use has been made, however, of the Public Service District Act, which permits a majority of voters in any area to establish a public service district by petition, a corporate body with the power to construct and maintain labor camps, and to raise money for that purpose either by taxation or by borrowing from any public agency.

Outside of employers and public camps, a large number of these wanderers (most of them, during at least part of the year) reside in private auto courts and trailer camps, and in every conceivable sort of shelter of their own devising—tents, lean-tos, trailers, box cars, dugouts, or just out in the open. The division of immigration and housing lists 259 auto camps alone, now primarily used by agricultural workers (and many of them gradually transforming themselves into permanent homes—hence outside the jurisdiction of the State).

There are fewer bona fide squatters than there used to be, partly because of local ordinances, and partly because there is profit for enterprising local property owners in legally renting shelter, or water connections, or just bare pieces of ground, to the itinerants. California has plenty of open space, but it is not careless with its hospitality.

What are the means of these homeless families—people who must spend considerable sums for gasoline and tires and repairs merely as a condition of occasionally eating, and who have no opportunity to raise even a handful of turnips. No one knows exactly—but sample surveys here and there have been made. Here are some figures for 1940 from the sample summaries of current employment and earnings of families residing in Farm Security Administration camps in California and Arizona, published monthly by the Farm Security Administration. This is probably the poorest group, by and large, including many of the newest comers to the State with the least resources, but there is every indication that $500 is more cash than the vast majority of homeless families see in a year.

	4-week averages				
	Feb. 24 to Mar. 23	Mar. 23 to Apr. 20	Apr. 20 to May 18	May 18 to June 15	June 15 to July 13
Percentage of families with at least 1 worker employed [1] percent	30	31	50	52	40
Average weekly earnings per worker employed [1]	$5.26	$5.76	$8.30	$8.84	$8.91
Average weekly earnings per family—all families:					
(a) Employment other than public assistance	2.47	2.52	5.78	6.04	4.30
(b) Employment on public assistance projects	.77	.45	(2)	(2)	(2)
(c) Total	3.24	2.97			

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[1] Other than public assistance projects.

[2] No report.

The average distance from camp to work ranged from 9.8 miles in March and April, down to 7 miles in June.

That this situation is bad is generally recognized. Various proposals have been made, by the State planning board, by the State chamber of commerce, by the Governor's commission on reemployment, and other organizations and individuals. All such measures should, in my opinion, be weighed in the light of two long-term principles. The first has been well stated by Dr. M. R. Benedict, professor of agricultural economics at the University of California:

"Job security and stability of residence are essential to a satisfactory solution at least for the family groups. Few of the other problems can be met satisfactorily without these as a prerequisite."

The second principle is the fact that, in the long run, the healthy progressive trend should on the whole be away from "company housing"—temporary or permanent shelter for agricultural wage earners provided and maintained by farm operators. I am therefore not in favor of one recommendation by the State chamber of commerce, namely, that cheap long-term loans (presumably from public funds) be made to growers for housing construction, and suggesting the possibility of public works projects utilizing relief labor, for construction of camp and housing facilities on farms.

Camps—whether shelters, tent platforms, trailer accommodations of whatnot—can probably best be provided, and operated, by public agencies. While there are good private camps here and there in this State (and a few exceptional ones—just as there are also model company towns provided by certain industries) nevertheless the incentives, and the necessary checks against exploitation, are just inherently not strong enough in this pattern, for any general solution in that manner. The Farm Security Administration camp program should be extended. This step has been recommended by all State agencies concerned and many responsible individuals acquainted with the broad problem at the present time, in spite of the continued more or less passive resistance and occasional outright hostility of local officials and groups to Farm Security Administration in some areas. In addition, the Public Service District Act should be revived, through which public camps can be provided by local initiative.

Another measure on which there is general agreement is the need for improvement of the State Housing Act, and better enforcement of its provisions by enlarging the staff of the Division of Immigration and Housing. Restrictive legislation is necessary, in rural as well as in urban areas, but it must never be considered a substitute for positive constructive action. When not accompanied by suitable measures designed to provide new quarters in as efficient a manner as possible, restrictive legislation can even be carried too far—as would be the case, for example, if employers and private auto camp proprietors serving agricultural migrants were forced to spend large sums of money to improve camps which are not basically well planned or constructed, and which should rather be superseded by new public camps in other locations.

As for the only sound long-term ideal—to make it unnecessary for whole families to live on the road chasing odd jobs from one year's end to the other—there are certain proposals and possibilities which must at least be mentioned since they are more or less axiomatic to success in this direction. These possibilities are, roughly:

1. More diversified farming, which would level off the peaks of employment. As to whether or not the trend is in this direction at the present time there is apparently acute disagreement among the experts. Perhaps the census will help to make the picture clearer. Incentives toward this end might be developed, as suggested by Professor Benedict, through making the employer share directly in the cost of keeping his seasonal employees alive through the remainder of the year (instead of indirectly through being taxed along with all other citizens for relief expenditures, as at the present time).

2. Better wages for agricultural labor, through unionization or establishment of fixed minimum standards or a combination of both. Recognizing the fact that in any event employment in California agriculture is likely to remain largely seasonal in character, better wages plus some efficient method of providing for settlement on part-time farms should make it unnecessary for whole families to seek employment in the fields. If the women and children at least could be permanently settled, and where desirable their excess time and energy used for cultivation of their own garden plots rather than for tiny wages in the fields, it would not create such a serious social problem for the adult male wage-earners occasionally to travel some distance away for a month or two of employment elsewhere.

3. Introduction of small industries, in addition to packing and processing, into rural areas. Government encouragement and assistance has accomplished a great deal in this direction in the distressed areas in England. Similar efforts in the United States could take the advantage of the trend toward decentralization of industry which is already well established.

One further matter must be mentioned. Everyone in the State would probably agree that, if the housing and living conditions of the wandering agricultural workers is to be improved, one or the other of the remedies suggested above must be tried. Nevertheless, almost any program in this direction would meet considerable resistance at least of a passive nature. Why? One factor is, of course, the universal reason for resistance to reform—namely, that it may cost the taxpayers something. Far deeper than that here in California, however, is the honest belief on the part of many people that there are already a great many more families recently migrated to this State than can ever be absorbed either by industry or agriculture, and that if conditions are made any more attractive it will only mean additional newcomers—surplus families who will keep wages depressed and sooner or later become expensive wards of the State.

It is quite true, apparently, that the number of people seeking agricultural employment in relation to the number of potential jobs has been great enough, for the past decade at least, to maintain a fairly steady "employers' market" in most areas. The result has been low wage rates, the too-thin spreading of available employment, and a pattern under which a large proportion of agricultural workers spend a good part of each year on Federal or local relief. (Indeed, there are well-grounded theorists who claim with impressive evidence that the whole present pattern of California agriculture is built up on the premise of a continuously overabundant labor market, and that whenever it shows signs of coming into balance with the possibility of some degree of bargaining power on both sides, steps are immediately taken to bring into the State a fresh new supply of the desperately poor. If that be true, then it might as well be faced that quite serious dislocations and readjustments may be necessary before any ultimate solution can be reached, even in so small a branch of the problem as housing.)

In any case, there are certain fairly clear indications which can profitably be borne in mind in relation to housing improvement.

For one thing the immediate outlook (at least for the duration of the defense program and the resulting expansion of many industries) is for greater consuming power for the products of California agriculture, hence more potential employment, coupled with more industrial employment, hence less pressure for agricultural jobs.

For another, brakes are being applied as effectively as possible with available means, at the sources of California migration. The Farm Security Administration has spent "20 times as much money to anchor farmers to the land in the States where most migrants come from as has been spent on the shelter, relief, and medical care of migratory families now in California." (Release of Department of Agriculture, March 23, 1940.)

Furthermore, rich and productive California probably still presents geater potential absorptive capacities for settlement than most other sections of the country (although possibly not at a rate as rapid as the rate of immigraion during the past decade, particularly when accompanied by Nation-wide depression and critical drought conditions elsewhere). California must therefore be expected to take care of at least a certain proportion of families from permanently distressed and hopeless areas. This picture may not be nearly as stern and gloomy as it seems, however, if certain other facts are taken into consideration. Messrs Janow and McEntire, of the regional office of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, make a significant comment in the Land Policy Review for July–August 1940:

"California has the lowest birth-rate in the Nation; without any migration into or out of the State and the same birth and death rates, California's population would have ceased to grow after 1940 and by 1950 would be less than it had been in 1935. Without migration the number in the young age groups would shrink and there would be a substantial increase in both the number and proportion of old persons in the population. (It is well to recall at this point that the average head of an agricultural migrant family is in his early thirties, just beginning his best potential working years, C. B.).

"Economic depression, unemployment, and social maladjustments in California during the 1930's are probably reflections of a general depression, rather than the result of an unprecedented migration. Circumstances suggest that the distressed migrant of today has but followed an honorable tradition of moving in search of opportunity, and there is evidence that the newcomers are being assimilated into California's economy. With a substantial resumption of general business activity, it is likely that present trends toward economic assimilation of the migrants would be strengthened. It would be a rash prophet who would predict early cessation of the expansive character of California's economy."

Proof of the "settling down" of migrant families is on every hand, as a matter of fact. Indeed, the most critical housing and planning problem facing California today in my opinion is not when and where to persuade the transients to take root, nearly as much as it is how to direct and facilitate the rapid settling down process, so that the general welfare and amenity of the State may be increased rather than harmed. Shack towns are civic, social and economic debits, however you look at them. While decent new communities and simple sanitary homes are permanent assets, even if they cost something to produce in terms of time, energy, foresight, public controls and even outright public assistance.

THE SHACKTOWN PROBLEM

What about this much larger segment of the agricultural population, the 150,000 or more wageworkers' families who are already more or less settled in one locality? Who are they? They are not essentially different in make-up from the purely migratory homeless group, but they do represent the next step up socially and economically, by and large. They are those who have worked out some sort of pattern which makes it possible for them to belong somewhere. And a very tenuous and complicated pattern it is in many cases. For only perhaps a quarter of them does it mean a regular permanent job. For the rest it is a mixture of seasonal employment in the field, orchards, packing or processing industries at varying distance from the home base, odd jobs, subsistence gardens, and supplements from relief. But the children can go to school, the adults can gradually take part in civic affairs. And the ideal of leading a normal settled life, not as a miserable outcast "Okie" or "Arkie" but as a citizen of California, can at least be cultivated if not achieved.

Where and how do these families live? A few reside in homes provided by their employers, most of them inadequate for permanent residence, some, at the upper end of the scale (highly skilled workers or foremen on big farms, for instance), may be able to provide adequate modern homes for themselves on their own initiative and within the ordinary framework of the private residential building business.

Some, only a few hundred as yet, live in farm-labor homes rented to them for $8 a month, together with small plots of ground and the use of a community center, by the Farm Security Administration.

Some are trying to make a go of it on tiny part-time farms, almost invariably on submarginal land and with the crudest sort of shack by way of housing facility. Some live along the road in sordid auto camps, designed for one-night stands. Many are swallowed up in the congested shacks, tenements, and converted dwellings of urban slum areas. (Recent surveys in Fresno, Los Angeles, Sacramento, and San Diego present facts on this situation.)

But most of them live in shacktowns—well-defined communities which have sprung up in cheap subdivisions on the outer fringes of towns and metropolitan areas, almost always outside the corporate limits and thus beyond the reach of both municipal regulation and municipal services.

As for actual physical conditions in these hundreds of new suburban communities which grace the borders of practically every city and town in the State, Mr. McWilliams and many others have described them graphically many times. There is already much concrete evidence on the record, before both this committee and the La Follette committee. The results of a very recent intensive survey of 1,000 families residing in 50 such communities in 8 counties, made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, are, however, worth additional mention, as this is the only fairly comprehensive study yet made.

These families have all come to California since 1930, and all had some agricultural experience in the place they came from. Just about half of them came to reside in their present communities within the same calendar year they entered California. They have lived in their present residences for an average of 2½ years.

What sort of residences are they? About 75 percent frame houses or shacks; 10 percent tents; 5 percent trailers or boxcars; 5 percent adobe, tile, or other masonry houses (and 5 percent apparently unclassifiable). The majority of the homes have no foundations whatsoever. The typical dwelling has two to three rooms, but there are many with only one. Since the average family size is 4.6 persons, this means general overcrowding.

As for sanitary conditions, only 10 percent have sewers or septic tanks (the rest having pit privies, often shared); only 25 percent have their garbage collected; 50 percent have city water at least to the property line, but few have it inside their homes. Now such conditions are not necessarily inimical to health on a well-laid-out farm in open country, but where the typical lot is not more than 50–75 by 100, with many smaller, lack of water and sewers and garbage collection can mean a serious health menace, not only to the families who live there but to the adjacent cities.

What sort of tenure do these families have? Almost 48 percent have actually purchased property. Of these about two-thirds bought bare land with no improvements or utilities whatsoever. About one-quarter bought existing houses or shacks. Of the purchased properties, 55 percent had a contract price of more than $300. But perhaps "purchase" is too strong a word for this method of settlement as ordinarily practiced, too suggestive of some resultant security. Prices are usually so high in relation to any real value (unproductive alkaline land worth $50 an acre if anything can and does bring $500 in such "cheap" subdivisions), and the terms of the typical sales contracts are so full of advance "discounts" and loopholes for the seller, that the average unpaid balance was almost constant among these families, whether they had occupied the property 1 year or 9 years. And the average net equity of the owner, after due allowance for cash improvements and labor supplied by himself, increased from $222 for those in their first year of "ownership" to only $682 for those in their ninth year, with an average of $468 for all years. No wonder these owners often have to "subdivide" and rent out the rear of their lots to some newer arrival.

These families are poor. But they are not as poor as the strictly transient families surveyed in Farm Security Administration camps. Following are their average incomes in 1938, classified according to the principal source of their income. (It must be remembered that very few got all their income from any one source, however, and practically all had some agricultural employment.)

Principal source of income	Average income, 1938	Number of families
Wage labor in agriculture	$759	360
Canning, packing, processing	982	75
Nonagricultural employment	1,155	214
Public assistance	635	299
All families	827	948

The median income among families primarily employed in agriculture was only $650, since a few exceptionally high incomes raised the average.

It would seem that a little assistance, and at least as much responsible control of layout, building, and sanitary standards as ordinarily prevails in the better administered cities, would go a long way to improve the housing conditions of families in these income groups.

As matters stand, however, these shack town developments are rapidly creating one of California's most serious State-wide problems—a problem with much broader ramifications than the housing conditions of a particular group of families. Health officials in many localities are already aroused. Owners of good residential property nearby are beginning to be worried enough to raise the whole question of civic amenity. Welfare people are concerned about the ultimate effects of this obvious and clear-cut segregation on the citizenship of the settlers and the social life of the community. (The will toward responsible citizenship is there: The survey showed that 65 percent of the family heads of these recent settlers had already become registered voters in California.)

And the incalculable wastes involved in this type of settlement are gradually becoming apparent to all thinking persons. Waste of cash to the individuals involved, because, even where outright exploitation is not involved, this piecemeal undirected kind of building is by far the most expensive in the long run in terms of value received. Waste of cash to the taxpayers, right now, through additional health services, and potentially much more later on: for what can be done when the situation is eventually faced, buy them all out? It is invariably far more expensive to do a job over than to do it right the first time. And finally, waste of invaluable initiative, spirit, and energy. These settlers are doing their best, utilizing every means and material and ingenious device available to them, to become solid citizens. It is not their fault that they are creating communities which in many respects menace the public welfare. And if they are allowed to go on too long, investing every scrap of extra cash and energy in the hopeless effort to turn a shacktown into a respectable, decent neighborhood, what will happen? Their stake will then be so great that they are more than likely to be against any efforts to improve the situation.

PROPOSED REMEDIES

How can these sordid fringe developments be eliminated? More important, how can more of them be prevented from being born? More important still, how can suitable and decent modern homes be brought within reach of agricultural workers' families with incomes between, let us say, $400 and $1,000?

No one device will do it, not even a miracle of wage increases. A great many measures should be tried, to fit different conditions and needs, and many of them fitted carefully into a long-term pattern. Many proposals have in fact already been made, and the simplest thing is to list them, with such comment as may seem called for.

1. *Surveys.*—A comprehensive State-wide study of housing conditions in rural areas has been proposed by the division of immigration and housing. This would include field surveys in selected areas, and tabulation of considerable material already available in the offices of the division and the Farm Security Administration. A committee representing all the public agencies and private organizations concerned has met several times to formulate plans for the study. It has been urgently recommended by the State planning board. Approval by the legislature is necessary before it can go ahead. The survey should be made, as a necessary supplement to the 1940 census material on housing which will be available some time this coming year. In the meantime, however, there are ample facts available for at least some initial steps.

2. *Improved restrictive legislation and county planning.*—There is likewise general agreement on the need for revision of the State Housing Act and the various laws applying to labor camps, auto courts, etc., and also on the need for a more adequate staff of inspectors in the division of immigration and housing. Both these matters will require action by the legislature.

As for county planning (which includes such matters as zoning and building ordinances outside the corporate limits of cities, control of subdivision layout, etc.) too few citizens of this State even know that the Planning Act of 1929, amended in 1937, requires counties to create planning commissions. Every student of planning from Stockholm to New York to Tokyo considers this act a great piece of legislation which demonstrates the progressiveness of California * * * but what has become of it? Well, here is a paragraph from "California Planning 1939," recently published by the State planning board:

"By June 30, 1939, 33 of the 57 counties, or 58 percent, had officially established planning commissions. Of these, seven are inactive, having held no meetings for several years. Four others did not file annual reports, so their status is somewhat indefinite. Two counties, Ventura and Madera, established commissions shortly before the end of the fiscal year and, therefore, made no report."

The only commissions listed as "active" in the San Joaquin-Sacramento Valley where shack-town conditions are most prevalent and growing most rapidly, are in Kern and Fresno Counties. And even here, according to the report, very little was done which would affect the shack towns one way or the other.

Although there should certainly be more and better zoning, platting, and building ordinances, it should always be borne in mind that all restrictive legislation has serious limitations even at best. Unless it is accompanied by the provision of facilities whereby minimum standard homes can be produced within reach of those who need them, good laws in one county merely mean more shacks in another county.

3. *Making small plots available at reasonable prices for home sites and part-time farms.*—There are several private agencies of a more or less commercial nature which have at least announced plans for selling suitable plots on reasonable terms. One is called Social Adjustment, Inc. Obviously, anything which might eliminate some of the wasteful and exploitive speculative practices current today in the cheaper subdivisions would be better than nothing. Nevertheless, unless such land schemes are accompanied by proper street and lot lay-out, arrangements for the provision of adequate utilities and services, and above all some direction and control and assistance in building the homes, I am afraid that much cannot be expected of them.

4. *Financial and directive facilities for developing part-time farms on a large scale, preferably with some sort of cooperative base.*—The Farm Security Administration has made some experiments in this field, particularly in Arizona. The idea has many advantages, but there are also many possible pitfalls in organization and administration. Further experiments should certainly be made, however.

5. *More opportunity for small diversified family farms.*—Since practically all productive land in California is already in active private ownership, if not in actual use, this could only be accomplished by breaking up existing big farms, or making new land available through irrigation. The Central Valley project may offer some opportunities along this line, particularly if it is planned and administered on principles similar to those now guiding the plans for the Grand Coulee irrigation project in Washington.

6. *Cheaper loans for individual agricultural workers for home construction.*—At the present time there are no public funds available for individual home loans, and the Federal Housing Administration and private lending agencies are

ordinarily not interested in the low-income families with whom we are here concerned. Although individual construction, or individual purchase of homes built on a large scale by a speculative builder, is not by any means the most efficient manner of providing decent dwellings for such families, the strong bias toward individual ownership on the part of many of these families warrants further study and encouragement in this field.

7. *Rationalized production of standard dwelling parts and equipment.*—If all the talk and expensive research in prefabricated houses amounts to anything, here is the great opportunity to demonstrate it. The system tried out on a large scale in Swedish cities, where not only production of walls and all parts of a house is completely rationalized but also the actual erection, enabling individual families to put their home together with a minimum of expert supervision and assistance, might well be worth some study and experiment. It might be undertaken either by a public service district or a housing authority or the Farm Security Administration. Such homes should always be built as part of a well-planned community, however, and not merely scattered around on any vacant lot available.

8. *Extension of the Farm Security Administration program.*—Farm labor homes, as well as transient camps, should be provided by Farm Security Administration on a much larger scale than at present. Their location should be carefully studied in relation to local needs. Although direct Federal construction of homes can probably never be expected to solve any very large segment of the problem, the Farm Security Administration has amply demonstrated the value of a certain amount of construction of this kind. Valuable technical and social experiments can be made which no local or private agency would have the courage to undertake.

9. *Creation of county housing authorities.*—Outside of Los Angeles and San Francisco, only one California county, Sacramento, has thus far established a housing authority to take advantage of the facilities offered by the United States Housing Authority.[1] Five hundred thousand dollars has been earmarked for Sacramento County and the methods employed and results obtained should be earnestly watched throughout the rest of the State. In the South and Middle West many counties already have authorities with rural projects either completed or under construction. Costs are low, and rents are being brought down as low as $5 or $6 a month per house. At the present time all United States Housing Authority aided housing must remain the property of local housing authorities, and be occupied on a rental basis. Amendments have passed the United States House of Representatives, however, which would permit long-term sales contracts for rural homes. The State planning board urgently recommends establishment of more county housing authorities.

10. *Creation of a State housing authority.*—County authorities can be set up under existing enabling legislation, simply by resolution of county governments. To establish a State housing authority, it will be necessary for the assembly to pass bill No. 57 (already adopted in the State senate). The State planning board and many other agencies have recommended passage of this bill because it is felt that the rural housing problem is State-wide in character and that some central coordinating agency will be desirable.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

In short, the basic requirements for long-term solution of the agricultural workers' housing problem in California seem to be:

1. Local concern, knowledge, and responsible participation: By the setting of adequate planning and building standards, the provision of labor camps possibly through public-service districts, and the establishment of housing authorities.
2. State direction and coordination: Particularly by bringing the facts together, improving State legislation with respect to standards, encouraging and coordinating the local planning agencies already presumably required by the State, and establishing a State housing authority.
3. Federal assistance: By Farm Security Administration construction of additional camps and farm labor homes; by Federal Housing Administration mort-

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[1] In November 1940, Kern County, and in January 1941, Contra Costa County, also established housing authorities.

gage insurance extension to rural areas and lower-income families; and by United States Housing Authority assistance to local and State housing authorities. All of these require action by Congress particularly in making additional funds available to the Farm Security Administration and the United States Housing Authority. The National Resources Planning Board can also be useful in helping to inform and guide the local planning agencies.

TESTIMONY OF MISS CATHERINE BAUER—Resumed

HOUSING PROBLEM

Miss BAUER. You have already heard from Mr. McWilliams a much better summary, I think, than I could give of the kinds of bad physical housing conditions in rural areas in this State. There is also some very excellent material in the testimony that went before the La Follette committee last winter on bad housing conditions in rural areas.

But it would seem to me perhaps worthwhile to try to outline a little more closely the framework of the problem which we have to consider before we can devise any methods for solution.

Now, when we are talking about urban housing, the first important thing in connection with bad physical condition is obviously income. I mean, "What can people pay?" That is obviously very important in urban areas and also in rural areas in California, but there are other things which are almost equally important in trying to analyze the nature of the problem, and among those things are the status of the family and, particularly, their degree of mobility. Because housing is, after all, something which we have always assumed had to be relatively fixed, and if the families are going to move around, you have to consider their housing in quite a different light.

I have tried to work out just a very broad kind of break-down of the agricultural worker population in California from this point of view. The figures aren't exact, but my confreres at the university seem to agree, so I imagine it is as near as one could come.

I would say, starting with the most stable families first, that is the farm operators, there are probably 150,000 such families and they don't present any very serious housing problem as far as strictly physical conditions are concerned. I think perhaps the Federal Housing Administration might conceivably help them a little bit more than they do.

Then at the opposite end of the scale the agricultural wage earners' families who are strictly homeless, that is, who really do not have a base, an address, who don't come from anywhere, I would put at the figure of about 50,000 families.

Some people might put that higher; some might put it lower.

These families always live in temporary quarters. They live in labor camps. They live in auto camps, which Mr. McWilliams described. They live in dugouts. They live in tents. They live in all kinds of extremely bad temporary quarters.

The third group is really the biggest and also, I think, presents the biggest long-term problem. These are the more or less settled agricultural wage earners. Now, that includes many that you might call practically homeless, but nevertheless people who, by and large, have a base somewhere to which they usually go back. And I would put about 150,000 families in that category. And they, of course, are the ones who live in these shack towns which Mr. McWilliams was describing. They live in all other kinds of things, too. Some of them live permanently in employers' camps and auto courts, and so on. But the majority reside in these shack towns.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics made a very interesting survey of about a thousand families in about 45 shack towns around the State just this past year.

LIVING CONDITIONS IN SHACK TOWNS

It is the first comprehensive study that has been made, and there are certain very interesting things about that. Obviously physical conditions are bad. I think only 10 percent of the families had either sewers or septic tanks. The rest had only privies, and many of those were shared; they didn't even have private privies.

Then only about 50 percent had city water coming up even to their property line; practically none had it indoors. Some of them, of course, had wells of their own, but a great many had no water on their property at all. The typical dwelling size was between two and three rooms—I think something like 2½ rooms. The average family, however, was 4.6 persons. I think you asked me about that question. Well, 4.6 persons in 2½ rooms is definitely overcrowded. And the rooms are probably very small.

These shacks are also close to each other and adjacent to urban communities, and that is, of course, important. You can perfectly well have a house that has an outside pump and only has an outside privy in an open area, and while it may not be convenient for the housewife, it is sanitary. But the minute you put several hundred or even several thousand such houses in pretty close proximity to each other, then you have a frightful condition, a condition which is actually a direct menace, not only to the health and welfare of these families, but to all the adjacent communities.

The typical plot size for these thousands of families was between 50 and 75 feet by 100. Well, that is a city-sized lot. I mean, that is not the kind of lot where it is healthy not to have water right in the house and not have sewer lines and so on.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. EXTENSION OF STATE HOUSING ACT

Well, I think that there is plenty of other material in the record, on actual conditions. I think you might be more interested in some of the recommendations that have been made in this State for doing something about it. I think there is pretty general agreement that the State Housing Act, the act which Mr. McWilliams administers at the present time, should be improved and modernized and made more comprehensive.

And also another very important point: The staff of the division of immigration and housing should be considerably enlarged so that they can actually have more inspectors. You know from your own experience that you can have fine legislation on the books, but if you don't have a staff to carry on, you can't really accomplish a great deal.

2. MORE PUBLIC CAMPS

The second thing with which I think most agencies and individuals concerned in this case would agree is that there should be more Farm Security Administration camps.

Now, in addition, however, I think, very serious consideration should be given to the promotion of more public camps by local public agencies. Not many people know that there is actually an act on the books of the State of California which permits the establishment of public-service districts by petition of a majority of the citizens in an area, which sets up a sort of authority, a corporation, which has actual power and which can borrow money from any available public source to provide temporary housing quarters, labor camps, that is. And it is a great wonder to me that that is apparently a completely dead letter and that nothing is done under it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instances where it has been invoked at all?

Miss BAUER. I have heard there was some talk about using it somewhere. I think perhaps the initial steps were taken to set it up, but I don't think there have ever been any camps put up under it.

3. DISCOURAGE FURTHER EMPLOYER CAMPS

Of one thing I am certain: measures which would extend or encourage further employer camps are no solution. The day for company housing, thank God, is over.

4. HIGHER WAGES

Then, most important, I think, for the strictly mobile families, is the encouragement of any measure which would make it possible for at least the families, the women and children, to settle down in some locality. There is a great difference, to my mind, between a whole family, including small children and women, traipsing all around the country, having no base, no regular school, no regular home of any kind, and the family being settled even if the male wage earner does have to go around for 2 or 3 months of the year. I see nothing necessarily wrong with that at all. If the family has a regular base, that seems most important. Of course, one thing which might help that along would be higher wages.

If the adult male were able to make more cash by himself on the road in the few months of the year in which there is seasonal employment, it wouldn't be so necessary to have the labor of his wife and his children for a very small pittance. On the other hand, it is also necessary to have some efficient facilities whereby means of settlement could be provided, that is, plots of land and ways of acquiring a house.

So much for a summary of the housing situation with respect to the strictly homeless.

5. RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION TO PREVENT ADDITIONAL SHACK TOWNS

Now, the biggest problem, quantitatively, is certainly the wage earners who are already more or less settled. I think it is also the most urgent problem in many respects simply because if the process that is going on at the present time in California, the method by which settlement is being carried out in these shack towns in this State, should go on for another 5 or 10 years, there would be a problem which no one would know how to solve.

Practically every agricultural center would be surrounded by these shack-town communities which are not just bad houses. They are fundamentally badly laid out. There is nothing you can do to rehabilitate them in most cases, and there they will be. The situation will be frozen, and it will cost a hundred times more to do anything about it even a few years from now than it would now.

I think the shack town is really the most urgent problem. And even there it is not so much a question of how to get rid of the ones that exist as to prevent new ones from being made. It is a complicated question. There isn't any one thing that is going to solve the matter of how to avoid making new shack towns. Restrictive legislation is very generally recommended and also is certainly needed.

It has been recommended by the State planning board, by the State chamber of commerce, and almost every agency concerned. Then that brings up another piece of State legislation in California which very few people here in the State know about.

The planning act, passed in 1929 and 1937, actually requires counties to create planning commissions in this State. But there is a recent report of the State planning board with a rather dreary little paragraph in it which I might just quote to you. It said:

> By June 30, 1939, 33 of the 57 counties, or 58 percent, had officially established planning commissions. Of these, 7 are inactive, having held no meetings for several years. Four others did not file annual reports, so their status is somewhat indefinite. Two counties, Ventura and Madera, established commissions shortly before the end of the fiscal year and, therefore, made no report.

Well, I don't know what the law means when it says that they are required to have planning commissions, but it is obvious that the majority of counties, and practically all the counties in the valley areas where the shack town problem is most important, do not have active planning commissions.

Now, it is really through planning commissions in counties that one could eventually have zoning legislation and building codes, and the various kinds of restrictions as to subdivision, and so on, which would be a very important partial control for this situation. But restrictive legislation is certainly never going to be enough. The fact that San Mateo County has very good zoning legislation only means that there are very few, if any, shacks built in San Mateo County; they are built over in some other county instead.

You can't have restrictive legislation alone. You must also have means for providing decent, new housing.

There are lots of suggestions on that score. I will only summarize them extremely briefly.

There should obviously be encouragement, any encouragement to any responsible, efficient private builders who can meet the needs of the better-off settlers. But I'm afraid it won't go very far down the economic scale. These are poor people, unprofitable as home purchasers. And I think that strictly land-development programs, that is, proposals that would make land available, are not going to accomplish very much by themselves because you still have the problem of producing the dwellings and they are likely to be as bad as the shack towns you have now.

There should be many more Farm Security Administration labor homes. And all counties should have housing authorities set up to cooperate with the United States Housing Authority or any other agency able to assist housing.

Mr. Pomeroy, whom you heard this morning, is the director of the first county housing authority in California in a rural area, and I think that if the recommendations of the State planning board and many other agencies are taken, there should be further county housing authorities later on.

In addition it has been recommended by the State planning board that there should be a State housing authority which would not only operate as a local authority under the United States Housing Act, but would be able to coordinate the work of the county authorities and perhaps engage in some other kind of housing aid. That, as I say, has been recommended by the State planning board. The bill to adopt such a set-up passed the assembly, and is now before the Senate in this State, and I hope very much that it will be passed.

Of course, all that means is that you can't solve the rural housing problem in California without a combination of more local and State responsibility in restrictive legislation and in providing labor camps, and also in setting up housing authorities, and finally more Federal assistance, particularly through the Farm Security Administration and the United States Housing Authority.

Mr. Sparkman. I think that is a very complete statement. There is just one question I wanted to ask you.

You made some reference to State camps. Doesn't the State of California have some camps? Doesn't it build some camps?

Miss Bauer. I am not absolutely sure on that point. I am sure that they have not been bulding any recently.

Mr. Sparkman. What suggested that to me is that last December I was here in California, and I remember we were looking over Camp Ord and a site where the Government was contemplating buying considerable acreage in order to expand that defense installation, and we were taken out to some kind of camp which I understood was maintained by the State relief association and these people were workers.

Miss Bauer. In Monterey County?

Mr. Sparkman. Well, it is out near Camp Ord. I don't know what county it is in.

Miss Bauer. I don't believe I know about that. I would have to look that up.

Mr. McWilliams. I think I can perhaps straighten that out. The State relief administration has maintained some camps for single men. They are just camps maintained in connection with relief clientele, but the State of California——

Mr. Sparkman. And in connection with work projects, probably?

Mr. McWilliams. Well, just from a purely welfare point of view to take care of single men, as I understand. But the State, as such, maintains no labor camps.

Mr. Sparkman. I was just curious about that. That is all.

Mr. Osmers. Miss Bauer, I have just one or two questions. I am vitally interested in planning. My interest in that problem goes back considerably further than my interest in the migrant situation. We have a problem in our State similar to the one that you have here.

Miss Bauer. I really come from New Jersey myself, as a matter of fact.

Mr. Osmers. Well, you know that we also have some very fine legislation on the books and that these places that don't need planning have it and those that need it don't. And that seems to be the case all over the world. I would just like to ask you this question:

Do you feel that California and New Jersey, and all of these other States that have suitable planning legislation on the books of the State, should assume more of the authority rather than to give it to the counties or the municipalities and thereby make up the lack of planning in the counties and in the municipalities?

Miss Bauer. I think I would; yes.

Mr. Osmers. In other words, what practical way are we going to get around this situation whereby the State sets up a beautiful picture on the law books of the State and—I don't recall the names of the counties that you used as examples, but these counties that don't really need planning, they have a very fine set-up?

Miss Bauer. That's right.

Mr. Osmers. The community in which I live in New Jersey has one of the finest small-town planning set-ups in the country, and the next town that needs it doesn't have any at all. How are we going to avoid that?

Miss Bauer. I think there has to be more State planning, particularly in establishing minimum standards. I think when it comes to minimum standards, whether it is with respect to zoning our cities, or anything else, it would be much healthier to have those on a State-wide basis than have them set up or not set up by individual localities or individual counties.

Now, when it comes to actually laying out subdivisions, I am not sure but that if we could have in the counties well-trained people on the staff the local people could do it better than the State officials.

Mr. Osmers. Well, the concern of laying out State subdivisions and acceptance and approval of plot diagrams is principally one of beauty in many instances, and, after all, health, safety, and morals are the only three things that they can concern themselves with. We have a very good State planning board in New Jersey, but it is principally an advisory and research group.

Miss Bauer. Mr. McWilliams brought up a question that remained unanswered. In that B. A. E. study of shack towns, it might interest you to know that 65 percent of the heads of the families were registered voters, which I think is probably just as good as the families that have been around permanently.

Mr. Osmers. Did I understand you to say that there is no State housing authority in California?

Miss Bauer. There is no State housing authority in California.

Mr. Osmers. I didn't believe you could participate in the Federal program unless you had a State housing authority.

Miss BAUER. No; as a matter of fact, New Jersey has just about the only real State housing authority in the country.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, we put that through at 3 o'clock in the morning because we had to have it.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Bauer, thank you very much. I have been in Congress several years, and I have heard a lot of witnesses. I want to say that you are one of the best talkers I have ever heard.

Miss BAUER. Thank you. Your committee are good listeners.

The CHAIRMAN. We will stand adjourned until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 1:10 p. m. an adjournment was taken to 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(After the taking of recess the hearing was resumed at 2 p. m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Stoll.

TESTIMONY OF LELAND C. STOLL, DIRECTOR, OREGON STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, SALEM, OREG.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you state your name for the record, please?

Mr. STOLL. L. C. Stoll.

Mr. OSMERS. You are director of the Oregon State Employment Service, Mr. Stoll?

Mr. STOLL. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have a statement that you would like to submit, Mr. Stoll?

Mr. STOLL. Yes, sir. As a representative of Governor Sprague, I would like to submit this statement.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT PREPARED BY LELAND C. STOLL, DIRECTOR, OREGON STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, SEPTEMBER 1940, FOR HON. CHARLES A. SPRAGUE, GOVERNOR, STATE OF OREGON

OREGON AND HER MIGRANTS

FOREWORD

During recent years there have been many articles and more recently many detailed studies made pointing to the number of migrants moving westward. Suffice it to say for this discussion that Oregon, along with the many Western States, has received her quota. Fortunately the people coming to Oregon have been from sturdy northeastern and north central regions coming west with a definite purpose in mind, principally that of securing a new home in a land where they hoped to improve their economic condition. At least a third of the migrants that have come to Oregon during the past 20 years have had sufficient finances, ability, and ingenuity to take good care of themselves. In fact, this group in many instances has displaced many less energetic and less sturdy people in the land of their adoption. Another third of the arrivals have come without much finances but with good health and a willingness to work and have readily found places for themselves in this fast-developing State. The remaining third of Oregon's recent arrivals have created somewhat of a problem in their new land of adoption and it has been necessary for Oregon and her institutions to give thought and time to methods and procedures not only of aiding this new group of citizens but also of protecting the interests of the Oregon people with whom they came in competition.

No attempt is made in this report to stress the problems of increased taxation resulting from increased migration or its effects upon the tax structure of the State, its counties, cities, and towns; or its effects upon public health and educational facilities. The principal recommendations in this report are based upon actual experience of the past 2 years in the attempt to alleviate the unemployment of migrants. It is felt that this report should confine itself principally to this line of reasoning as it is recognized that a vast amount of testimony covering taxation, public health, and educational facilities will be presented in reports from other sources. Similar problems exist in Oregon as in California, Idaho, and Washington, although to a lesser degree, nevertheless they are acute.

OREGON ABSORBS MIGRANTS

Fortunately for Oregon and for the worthy migrant who has arrived in this State, conditions have been favorable for many of these families, losing their roving status and becoming definitely fixed as a part of the resident population. During the time of the extremely large influx of Dust Bowl migrants into Oregon, many new land opportunities were made available in Malheur and in adjacent Idaho territories through the extension and development of the Owyhee irrigation project. Speculation in land prices was prevented by wise Government regulation controlling the price at which the bare land could be sold. Beginnings could be made with small investments and the Farm Security Administration was on hand to make loans to purchase cattle, machinery, and to provide a family budget until such time as the earning power of the farm would support the family. Hundreds of migrants from Nebraska, Kansas, North and South Dakota, and residents of nearby States of the Dust Bowl have found a haven of refuge in this part of Oregon. Some of them dug basements and lived in them the first year or so. First crops of alfalfa and grain were used in subduing the land, and supported a few cattle and chickens and aided in the family living. Later cash crops of sugar beets, potatoes, lettuce, or onions provided finances to build a barn and start construction of a home. This vital demonstration of new pioneering is an inspiring sight of what may be fully expected to come with the full development of the Grand Coulee project which will offer more than a million acres of comparable land for settlement to Pacific coast residents and for the migrants of the area.

With the coming of the Dust Bowl migrants to the vicinity of the Owyhee irrigation project a large sugar-beet factory was established at Nyssa, Oreg., and thousands of acres of sugar beets planted. Not only did the migrants arriving in this area find agricultural locations, but jobs in the sugar-beet factory and in the fields and in the newly developing towns provided subsistence for many. The experience of one Dust Bowl migrant was typical. In 1937 he arrived and with a few hundred dollars leased a very primitive service station. In 1938 he bought the station; in 1939 he established a grocery store. in 1940 he developed a campground. Now he is no longer a wayfarer but a substantial citizen with a hope and future in a fast-growing town; developing largely because of the effort of an energetic new crop of pioneer migrant citizens in Oregon.

In the Willamette Valley and the Oregon coast and southern Oregon sections of the State the migrants have been more generally distributed throughout the whole area than is the case in the new land settlements of eastern Oregon. Many of them have settled on subsistence types of farms, particularly in the vicinity of lower Willamette Valley where they have become available in the State as a very large source of labor needed to harvest the seasonal crops.

While the lumbering and construction industries and agriculture absorbed in employment and rehabilitation a large part of the migrants coming to Oregon, great numbers of new visitors can be found who climbed the ladder to better economic situations in practically every industry and occupation in the State and in every walk of life. One very fundamental thing has been noted in a study of the migrants coming to Oregon—the large percentage of young people, under 40 years of age. These young families, many of them having suffered severe adversity in their home locations, arrive in the State with enthusiasm and a desire to help themselves in the true American way by their own initiative and effort and hard work. Those who have no funds are diligently seeking work and are not too particular just what type of work they find so long as it aids them in caring for themselves. Migrants from the States north of the Mason-Dixon line are generally satisfied with the economic and climatic conditions of Oregon and seek homes here. Families from the Southern States are less satisfied and many of them continue southward to California and Arizona. A larger percentage of the single transients keep on the move and less numbers of them become fixed as Oregon citizens.

AGRICULTURAL MIGRANTS

As is common in other States on the Pacific coast, a large number of migrants from the so-called Dust Bowl arrived in Oregon during 1935, 1936, and 1937. During these years local residents noted the competition of this group of workers, particularly in seasonal harvest work. During 1939 and to date in 1940 this movement has practically stopped. In fact, the opposite movement is now apparent; a great number of the families coming to Oregon during this period have been known to be moving back to their former homes.

What has been said heretofore may lead to a first impression that no particular problem has been created in Oregon as a result of the influx of migrants. No such impression is intended, and in fact the opposite is true. The foregoing is but one side of the picture. Many of the migrants arriving in Oregon were destitute and the extremely seasonal nature of employment, both agriculture and industry, in Oregon presented a problem to the migrant—he could care for himself during that period from May to December, but the Oregon winter season provided him with but little employment. The cold winters of eastern Oregon and the rainy season in western Oregon confronted the migrant with the necessity of adequate housing which was not easily available; and food and other necessities for the individual without employment and money meant of course an appeal for State or Government aid. Recognizing this situation as a coming problem, the State began moving forward to meet the emergency.

UNIFIED STATE-FEDERAL ACTIVITIES MEET MIGRANT PROBLEM IN OREGON

In 1933, 1935, 1937, and 1939 the State of Oregon through its legislature set up the necessary State agencies to meet the Federal Government in a joint program of assistance to the resident and migrant population of the State. One ruling thought has existed in the minds of the Oregon people, and especially with the Governor, the State legislature, and public officials; and that thought has been that the greatest good can be rendered a needy person by helping him to help himself rather than reducing the individual to a state of dependency by having him on relief.

A supreme effort has been made in this State to get people off relief and keep them off rather than any movement pointing toward larger relief rolls, even though money might be available for that use. Since the migrant coming to Oregon so rapidly lost his status as a migrant and became an established citizen, in general it might be said the needy migrant has been aided right along with the local citizen. No pet theories were followed in attempting to set up a program of aid to the migrant in Oregon. It was from the first apparent that the needy migrant in this State wanted but one thing and that was an opportunity to care for himself—a job in other words. Another group not looking for work were in search of businesses and homes.

Generally speaking, emergency relief was wanted only as a necessity and as a last resort. With the above fact at once apparent that to give the migrant a job was solving his problem, a definitely pointed and continuing mandate was given to the newly created Federal-State Employment Service. Find jobs for the idle workers!

OREGON STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE TACKLES THE MIGRANT PROBLEM

Under the able leadership of Governor Sprague, Oregon began building a dynamic and efficient employment service.

An advisory committee representing the public, industry, labor, and agriculture was appointed, not only to advise and guide the employment service but promote employer-employee relations and the proper functioning of the Oregon State Employment Service. It is not in a boastful spirit but with pride that it is possible to say that today there is loyalty in this organization from the Governor's office, through the commission, director, supervisors, and throughout the entire local office personnel. With such an organization in harmony within itself it has been possible through the past 2 years to efficiently contact, register, and refer qualified local citizens and migrants seeking work in such a manner that the best man for a job would be readily available when an employer asks the employment service for a worker.

It was the consensus of the Governor, the director of the employment service, State advisory board, and a subcommittee on agriculture that in order to control and regulate in a proper manner the referral of workers to the growers, it was absolutely imperative that the complete cooperation of the grower associations, cooperatives, individual growers, and cannery interests would support and use the Oregon State Employment Service in their hiring. This public-relations program is the basis of the first step in a successful approach of the entire problem of securing jobs for local workers and in emergency for migrant workers from outside the State.

Complete cooperation by such employer groups as Amalgamated Sugar Co., Athena Pea Growers' Association, the Hood River Apple Growers' Association, the Gresham Berry Growers' Association, the Cornelius Berry Growers' Association, the Stayton Bean Growers' Association, the Hop Associations of Independence and Grants Pass, and the Potato Growers of Merrill was secured not for just a few scattered orders for agricultural workers but the entire agricultural problem of supplying their total needed workers in order to properly harvest their crops without loss of crops or an oversurplus of workers. All of these operations are now practically completed for the second year. The recommendations contained in this report are based on the factual operations in practically every agricultural district in Oregon.

Since a job was only one of the needs of the newly arrived migrant, the employment service early moved toward the development of the closely coordinated program with other Federal and State agencies.

FEDERAL-STATE PROGRAMS FOR MIGRANTS CORRELATED

Because of the fact that migrants coming into Oregon were in the first place seeking jobs, the employment service became the funnel through which this large group of newly arrived migrants has flowed. In addition to advice with reference to employment, the members of the employment service were thus required to place themselves in a position to advise the migrant with reference to State welfare, Works Progress Administration, Farm Security Administration programs, veterans' activities, rehabilitation, and the like. It naturally followed that the State employment service should take the leadership in sponsoring correlated programs with other State and Federal agencies.

Employment service-State welfare commission activities.—In Oregon there has been the closest correlation between the employment service and the public welfare agencies. Direct relief assistance is not extended to employable individuals in this State if jobs can be found. Established procedures have been developed each spring at meetings attended by the representatives of the State welfare agencies and the employment service. These meetings are attended by the administrative officials and the full staff of workers of these organizations. The employment service presents the need for workers, particularly in agriculture and other summer seasonal occupations. The nature of the jobs are fully explained, the type of workers used are specified—what equipment they should have, and the probable starting times and duration of work. The relief administration, through its county administrators and workers, makes full reports as to the number of employable persons on their rolls, where they are located, and whether or not their clients would accept the kind of jobs that are offered.

These two organizations thus become fully aware of each other's program and set the stage for the working out of a practical operation program. When the work starts in a given community the employment service gives the relief administration a requisition, prepared in detail, for the number of workers required.

Case workers for the relief administration offer this work opportunity to their employable relief clients, advising them to contact the employment service for assignment to the jobs. In the operation of this program, many migrants who have applied to the relief administration for aid are thus directed to employment.

That this program is effective not only in providing jobs for needy workers but that it results in a direct saving to taxpayers is obvious. After seasonal agricultural work starts in Oregon there are practically no employable clients continued on relief. Reporting on the functions of State government, Governor Sprague has often directed the attention of taxpayers of Oregon to the results obtained in the saving of money in the providing of jobs for needy and migrant workers, instead of relief.

Cooperation of Works Progress Administration.—A similar program to that developed with the State welfare administration has been worked out between the employment service and the Works Progress Administration. Upon receipt of a requisition for workers from the employment service, local Work Projects administators advise migrants applying for Work Projects Administration, and other local citizens calling at their office, of the opportunities for work with the employment service. When the available workers not on Work Projects Administration are exhausted and where in the judgment of the employment service officials and Work Projects Administration labor relations representatives the employment offered justifies the action, the Work Projects Administration closes projects in the vicinity of the jobs offered and advises the project workers to contact the employment service for assignment.

Cooperation with the Farm Security Administration.—During the present year a very comprehensive program has been worked out between the Oregon State Employment Service and the Farm Security Administration. Attached is a progress report that presents in some detail the results of the working out of this joint program. In the development of this activity the Oregon State employment service has been represented by the Oregon Farm Placement Supervisor, and the Farm Security Administration by their labor-relations representative.

The Oregon State Employment Service was aware of the serious need of better housing for agricultural workers. The proposed Farm Security Administration camps offered a material improvement in this direction and also provided a concentrating point for local or migrant labor immediately before and during the seasonal operations, and a desirable location for a temporary employment office.

From the viewpoint of the Farm Security Administration it was apparent that no service was more important than that of providing jobs for the residents of these farm-labor camps. This activity was clearly the function of the State employment service. On this basis a cooperative program was proposed in which the Farm Security Administration would look after the care and housing of the migrants, and the employment service would secure jobs for them. The successful operation of the mobile camps in Oregon has been due mainly to the large amount of employment migrants living in the camps were able to obtain through assistance of the Oregon State Employment Service.

That this anticipated result has actually been accomplished is outstandingly indicated by a careful examination of the current Farm Security Administration Report No. 6, accompanying this communication.

The cooperation between the Farm Security Administration and the employment service has been deeper than the mere establishment of temporary employment service offices in the camps and sending of camp clients to jobs. The joint program has been builded upon a sound and carefully planned program.

Unless there is a recognized and public demand, and a surplus of jobs available, no camps should be permitted to locate in a district. The advice and cooperation of local business, civic, and employer interests should be secured before finally determining on a location. In most cases the employment service has preceded the Farm Security Administration in discussing the matter of a camp establishment in an area with growers, with farm employers, business and public officials. As an instance, the Farm Placement Supervisor of Oregon spoke before a local grange and in discussing labor management discussed the use of a Farm Security Administration camp as providing housing for farm workers. This farm group was much interested in the subject and asked for a second and larger meeting. At this meeting held on a large outdoor lawn of a prominent grower and attended by many of his neighbors, the farm placement supervisor discussed general farm-labor management problems of the area, and then introduced a representative of the Farm Security Administration who gave an illustrated talk on the farm-labor camps. By this time interest in the farm-labor camps had grown to such a point that the county court called a meeting of the growers of the entire county, and the matter was discussed again by the farm placement supervisor and a representative from the Farm Security Administration. At this large meeting the growers decided to request the Farm Security Administration and the employment service to jointly develop the project in the community for housing and securing the labor needed. The county court assisted the Farm Security Administration in the selection of the site and in securing a municipal water supply and other facilities.

With this kind of a background in camp establishment and employment service relationship there develops no question as to willingness of the employers to use the migrant workers of the camp and the employment service naturally takes its rightful place in controlling and directing workers needed.

In some camps in Oregon the employment service office is established in a tent provided by the Farm Security Administration and frequently the employment service office representative lives in the camp. It is an established practice in order to properly control the rotation of seasonal migrant labor from the camps that no growers are permitted to take workers from the camps except through the employment service. The purpose of this program is to control in an orderly manner an allotment of workers to growers in a community so there is an equal distribution of labor. The mobile camps in Oregon are set up in the area a week to 10 days preceding the beginning of a particular harvest. The employment service representative and the camp manager visit the growers together.

It is absolutely essential that destitute migrants coming into camp, before they are earning wages in seasonal employment, should be provided with necessary surplus farm food commodities. Should weather or other conditions interfere with employment, additional commodities should be supplied until the migrants are again working.

REHABILITATION ACTIVITIES

During the past year the employment service has been able to direct a number of migrant families toward permanent rehabilitation through cooperation with the Farm Security Administration.

In one instance a grower of a large acreage of canning beans called at the employment service and asked the service to recommend four families with whom he could make a proposition for establishing them on separate farms to grow bean crops. The employment office contacted the Farm Security Administration camp and together with the camp manager selected from the large group of families living there four families thought best qualified for the job. These four families moved from the camp to the farm and into homes of their own, and at the present writing have just harvested an especially fine crop of beans. It is interesting to note in this connection that each of these migrant families became employers of other migrant labor in the picking of their bean crop.

MIGRANTS NEED GUIDANCE AND DIRECTION

Instances like that above given and experience in connection with the migrant farm labor camps clearly indicate that migrants coming into the Pacific Northwest are materially aided by guidance programs which direct them toward opportunities which they can utilize to assist themselves.

Such a service helps the migrant to keep his chin up and aids him to continue as a self-dependent citizen. No doubt this type of program has materially aided Oregon in absorbing many more migrants than would have otherwise been possible.

AGRICULTURAL LABOR CONTRACTORS

The evils of the agricultural labor contractor system of handling migratory labor are well known to all. Such methods disrupt the best laid plans of the Federal-State Employment Service. Too many workers are frequently brought into work areas by the contractors and lessens the amount of work available per person and often beats down the wage rate. Even more vicious practices, short weights, and irresponsible contractors leaving wages and bonuses unpaid and causing large groups of stranded workers to become county or Government relief cases are examples too well known to need further detailing. In Oregon the State employment service has assumed the functions of the agricultural labor contractor, without cost to worker or farmer and has successfully controlled labor migration on both intrastate and interstate basis.

An effectively operating State employment service will automatically eliminate the undesirable type of agricultural labor contractor.

MIGRANT HELP WILL BE NEEDED IN OREGON

Oregon has actually needed additional migrant help this season to harvest her seasonal crops. While no heavy crop losses have occurred in Malheur County, where the heaviest concentration of recent migrant settlers are located, beet thinning and blocking was delayed by labor shortages. At the present writing (September 12) hop growers are appealing earnestly for more pickers, lest the pending rain spoil a hop crop all of which is sold at very profitable prices.

Next year Oregon agriculturists will likely experience seasonal-help shortages similar to those experienced during World War days. While Oregon experiences a shortage of migrant agricultural labor, her sister State, California, writhes under a "grapes of wrath" load of idle migrants.

Favorable climatic and other economic conditions settle migrants in Oregon; opposite factors uproot them in the Midwest. Surely the answer to the vexing migrant problem is not what one State can do about it; a correlated intrastate policy with common-sense Federal participation is imperative.

For the migrants as a whole group, three main programs of assistance are essential. Some will need only one of these aids, some all three. These aids are, first, rehabilitation; second, jobs; third, direct Federal relief assistance—but granted always in the reverse order. Relief should never be substituted for jobs or rehabilitation.

REGIONAL LABOR-CONTROL PLAN NEEDED—UNCONTROLLED ADVERTISING NOT ADVISABLE

The biggest problem which confronts this State in successfully handling the migration of workers within its borders is the lack of control of migrant workers by adjacent States. The inability of a single State to control the migrants outside its border creates an unsurmountable problem when a State is attempting to supply agricultural workers on a basis of the actual number of workers needed in a given community. Oversurpluses of agricultural workers develop, relief problems arise, general confusion, and ill will of the migrants themselves cause the entire successful operations within a State to fail. A striking example occurred this year. Oregon had a perfect control developed in Malheur County, eastern Oregon. Labor contractors brought an unlimited number of workers to Idaho for pea picking. When the crop was finished these workers, and the surplus following them, flooded across the line into Oregon where they were not then needed. The unnecessary migration of workers to a State, caused not only by the lack of proper information as to jobs available but the indiscriminate advertising by growers for workers in other States, must be stopped if any effective control of migration of labor between States is to be developed.

A strong Federal-State Farm Placement Service which has full intrastate or regional authority to direct and control the migration of labor between States is the only practical solution of the problem from an operations standpoint. This kind of a plan was used to bring agricultural workers from California to eastern Oregon for beet thinning. At the request of the Oregon State Employment Service, Oregon's farm-placement supervisor was sent to California to select persons who were experienced in beet thinning for referral to Oregon. A carefully worked out plan was used with no excess labor being brought in and only enough to meet the needs of the growers. Following the beet work the imported workers were routed through a full season's work by the Oregon State Employment Service.

In past years certain Oregon growers have advertised throughout California in as many as five or six papers in different communities for harvest help. Many times heavy surpluses have been created and resulting relief problems developed. The evil of promiscuous advertising out of State must be stopped if any control of migrant labor is affected.

CONCLUSIONS

I. It is recommended in the agricultural seasonal program that, first, the strongest emphasis be given to placing of local workers in seasonal, agricultural work; second, migratory workers should be imported only when a scarcity of local labor exists. If the migrant is allowed to compete against local labor, a serious relief problem for the local communities arises. It should be definitely established that the interstate migratory worker problem is a Federal responsibility, both of subsistence and housing, and should not be a charge against the individual State.

II. It should be recognized that the younger migrant who is assimilated into industry very definitely causes the dislocation of older workers who then become public charges. This situation intensifies the problem of placement of industrial workers over 45 years of age.

III. As the average length of seasonal employment is approximately 6 months, a detailed study should be made of the possibilities of the location of small industries in farming communities in order to provide to some extent year-around employment, first, for the local people in the community who are in need of work, and second, for migratory workers who wish to settle in a given locality.

A practical example is the location of flax plants in the smaller communities in the Willamette Valley in which part time year-around work is available to residents or migrants.

IV. Based upon actual results accomplished in Oregon within the past 2 years, the State employment service local offices should assume the responsibility of labor contractors and provide the service free of cost to workers and growers.

All agricultural labor contractors should be licensed and bonded with a large enough bond to protect the migrant against wage losses. This would eliminate many of the practices which cause strife and discord among the migrant worker and employers.

V. Advertising outside the State for agricultural help should be regulated under Federal statute, and provide for no calling of labor into a State without permission from the proper State authorities of the States concerned.

VI. The Governor of a State should be given the right to requisition agricultural seasonal workers from any Federal agency where such workers are available, such as Works Progress Administration, whenever acute labor shortage develop in connection with crop harvests. Such workers upon completion of the agricultural work should be returned to their projects without any further certification or delay.

VII. Agricultural workers should not be permitted to migrate from one State to another without a request from the State concerned and based upon an emergency for additional workers.

VIII. Proper handling of the migrant problem within the States can be successfully accomplished only by the closest cooperation of all Federal-State agencies concerned in the problem. Where this cooperation does not exist in any State it should be the responsibility of the Governor and proper Federal authorities to see that their representative agencies carry out this mandate.

IX. The fullest use should be made of Federal surplus commodities, food, and materials, as an aid and encouragement to agricultural labor harvesting seasonal crops. The use of surplus commodities is particularly suggested rather than direct grants in cash or continued extension of State relief funds, except where cash funds may be particularly needed as in the case of medical aid, etc. The use of surplus commodities meets with the approval of the farmer employers and the workers.

X. From the past years' experience in the early season in which the migrants are housed in mobile camps, many of the children have suffered from lack of educational facilities because the local communities had no given budget to take care of these children. As this is a direct Federal responsibility the present bill which is in Congress (H. R. 9528) should be passed, making funds available to these local communities who would temporarily establish classes to take care of children in migrant camps.

XI. Inability of a single State to control the migrants outside its border emphasizes the necessity for a regional control and consequently it is recommended that the Federal Farm Placement Service be extended and improved by the creation of regional farm placement supervisors who will work with the Federal-State farm placement supervisors in developing plans for controlling intrastate migration of workers.

Farm-placement activities of the various States having large agricultural labor problems should have effectively trained personnel for handling special agricultural offices established in areas of heavy agricultural labor use.

The essential expansion of both Federal and State employment services to better handle the agricultural labor problem will require corresponding increases in personnel and additional budget funds.

TESTIMONY OF L. C. STOLL—Resumed

Mr. OSMERS. Would you tell the committee about the various sections of Oregon where migrants have best succeeded in establishing themselves on the land?

Mr. STOLL. I think the best, without any question, is in eastern Oregon section, especially around Ontario and Nyssa, and then in the Willamette Valley.

Mr. OSMERS. And then—that is the eastern part of Oregon?

Mr. STOLL. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, what are the circumstances that have made these settlements successful?

Mr. STOLL. Do you want to go back into the migrant problem in answering that question?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. STOLL. The general plan?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. STOLL. I am speaking for Governor Sprague as his representative. The general plan of both and without the State of controlling migratory labor was, first, that the employment service must have the complete cooperation of all growers represented in agricultural labor problems and all districts in the State; and secondly, the employment service in every district under agreement with the growers must assume the responsibility of the labor contractors.

OREGON STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AND AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Mr. OSMERS. That is, the Oregon State Employment Service?

Mr. STOLL. That is right. We have practically no labor contractors left and, Mr. Congressman, if I may submit an exhibit within the next 4 days from the Department of Labor showing that labor contractors have been eliminated in Oregon, I think it is important, because with all our confusion——

Mr. OSMERS (interposing). You certainly will be permitted to submit that exhibit, and I wonder if you would care to give the committee some of your thoughts on why the Oregon State Employment Service is doing a good job and why other States apparently are not performing their function?

Mr. STOLL. I think I can say that very definitely in the control of agricultural labor it is not any different than the handling of industrial labor.

In other words, we stand in the same relationship with the lumbering industry, and with the construction industry, as a vital part of the hiring agency for those industries just as we do in agriculture. And that is accomplished only when the service has the confidence of the growers or the industry, so that they will use the service, then it is necessary to go further than having their confidence.

The service must assume the responsibility of delivering workers when they are needed.

Involved in the whole theory, in the whole set-up, was that Governor Sprague was interested in not taking into the State too much labor, and that he believed in treating our local labor humanely. In other words, he felt that the growers in the past had called in more than were actually needed. He wanted to control, in a district, just enough labor to keep people working longer hours.

Our service has nothing to do, as you know, with settling the wage scale, but we did very definitely increase the number of hours that the men worked. And that is shown in the graphs that are in there, that the actual wages per day or per hour or per season is very much higher in Oregon than in the surrounding States, and that was caused by control, proper control, of rotation of those people throughout the State, both the people within and without the State.

Mr. Osmers. Now, do you believe that Oregon offers still further opportunities for people moving in from outside the State?

Mr. Stoll. Very definitely not.

Mr. Osmers. Very definitely not.

Mr. Stoll. That is right. I don't want to qualify it a bit, but I would just like to explain. We have assimilated a great number of migrants within the last 5 years in the State, and when we speak of this migrant problem, it is not a migrant problem. It is an industrial problem just as much as a migrant problem because the migrants come in and take the positions. They are worthy people and they are hard workers and they go into industry and supplement the people who are over 45, who become our relief burden. So it is not a migrant problem entirely.

Mr. Osmers. I was thinking there in addition to the migrant aspect of it also the resettlement——

Mr. Stoll (interposing). Well, the resettlement——

Mr. Osmers (continuing). Aside from it. Is there any opportunity for settling any considerable number of people in Oregon at a relatively small investment?

Mr. Stoll. Well, I would rather have Mr. Duffy answer that, although I know that if you gentlemen had had the opportunity of stopping off in the Ontario district and of seeing those people come in, you would have resettlement under the worst conditions that they could possibly live in, little huts, and so forth, and making a go of it and paying back their loans, and you would realize that is an accomplishment.

In other words, the employment first, rehabilitation second; and then in the last resort, assistance of some kind.

Mr. Osmers. You mentioned paying back their loans, Mr. Stoll. To whom are they paying back their loans?

Mr. **Stoll**. Paying back to the Resettlement Administration.

Mr. **Osmers**. The Resettlement Administration? I see.

Mr. **Stoll**. That is right.

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, how many workers have been given employment in agriculture this year or last year through your cooperative arrangement with the State relief agency?

Mr. **Stoll**. Well, I would not want to say it in figures, except to say this: That we eliminate every employable person on relief starting with the berries, which is the first crop, or starting with the beets, so that there are no employables on relief. That is very definite, and we have done that for 2 years.

Mr. **Osmers**. There are no employables on relief?

Mr. **Stoll**. There are no employables on relief. They are all in agriculture, seasonal work starting the minute the season starts. That was one of the Governor's edicts to the employment service and the relief organization.

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, what arrangements do you have with the State of California on employment?

Mr. **Stoll**. Well, we have an exchange of labor. We are vitally interested wherein a shortage exists, of bringing in people from California as a last resort.

I just want to impress on the committee that if we attempt to compete with our local labor in our local districts, then we have two problems. We have a relief problem, and we have a migrant problem. So the entire emphasis has been to take care of everybody within our State first and then call for people from out the State.

For instance, regarding beets we had to go to California. We went into the camps, selected, in cooperation with the California Employment Service, the people and took them to Oregon in a caravan. We learned a lot of the—had made a lot of mistakes. In fact, in working through and staying with the caravans, losing them on the way. This year the growers are having a meeting right after November, and they would also like to submit to this committee their findings. We feel that we will have a real labor shortage next year and that we will have to come to California and move migrants from California in an orderly, controlled way. And they are going to make their recommendations to your committee; that is, 15 of the leading growers in Oregon.

ADVERTISING PRACTICES

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, do you know of any instances—I believe you touch on this in your statement—of indiscriminate advertising by growers for workers from other States?

Mr. **Stoll**. We had four that really caused a great deal of trouble in the State. One is in Grants Pass—this was a year ago—who advertised as far south as Bakersfield and just flooded a small district with about 5,000 hop pickers, about 3,000 of whom were local people and 2,000 from out of the district. They just flooded that district and, as a result, when the season was over we had people on relief.

The same thing occurred in the Ontario district, in beets, of advertising in California and in Idaho for these people.

A statement was made by a previous man that it is not an important problem. I say, if it is allowed to continue, it is one of the worst means of upsetting an orderly control of labor within the State.

Mr. **Osmers**. Do you still find Oregon growers doing this advertising?

Mr. **Stoll**. With the exception of one grower, we had absolutely no outside advertising this year.

Mr. **Osmers**. May I ask why that one grower continues to advertise if all the other growers don't?

Mr. **Stoll**. He is a grower that will never use any agency. Amongst his own people he bumps the wages over everybody else to get workers away, and the pickers do not stay with him. He is just a man that nobody can satisfy.

Mr. **Osmers**. He doesn't advance any good, practical reason for not using your service?

Mr. **Stoll**. No. We are submitting a further exhibit, containing letters from 7 of the leading associations in Oregon, stating that the people made more money and that they thoroughly approve of the plan.

Incidentally, those men from the chamber of commerce who were here, I heard them this morning, and the chambers of commerce are submitting these letters along with the growers.

Mr. **Osmers**. But there is one point I want to emphasize, and this will be my last question.

You do not feel that there is great opportunity in the State of Oregon for the permanent settlement of any great number of new people from outside the State?

Mr. **Stoll**. That is right—for migrants with limited funds.

Mr. **Osmers**. You do not feel there is?

Mr. **Stoll**. I do not.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE VERSUS LABOR CONTRACTOR SYSTEM

Mr. **Sparkman**. You feel that it would be helpful in all instances to get rid of the labor contract system?

Mr. **Stoll**. I would not say that. We did it the hard way; I mean, in the employment service having the growers taking over the responsibility of labor contractors, of taking the labor contractor out of the picture. There are a lot of labor contractors that are good men. I want you to understand that. I am not criticizing them. But we had the experience of labor contractors coming in, not paying their bills, and having serious trouble in the district, and that is the reason that I made that statement in my prepared statement.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Do you not believe that the employment service, if properly implemented and given the proper personnel in all of these various States, can attend to the employment service just as you have done in such a way that the labor contractor will not be a necessity?

Mr. **Stoll**. He is just automatically eliminated. But the complete cooperation of the growers and those individual offices must be managed efficiently.

I might just say one thing: In a migrant camp the service has one representative right there, because those men in the camp will work 2 hours, then come back to the camp. Through no fault of their own, they would be forced to wait around until the next day, if the service did not have a representative there to refer them to other growers. This means that a smaller number of migrant camp workers may work for more than one grower in a single day, instead of a larger number working only 2 hours and being idle until the following day.

The statement you made this morning about 6 months of employment is true for Oregon.

Mr. **Osmers.** About 6 months?

Mr. **Stoll.** But there is one exception to that. For example: A season starts early; workers come into a district and work only an hour or two a day picking strawberries. They have to go through the rows and pick the ripe ones. They couldn't exist on such small earnings. It takes 5 days before they get into the actual picking where they are making $5 or $6 a day. And at the end of the season you have that same thing. It is cleaning up the crop with only an hour or two of work, but you have them in the camp so you can distribute them around.

I say this very frankly, speaking for growers as well as for the employment service, that agriculture or labor cannot be controlled within a State without the migrant camps.

REQUISITES FOR SUCCESSFUL FUNCTIONING OF STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

Mr. **Sparkman.** Mr. Stoll, here is a question I want to ask you: As we have gone about we have found the employment service functioning effectively in only about three or four places.

Now, what is there about, or what is there that may be lacking in these other States where it is not functioning?

Mr. **Stoll.** Well, that is rather putting me on the spot, but I am perfectly willing to answer it.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Well, I think it is something we really ought to know.

Mr. **Stoll.** I would say if an employment service is going to function, you have to have one man responsible for it, a director of it; and that man and his administrative staff must have the confidence of the employers, labor, and the public.

Whatever success we have had in Oregon has been built on the fact that we have an advisory board of labor and industry and from the public 18 men who meet once a month; in fact, sometimes more often than that, and sell employment service to the employers themselves. And they all have subcommittees.

For instance, in the defense program we have 5 of labor and 5 of industry who are arguing out day after day about what they think is the correct approach to the mobilization of labor in Oregon. We have an agricultural committee doing the same thing. In reality, we have about 50 men in that State that are going out and selling employers the employment service. And then when you come to the administrative end of it, it must be directed by 1 person with full authority to make whatever changes are necessary, and then the personnel right on down to the local officers must be under his control.

I think in so many cases of the other States there is a dual responsibility of administration. Emphasis must be put on employment, and claims are secondary if you are going to have an employment service that is functioning.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, take your State, for instance. Who gave the impetus to it? Who took the initiative?

Mr. STOLL. Well, I was appointed director 2 years ago, and I felt the first thing to do was to inform Governor Sprague of the importance of a well-functioning employment service. After Governor Sprague had realized the importance of a good employment service, he appointed an advisory board. I would give his leadership the entire credit. He wrote, I would say, 300 letters to employers that were using the service and employers that were not using the service, urging them to use it; so that we were trying to do it in an orderly way.

Labor, then—both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L., sitting around in these meetings at the same table—came in and backed up our set-up. In the construction industry we are the referring agency in the union contract between the associated general contractors and the union. In the lumbering industry we handle about 365 out of 420 of the lumber accounts, either in whole or in part.

The State administration has, in all cases—I am speaking of Governor Sprague now—insisted that that be a vital, dynamic part of State government.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, the expenses are borne by the Federal Government; is that not true?

Mr. STOLL. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. All except the quarters, and such as that?

Mr. STOLL. The Wagner-Peyser Act provides for 6 percent of the total expenditures for our service in Oregon.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. But in order to get the program functioning, you would have to have cooperation between the Federal appointees, the director in the State——

Mr. STOLL. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And the State administration and the employers?

Mr. STOLL. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, it is a three-headed organization; the three must work together in order to get it functioning efficiently?

Mr. STOLL. Yes. I might go back to one thing this group of men asked for, and I hope this committee takes very serious thought of it, and that is that there must be one agency responsible for this migratory-labor problem, which has the authority to see that the program is put into effect and complete cooperation from all agencies.

For instance, the Governor has designated the State employment service to requisition the relief organization and they must take everybody off relief and put them on to seasonable work, and we must give them a job. There is a very small percentage, only 1 percent. We make probably about 150,000 placements in a year, involving approximately 30,000 workers. But there must be one agency that is given the responsibility to do the job and not scattered among five or six agencies, each one following a different procedure.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say, Mr. Stoll, that the employment service should be that agency?

Mr. STOLL. After what you say of other States, I think if it were revitalized in other States, it very definitely could be.

Mr. OSMERS. I mean, provided that was in working order?

Mr. STOLL. My answer is that we are doing it, and I think it is a success.

Mr. OSMERS. Take in my own State, it is just a nonexistent factor. We use labor contractors, not by choice.

Mr. STOLL. You will see, Mr. Congressman, when you get this report, I think, for the year 1940, that there were not over five contractors in the State. That includes both agricultural and labor contractors for agricultural labor—I mean industry; everything.

Mr. OSMERS. That is a remarkable record.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Stoll. And I wish you would give Governor Sprague our best wishes.

Mr. STOLL. I would like to send this other material in.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We shall be very glad to receive it.

(Witness excused.)

(The material referred to was received subsequently and appears below:)

PORTLAND, OREG., *January 18, 1941.*

Mr. L. C. STOLL,
Employment Commission, Portland, Oreg.

DEAR MR. STOLL: In response to your inquiry I beg to advise you that there are only three licensed employment agencies in the State of Oregon. They are located in Portland and are as follows: Acme Swenson Employment Service, 217 SW. Ash; A. Lee Lewes, 613 NW. Davis; Star Employment Agency, 5 NW. Second.

Very truly yours,

BUREAU OF LABOR,
C. H. GRAM,
Commissioner,
W. E. KIMSEY,
Deputy.

I hereby certify that the attached seven copies of letters received by the Oregon State Employment Service are true and exact copies made this 13th day of February 1941.

L. C. STOLL,
State Director, Oregon State Employment Service.

OREGON PACKING CORPORATION,
Astoria, Oreg., August 30, 1940.

Mr. CLYDE TUEL,
Director, Oregon State Employment Service, Astoria, Oreg.

DEAR MR. TUEL: We want to express our appreciation of the good work which you and your staff accomplished in supplying our crew this season. We came into this territory with no knowledge of labor and labor conditions, and the service which you gave us proved to be most useful.

The majority of the individuals sent to us proved to be very satisfactory; we intend to call again upon you next year, as we feel that you can give us an efficient crew and save us a great deal of time and effort.

Thank you very much for the many courtesies you have shown us, and the careful attention which was given to our needs.

Yours sincerely,

OREGON PACKING CORPORATION,
MAX LEHMANN.

AFFILIATED WITH NORTH PACIFIC CANNERS & PACKERS, INC.

GRESHAM BERRY GROWERS, INC.

GRESHAM, OREG., *August 22, 1940.*

Mr. L. C. STOLL,
Director, Oregon State Employment Service,
Salem, Oreg.

DEAR MR. STOLL: Now that the berry season is over and the harvesting difficulties passed, it might be well to make a few comments.

In all of our experience, believe this harvest presented more problems from a labor standpoint than any in the past, especially during the strawberry season. We had one of the heaviest strawberry crops that this district has ever had and the season was short and fast. A greater volume of berries maturing at one time, making it very difficult for everyone to anticipate their needs far enough in advance and to supply the necessary requirements demanded. The season was early and many families that can ordinarily be depended on were unable to come because school was not out and they could not take their children out of school.

Naturally, a condition of that kind creates a tense feeling, and the growers are more or less impatient because a great part of their year's effort is at stake and sometimes remarks are made that would not ordinarily be made under more normal conditions, but that is just one of the problems that we have to contend with and tolerate in the handling of seasonal perishable products.

You and your staff were familiar with and very alert to every need, and we are sure that everything possible was done to relieve the situation in an orderly way, analyzing and weighing the results of every action.

You are to be commended for your efforts and the splendid results, and we know that anyone familiar with the problems cannot help but agree with us.

With best wishes and kind personal regards, we are,

Yours very truly,

GRESHAM BERRY GROWERS,
J. J. FISHER, *Manager.*

INDEPENDENCE, OREG., *September 25, 1940.*

Mr. L. C. STOLL,
State Director, State Employment Service,
Salem, Oreg.

DEAR MR. STOLL: I wanted to take this opportunity to commend the work done here by your department through the seasonal office you have been maintaining for the hop harvest.

It is my opinion that you have rendered a real service, both to the farmers and to the large number of pickers who come here for that purpose, and that you and your staff who handled the work so well deserve compliment.

I hope that this work may be continued and expanded. For example, this year it would have been desirable to have the office opened earlier in the summer.

If I can cooperate in any way I will welcome the opportunity.

Cordially,

DEAN WALKER.

GRANTS PASS AND JOSEPHINE
COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Grants Pass, Oreg., September 18, 1940.

Mr. L. C. STOLL,
State Director, Oregon State Employment Service, Salem, Oreg.

DEAR MR. STOLL: May I offer you the thanks of this chamber of commerce for the splendid service given the hop growers of this county by the State employment service during the recent hop season.

We feel that the activities of your organization were of paramount importance in saving the hop crop, and we sincerely hope that next year we may again be favored by a mobile camp under a representative of your organization.

I would like to add that you could not have sent a better man to represent you than Mr. Hulbert.

Very sincerely yours,

G. L. MANUEL, *Manager.*

APPLE GROWERS ASSOCIATION,
Hood River, Oreg., September 24, 1940.

Mr. L. C. STOLL,
Director, Oregon State Employment Service, Salem, Oreg.

DEAR MR. STOLL: You may be interested in the part taken in this locality by the office of the State service and its importance to our principal industry, that of fruit.

Due to the perishability of our fruit products, it is necessary that it be harvested, packed, and storaged within a short time, and must be taken care of at that time to prevent loss to the growers. This means that during two or three short periods of the year a larger number of fruit workers are required than are available in this locality. This is especially true during the pear and apple harvest during the fall, when probably five or six thousand persons are employed. Most of these people come from other sections of the State of Oregon, and from neighboring States. Prior to the establishment of the branch officer here, it was usually difficult to reach these people and have them here at the time when they were most needed.

This situation has been improved considerably during the past several years because of the contact which the State office has, both with each other and with the people who are looking for work. Outside help has come in here more regularly and except for a few days at a time, there has been sufficient help to take care of the needs of the locality. Investigation would also prove that the two extremes of either too much help or a shortage has not existed to the same extent since the operations of the State service office.

You can be sure that our organization feels that the State service is rendering a real service to this community, and I am sure that the other industries, especially the growers of fruit are very anxious to have the office here continued.

Yours very truly,

APPLE GROWERS ASSOCIATION,
E. C. ZIEGLER,
Office Manager and Personnel Director.

[Copy]

Combined Hop Extract

E. CLEMENS HORST CO.

Hop Growers and Packers

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

EOLA RANCH,
Independence, Oreg., September 25, 1941.

L. C. STOLL,
State Director, Oregon State Employment Service,
550 Marion Street, Salem, Oreg.

DEAR SIR: I wish to thank you and your employment staff for the service that has been rendered to us again this year through the early establishment of the field office in Independence.

Through the able assistance of Mr. Christian at the Independence branch we gained very adequate assistance for our immediate needs.

We, too, received assistance from the Salem office, which is no doubt in collaboration with the Independence office. May we suggest that, perhaps in the coming year an office located on Main Street, Independence, might be more suitable for the purpose of taking care of the many strangers that enter the town.

Again offering our thanks, we are,

Very truly yours,

E. Clemens Horst Co.,
/s/ D. F. Kennedy.

[Copy]

EAst 5141

Northwest Poultry & Dairy Products Co.
Wholesale
232 SOUTHEAST OAK STREET, PORTLAND, OREG.

Albany, Oreg., *February 8, 1941.*

Mr. L. C. Stoll,
State Director, Oregon State Employment Service,
Salem, Oreg.

Gentlemen: At the conclusion of our turkey-dressing activities may we again thank you for the services rendered to us by your local Albany branch in securing for us the many peoples necessary for our operations.

Your Mr. Palmer and Mr. Edwards cooperated with us very closely and to them we express our appreciation.

Very truly yours,

Northwest Poultry & Dairy Products Co.,
By /s/ Dave Rylands, *Manager.*

DR/n

The Chairman. Mr. Hewes.

TESTIMONY OF LAURENCE I. HEWES, JR., REGIONAL DIRECTOR, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, SAN FRANCISCO

The Chairman. Your name is L. I. Hewes?

Mr. Hewes. That's right, sir.

The Chairman. Have you a prepared statement to submit at this time?

Mr. Hewes. Yes, sir. I will give it to the reporter.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF LAURENCE I. HEWES, JR., REGIONAL DIRECTOR, REGION IX, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, SAN FRANCISCO

Activities of Farm Security Administration in Region IX

Activities of the Farm Security Administration cover a broad scope and range. In the preparation of this paper I have assumed that your committee in its western hearings will be chiefly interested in facts and conclusions bearing upon problems peculiar to this area and the efforts of Farm Security Administration, through study and action, to devise and apply methods of meeting the problems as they presently exist, with consideration also for future changes and developments.

It shall be my endeavor therefore to place the emphasis of discussion on cooperative activities, particularly in connection with production through cooperative associations, and to pass over with less detail tenant purchase and rehabilitation loans, community-service cooperative loans, debt-adjustment services, and other activities which, because of their broader national use, are better known to the public and of which your committee will doubtless be well informed from other witnesses and sources.

CASA GRANDE COOPERATIVE PROJECT

The outstanding cooperative project in the West is Casa Grande Valley Farms, Inc., in Pinal County, Ariz. It includes 3,607 acres, purchased by the Resettlement Administration in 1936. A settlers' association was organized June 21, 1937, and on March 1, 1938, the association began operations. The record of accomplishment for the 56 families who get their living from the project therefore covers a period from March 31, 1938, to January 1, 1940, when the last annual financial statement was issued.

TERMS OF LEASE

Under its charter the association is empowered to engage in cooperative enterprises relating to the growing, processing, and selling of agricultural products. The association rents the land and buildings from the Government, paying rental equivalent to the current market price of 25 percent of all crops produced on the tillable part of the property, with an annual cash rental of $6.93 per acre for pasture land. But a minimum yearly rental of $8,324.53 is set to cover taxes, insurance, and maintenance of the property. Should the rental based on a quarter of a cash crop exceed the $8,324.53 minimum, plus 3 percent on the appraised value of the property, the excess is set aside in a reserve fund to cover deficits of bad years. The association's rental payments cover the basic home rent as well as farm land and buildings. Families that need homes larger than is covered by the basic minimum pay $24 per year per room for added space.

The present lease between the association and the Government is for 5 years, with the privilege of perpetual succession as provided by statute. The arrangement under which the Government retains title, with use rights to the land protected to the farm families on a long-time and flexible rental basis, seeks to meet and overcome the saddling of too heavy and too rigid a land debt on settlers. Bitter experience with the homesteading of free lands in the West, and later with attempts to develop both public and private land settlement projects—the California State colonies of Durham and Delhi are often cited instances—has demonstrated clearly that a principal cause for the settlers' failures, either as individuals or as groups, was the rigid debt burden and fixed payment schedule which could not be adjusted to the ups and downs of agricultural prices and farm incomes. In much of the homesteading experience, even with free land to start upon, it more often than not took two, three and even four waves of settlement, each failure contributing a subsidy in lost equities, to place the farm in a position to carry the costs on a self-sustaining basis. Private colonization schemes went through the same experience. The Casa Grande plan of Government retaining title seeks to profit by these lessons of experience, making productive use rather than the luxury of ownership the basis on which the land carries the costs of its development and operation. The purpose to be served is, of course, to provide the greatest achievable amount of economic security and social comfort and well being, with as many safeguards as possible against all the risks normally incident to agriculture.

IRRIGATION

The Casa Grande Valley Farms, in common with all irrigated agriculture in Arizona, now confronts one of these adverse conditions, in the form of a water shortage. The project has been able to develop livestock production, which reduces the water need in comparison with commercial field crops, particularly cotton, which is largely grown in the community, and we hope this may serve to cushion the effects of the water shortage to a considerable extent. I point this out here as an instance of prudent management interposing safeguards against the risk of dependence on one-crop farming, and will have more to say later of the livestock operation and income.

Four decades of history of the Gila River Valley, in which the project is situated, and of the acreage that now constitutes the project, throw light upon the reasons for the type of operation that was established. Again past experience served as a guide in pioneering new approaches.

Briefly, the Government developed a reclamation district, the San Carlos project, constructed the Coolidge storage dam to supply irrigation water to 100,000 acres of land, with 88 irrigation wells in the district to supply supplemental water. The land was distributed in small tracts to settlers under the Homestead and Desert Land Acts, and after 1908 by the sale of State lands, until most of the 100,000 acres had passed entirely from public to private ownership in the first decade or decade and one-half of the century. Shortly after titles passed to private hands, however, the process of concentration into larger and larger farming tracts began and continued under the various economic pressures, until by 1936 when Resettlement Administration optioned 3,607 acres now included in the Casa Grande project, it had to deal only with 9 owners. Only 1 owner, a widow, lived on her property. One owner lived in the county but not on the farm optioned. Five others lived in Arizona but not in the county where their lands were. The 2 remaining owners lived in California, 1 being a certified accountant in San Francisco. Thus in a single generation 8 out of 9 owners of the 3,607 acres were nonresident. None worked on the land they owned.

One owner lived in town but managed and operated his farm with hired labor. The other eight pieces were farmed by tenants. One tenant operated 800 acres, as well as other farms elsewhere. He lived in Tucson, 65 miles from his Casa Grande lease.

Another nonresident operated 3 farms in the area, totaling 800 acres, in connection with 10 other farms in adjacent areas. These 2 large renters together farmed 44 percent of the tillable area, with labor directed by hired managers or foremen. Cotton chopping and picking were done by migrant labor.

Besides these 2 large tenant enterprises, another 740-acre tract was rented to several tenants, who grew cotton on 698 acres of this particular portion. Four more farms, from 120 to 210 acres in size, making up the total acreage optioned, were operated by tenants, some of whom lived in town. Leases generally were for 1 or 2 years, which allowed for no permanent soil-building programs and gave the families who derived a living from the land no permanency in tenure.

That was the general economic picture. What of social conditions? During the winter of 1935–36, when the options were taken, only seven families lived in temporary camps on a single holding, but when the picking ended they migrated in search of work in other harvests.

HOUSING

Housing was wretched, workers living under conditions of almost unimaginable squalor. Eight families lived in one dilapidated shed, divided by wire netting partitions into compartments, 18 by 24 feet, with dirt floors. Cardboard and newspapers pinned upon the netting provided only a semblance of privacy. Other families lived in shacks made of old, flattened tin cans, cardboard, old box wood, discarded iron sheeting, or whatever other makeshift materials they could gather. One well and one privy were the only sanitary facilities for one camp where 100 people lived during the peak of the harvest season.

There were no buildings whatever on five of the farms. The sharecroppers and workers lived either in town or, during the work season in temporary camps of the sort described. There was one seven-room house on one parcel. Fifty years before it had been one of the best homes in Arizona, but it was dilapidated through neglect. A hired foreman for one of the larger farms used it for a dwelling. None of the houses had electric lights or telephones. One had running water, bathtub, and toilet.

Four out of the nine farms purchased were heavily mortgaged. In one case after mortgages of $80,000 had been paid the owners received only $3,000. Another owner paid off $11,000 mortgage obligations from a total purchase price of $15,200. Another piece carried a mortgage of $10,000; the owner reserved 2 acres with a house and received $9,500.

In the light of the record and observable conditions then existing it seemed apparent that fundamental changes had taken place in the character of farm operations and in the pattern of living, based on the individually operated farm. Therefore it seemed desirable to consider new ideas of farm tenure and operation. The family-sized farm had been shown to be at a disadvantage in comparison with the large-scale agricultural operations in the particular area described, and it may be noted in passing that similar changes were taking place in portions of Oklahoma and Texas. Families were migrating under pressure of consolidations in farm holdings. Machinery and hired labor were replacing the sharecropper, tenant, and small owner in working the land in the latter States, forcing them to migrate. It seemed unwise under the circumstances to go contrary to the obvious facts and try to reestablish the displaced families in a new location under the same pattern from which they had been displaced in their former locations.

It was to meet conditions and needs such as have been alluded to, therefore, that the Casa Grande project was established as a group operation. Over and beyond the local considerations that influenced the form of operation adopted there was also a long history of American agricultural experience, particularly on the processing and marketing side of the farming industry. Cooperative organizations and techniques long had been tested and proved in dairymen's associations in many parts of the country; in the building and operation of warehouses and elevators by grain farmers and sheds and gins by cotton growers; in providing plants and facilities for processing and handling poultry products; in the packing, canning, storing, and marketing of a wide variety of fruits and vegetables, and in other forms applicable to farming needs. So there was nothing basically new in the Casa Grande plan. It merely expanded the scope of mutual action that had proved workable and profitable at the disposal end of the farming business to take in the whole business from seeding to sale of the crops.

CLASSIFICATION OF SETTLERS

Fifty-six families were selected for the cooperative association. There are 61 homes on the project, one being the manager's residence. The other 60 are for settlers but 4 were not filled because the water shortage curtailed the income possibilities. Only 1 settler was a native of Arizona. Of the other families all but one had lived in Arizona for at least 2 years, and 22 had lived in the State for from 3 to 5 years, with some interstate migration at times in search of employment.

Eighteen family heads were natives of Oklahoma, 12 were from Texas, 11 from Arkansas, 2 from Kansas, 3 from Illinois, 2 from North Dakota, 2 from Alabama, and 1 from New Mexico. Thirty-three heads of families were farm laborers, 7 had operated farms of their own or farms they leased. Seven were under 30 years of age, 8 under 40, and only 2 over 50. Thirty of the settlers had finished grammar school, 17 had attended high school, 12 had not gone beyond the fifth grade, and 2 had had no schooling.

I mention these things, feeling that various factors, including the different States of birth, the relative youth of the family heads, the educational backgrounds, and the preponderance of farm workers over farmers, make up a cross section that furnishes an insight into the whole subject of rural migration and rationalizes the methods by which Farm Security is trying to approach a broad remedial plan.

In order to conserve the time and record space of the committee, I am omitting significant details on the organization, the savings effected under the cooperative plan on improvements and utilities costs, and so on. The details as presented at the San Francisco hearings of the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, are contained in a comprehensive study by Dr. Walter Packard, who was regional director of Farm Security Administration for region 9 when the project purchase was initiated, and national director of the Resettlement Division of the agency during the first stages of its development. His testimony appears in part 59 of the report of the hearings published by the United States Government Printing Office, pages 21810 to 21825.

RESULTS

I wish now to come to the results of the Casa Grande Valley Farms, Inc., operation as shown by the record of the past 2 years.

The figures indicate that large savings have been effected through pooling the buying and selling power of the 50 or more families involved. This is especially evident in the livestock enterprise. During the past year 679 head of hogs have been marketed in the Los Angeles market, approximately a carload being shipped at a time. These hogs have consistently topped the market by 10 to 15 cents per hundredweight.

Theoretically the ranch is supposed to support 60 families, or, since the size of the project is 3,600 acres, 1 family to each 60 acres. Farmers operating individual units of this size and producing in small quantities could not have shipped in carload lots, and, unable to meet the proportionately higher freight costs, would have sold to a neighborhood buyer, and so would have been unable to obtain the higher prices of a terminal market.

While there are 775 head of beef cattle on the ranch, most of these are mature animals being carried over a long feeding period on pasture. Approximately two carloads of cattle were marketed during the year, and topped the market for the grades involved. After deducting all expenses, a gain of 70 cents per hundred pounds was realized over prices current at local packing houses, again showing the advantage of being able to ship cooperatively to a terminal market.

The association sold 400 bales of cotton in 1 lot during the fall of 1939, at $10.60 per hundred pounds. No report of higher sales has been obtained in the community, but this is much above the average received by small operators at the time when this cotton was sold. Undoubtedly one-half cent more per pound was realized because of the quality of the cotton and the size of the lot. Any one of the members of the cooperative, if he had sold his 8 or 10 bales of cotton individually in the open market, would have been greatly handicapped and probably penalized at least a cent or more.

The farm operates a grade A dairy, the herd consisting of approximately 135 milking cows, with about 90 head of young dairy cattle. The size of the herd and volume produced makes it possible to provide the refrigerating equipment necessary for marketing high-class produce under the desert weather conditions that prevail during most of the year. These facilities, together with the volume produced by as large a herd as the one at Casa Grande, makes it possible to obtain a market for grade A milk at Tucson, 65 miles distant, where much of the milk is marketed. The balance is being more and more sought after by local distributors in the nearby towns of Coolidge and Florence. Practically all of the milk during the past year has been sold as grade A, realizing from 15 to 20 cents more per pound butterfat than for manufacturing milk. It is very doubtful that any individual farmer operating on a 60-acre farm could meet the requirements of production and competition that govern the selling of grade A milk.

The buying power of these families is materially increased through the cooperative association. All machinery was purchased at 15-percent discount through local dealers. The feed concentrates necessary to balance the farm-produced rations are purchased at carlot prices. There is a saving of at least 50 cents per hundred pounds on mixed poultry feeds because of the volume bought.

In the physical operation of the property, men can be selected according to their ability to do certain types of work and their time and efforts used to a maximum, effecting a continuous economy. Another saving is very apparent when it is noted that the ranch operates with 20 head of mules and horses, including 3 saddle horses used in handling the beef cattle. Heavy mechanical equipment consists of 2 Diesel tractors, 1 four-wheel tractor, and 3 row-crop type tractors. If the ranch were cut up into 60 individual 60-acre farms, the number of machines would be much greater, increasing capital debt as well as operating costs.

During the serious droughts of the past 2 years it has been necessary to make the maximum use of irrigation water. Because the size of the farm makes quantity use possible, there is a rate advantage and ability to shift the water from one part of the farm to the other has made it possible to get much more effective use of irrigation water than would have been possible if all the families operated on 60-acre farms. It is conservatively estimated that the increase in production brought about by this type of use of water is approximately one-third.

One of the larger values of this type of farming, in my opinion, while difficult to evaluate in monetary terms, is the education and training the farmers and their families get by working in a diversified and completely organized cooperative farm enterprise. This is just beginning to show results. Recently the herdsman who had been handling the dairy herd for the past 2 years got a job as herdsman with a large dairy in the locality at 50-percent increase in salary and with house furnished. He came to the Casa Grande project without any special experience in dairying except as a milker in one of the dairies in the Salt River Valley and was formerly a cotton picker.

The man handling the poultry plant has shown unusual development. He knew nothing of poultry when he started working in the plant about 2 years ago.

The farm is proving to be a very fine training institution for young people, since they are able to gain experience in the handling of machinery and livestock in a much more effective manner than would be possible on small individually operated farms. A young couple from two of the families on the ranch recently married and asked to become members of the association. This was not granted, because the board of directors felt it was not desirable to have too many members of the same family on the ranch. However, due to the young man's experience with the project dairy herd he did get a job as milker with one of the high-standard dairies in the Salt River Valley at a good wage.

The basic wage paid by the association is $50 per month, with a house furnished. Some of the people occupying key positions such as herdsmen, farm foreman, field foreman, etc., received from $4 to $10 per month above the basic wage.

The gross income for the year 1939 was $88,622.97 and a net profit realized of $1,513.45. Rent paid by the association for the year 1938 was $16,740.22, and rent paid for the year 1939 was $13,633.96.

Mineral King Farm Project, Tulare County, Calif.

A smaller project similar to Casa Grande is operated by the Mineral King Farm Association 3 miles east of Visalia, Tulare County, Calif. Thirteen families are members of the cooperative, which farms 500 acres of land. Cotton is grown on about 120 acres, and some 175 acres are in alfalfa. The remaining acreage, not used for homes and farm buildings, produces silage crops, ladino clover, and other forage and pasture crops that feed the dairy herd of 75 cows. Main sources of income are the sale of cotton, milk, and alfalfa hay that is surplus to the farm's own requirements. Homes are grouped in a central location, as at Casa Grande. The houses cost $2,100 each, have baths, flush toilets, electric lights and cooling systems, kitchen sinks, and laundry trays. Each home contains a living room, two bedrooms, kitchen, combination work and sleeping porch, and an attached garage.

Farm Security Administration Migrant Workers' Camps

The aim of the Farm Security Administration in dealing with the problem of migration is to keep alive and make use of the traditional spirit of self-reliance and cooperative community action with which every American migration has tackled and conquered each succeeding new frontier.

This principle of helping people help themselves starts in the tent and metal shelter communities—the so-called migrant farm workers' camps—ascends a step to low-rental homes, another step to the part-time farm projects, and finally to such full-time enterprises as Casa Grande and Mineral King.

Fifteen standard farm workers' camps are now in use in Arizona and California, the southernmost at Yuma, Ariz., the northernmost at Gridley, Calif. There are others in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. I purpose to confine my discussion to those in region 9, under jurisdiction of the San Francisco regional office, since it is these with which I am familiar. The camps provide minimum faclities for shelter, sanitation, and orderly community living. Each has tent platforms and metal shelters for separate family living, ranging from around 125 in the smaller camps to 300 in the larger projects. The 15 camps now operating have a total capacity of 3,300 families. There is a central community building with an auditorium, stage, kitchen, and facilities fer nursery school, adult clases, womens' activities and like interests that can be commonly conducted and shared; central utilities with showers, flush toilets, and laundry arrangements; a health center building for use by doctors and nurses of the Public Health Service and the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, and a quarantine or isolation unit for communicable disease.

Each community has a sewage and garbage disposal system, a central water supply, water-heating plant, surfaced streets, and electric street lighting. A manager's residence, office, and storage building are provided for administrative purposes. Athletic grounds and recreational facilities of a simple type, such as horseshoe courts and baseball lots for adults, swings, bars, and slides for children have developed from natural desires and needs until they have become a feature in every community.

At this point I wish to introduce a comment, on the social significance of athletics in these camp communities. Since the majority of the migrant group is American for generations back, baseball and boxing, the outstanding national sports, lead in popularity. It is not long after a camp ball team gets started before contests with amateur nines of the neighborhood or the county bring about a democratic mingling of the rival teams and their supporters. The residents and the nonresidents get to know each other, to exchange experiences and opinions and to break down and erase artificial restraints, suspicions, prejudices, and kindred barriers natural to strangers. At boxing exhibitions in some of the camps it is not unusual to gather 500 spectators from one or more counties. Officials of the local city or county government may act as judges. A city councilman may be the timekeeper and the high school athletic coach the referee. Camp managers report that the crowds are democratically impartial, dividing their interest and applause on a basis of merit of the contenders and without sectional feeling or distinction because some live within and some live without the project's property boundaries.

Saturday night dances and entertainments held in the camp auditoriums are perhaps the most effective activity because of numbers reached in extending this same healthy process of understanding and friendship. To summarize the point—the people who have come to live together in these camp communities have learned to play together; we shall now go on to see that they also learn to work together.

Management personnel provided by the Farm Security Administration seeks constantly to encourage initiative and self-dependence among the residents. The camp manager has supervisory and administrative responsibility for maintaining and safeguarding Government property interests and the carrying out of Farm Security Administration policies. However, government in community affairs is vested almost entirely in a council elected by the residents. The council is the legislative body which makes decisions and passes regulations affecting the internal affairs of the residents, subject to veto and nullification by the camp manager only in case the council's acts or intentions conflict with Government regulations or policies. This cooperation in self-government not only tends to preserve and increase the morale of the residents but the feeling that they have a real part in running things has a positive effect in eliminating negligent or wanton property damage. It also tends toward higher standards for peace and order, since the majority and its leadership quickly come to feel that any disturbances or bad conduct cast discredit upon the general community.

On the women's side a good neighbors' committee functions to discover cases of distress and need, extend assistance or advice, enlist the attention and aid of proper authority, or do whatever else the nature of the cases suggests. These women's groups remodel and distribute donated clothing, take an active part in community organization and in general follow the pattern of the Ladies Aid Society in a permanent community.

These women's groups which sprang up in the beginning out of common needs and common interests through the action of the migrant wives and mothers themselves, has provided organization and support for a program which the Home Management Division of Farm Security Administration started less than a year ago in the worker communities. Homemakers' Clubs have been organized in a number of camps and adjoining labor homes projects. Instructions and demonstrations in home management, child welfare and training, first aid, simple dietetics, and like housewifely interests are carried on. Cooperative canning of fruits and vegetables is made possible in an organized way, effecting cash savings through group purchasing of foodstuffs and materials, with a further benefit in better diets for the participating families.

This is merely an instance of how the field personnel assigned to devise practical ways of helping people help themselves, simply built and broadened organizations already established, by providing facilities, trained leadership and other services that were impossible without their assistance.

As this capitalization of talents, energies, and resources inherent to the migrant group itself goes on, there is collateral organized assistance and support from public and private agencies and groups with responsibilities, sympathies, or interests in the general field of rural welfare.

With the help of the Work Projects Administration, the National Youth Administration, church organizations, State and county governments, health and school authorities, social-welfare workers, women's clubs, local-service clubs, and others, a great variety of community activities are carried on.

Small stores, capitalized and conducted by the camp residents through their own cooperative associations, are a relatively recent development. Staple foods, kerosene, gasoline, and motor oil are major items on which the greatest savings can be made through group purchasing, so they are the main things handled at the beginning. Refrigerating equipment, meat, and dairy products have been added in some instances, as fast as earnings permit. These enterprises are completely controlled by the consumer organizations. On request of the residents small store buildings are being provided by Farm Security Administration and rented to the cooperatives, at projects where the consumer groups have established operations that seem likely to have enough permanency and enough business volume to enable them to meet the rental. It is too early to speculate on the ultimate results or to predict success or failure. I am merely noting an instance of the cooperative spirit of the group, and their desire to use all methods and techniques that seem to them to hold promise of help in getting ahead without public subsidy or dole. Some five or six farm workers' camps have cooperative stores in operation, all growing from small beginnings, entirely from the residents' common needs and desires and by their own determinations.

GARDEN HOMES

Adjacent to most of the camp projects are groups of small garden homes, ranging from 20 to 75 in different locations. The houses contain 3 to 4 rooms and are equipped with running water, electric lighting and heating, shower baths and toilets. A monthly rental of $8.20 includes utilities and irrigation water for the home gardens. The garden plots average about one-quarter acre in size. As any family group finds steady work opportunities in a community, it becomes eligible to rent one of these homes, which give greater stability, privacy, and adequacy for living than the camp shelters provide.

Because they are on a more permanent basis, the rental-home families furnish a good foundation for organized activities for the housewives of both the camps and of the homes. Many of the migratory families have been active participants in the home demonstration work of the Agricultural Extension Service in their home States and a common comment of the women to the Farm Security's home management workers follows this pattern:

"Our home demonstration work meant so much to farm women—it is one of the things we missed most."

The home-making program fills this void. It functions on the projects through preschool nurseries, sewing projects, mattress making, and other handicrafts, group canning projects, and by supporting order and sanitation in use of the camp facilities. Homemakers take the lead in fostering religious services, camp libraries, education, adult and infant health clinics, and other institutions common to social organization anywhere.

Eight preschool nurseries are now in operation in California through cooperation of the Educational and Recreational Divisions of the Work Projects Administration, National Youth Administration, Surplus Commodities Corporation, Farm Security Administration, and the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association. During the harvest seasons when mothers are working in the fields the nursery week is 6 days, from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m. Daily attendance ranges from 20 to 90 children at different projects. The children receive a hot noon lunch, consisting of a main protein dish, a cooked vegetable, a raw vegetable, bread, milk, and dessert. In addition they get fruit juice and cod liver oil in midmorning and milk or fruit in the afternoon. The cod liver oil is supplied by the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association. Cost of food necessary to supplement the materials available from Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation is also borne by the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association. The cash costs in addition to surplus commodities contributions, amount to but 7 cents per day per child.

Because of the unusual mobility of the migrant families, the Federal Security Administration home economists again have had to shape a program to fit the changing membership of the groups with which they work. Although regular meetings are scheduled over a 12-month period it has been found necessary to organize the instruction and demonstration materials into a series of complete units—one for each scheduled session, rather than to plan a continuing course of lessons extending for a definite period of time.

Since the garden-home families are more permanent a supplementary homemaking program has been worked out for them, with the Agricultural Extension Service cooperating. A demonstration garden planted on one of the garden plots is an important feature. Although home production of fruits and vegetables is not new to many of the families. Pacific-coast soils, climates, and maturing conditions are so different from those to which they have been accustomed that it amounts to an almost new education in garden culture.

An incomplete study of labor home family record books covering 7 months, while not conclusive, is indicative of interesting facts. The average size of the families studied was four members, the average family monthly income $63.81. Income sources were from farm labor, $46.25; sale of garden produce, $1.25; sale of milk, eggs, poultry, and rabbits, $1.16; housework for wages, $1.15; from National Youth Administration, $1.78; State Relief Administration relief, $4.11; Federal Security Administration relief, $4.91; and miscellaneous earned or contributed income (not relief), $3.20.

The records show the following average monthly expenditures: Food, $20.41; clothing, $5.17; other household expenses, $7.66; car and other installment payments including liquidation of old debts, $11.32; car-operating expense, $5.08; rental, $7.29; garden and farm expenses, including seed, tools, chickens, and rabbits, $4.04. The families had an average of $1.99 on hand at the beginning of the record-keeping period and a balance of $2.84 at the end.

The value of the fruit, vegetables, and meat produced at home averaged $4 per month per family. An average of 155 quarts of vegetables and berries was canned by each housewife over the 7-month period. As the home-management program is less than a year old it is expected that the future will show a steady increase in the home-produced food supply and better budgeting of family incomes.

PART-TIME FARM PROJECTS

Between the rental homes, and the full-time production farming operations such as Casa Grande and Mineral King—that is between the agricultural families whose income derives from working in agriculture and the producing farmer—is the part-time farm association, so-called because part of the time its members are gainfully employed on the project and at other seasons their incomes are supplemented by wage work for large farm operators in the neighborhood. These part-time farm projects vary in size and type of crops.

There is variation also in the type of construction and in building materials. In some localities the single homes are set on individual lots. In others an "apartment house" style has been followed, with housing for eight families provided in each two-story unit. Lumber has mainly been used as building material but adobe brick, mixed with a bithulitic binder, has been used in certain sections, local experience showing that such construction provides a cooler home in summer and can be more easily and economically heated in cold weather. At Yuba City, Gridley, Firebaugh, Thornton, and Indio, Calif., the part-time farm tracts occupy sites adjoining the camps and low rental homes. In Arizona the Chandler Farms, near the town of Chandler and Camelback Farms, near Phoenix, are separate projects. Since the pattern and functioning is generally similar, and the variance is mainly in acreage and the type of farming followed, a description of the 310-acre Chandler project will be used as an illustration. It is one of the earliest, having been begun by Resettlement Administration in 1936. In the fall of 1937, soon after it was ready for occupancy, it was taken over with other Resettlement Administration responsibilities by Farm Security Administration.

At Chandler, grouped on 4 acres, there are 32 homes, in 4 two-story units of 8 dwellings each. The walls are of adobe, the roofs of galvanized iron, insulated with redwood bark. Aluminum paint on the roofs helps further to deflect the sun's heat in summer. The kitchen and living rooms are on the lower floor, 2 bedrooms on the upper. They are heated with gas and have small water heaters, shower baths, and indoor toilets. A garage is attached to each home, since cars are necessary for residents to travel to and from work when they are employed on large farms in the neighborhood. The apartments rent for $9 a month, furnished. The buildings are provided with lawns and service driveways, and are served by the city of Chandler's water and sewage facilities. Utilities, water, gas, and lights are bought by the community and serviced through a master meter, cutting costs to a minimum. Each family has a small garden plot on which to grow vegetables for home use. Other construction on Chandler Farms includes a community building containing a laundry and general meeting room; a group of community outbluildings for storage of the one set of tools and equipment which is used to operate the entire farm; and roads and irrigation facilities.

Families were selected for occupancy from a group of low-income farm laborers in the vicinity. Five of the family heads are employed full-time on the project farm. The others are employed for the most part on private farms in the community. When they are not fully employed on nearby farms they work on the project acreage, if there is work to do. They also find some employment on public works projects.

Schools and other social facilities are accessible in Chandler.

In June 1937, residents of Chandler Farms formed a cooperative association and obtained a loan of $34,598 from the Government with which to operate the project. The loan was made at 3-percent interest and is repayable in 10 years. The association leased the entire project property from the Government, including the farm land, buildings, and homestead units. The lease is for a duration of at least 5 years, renewable for the balance of the loan period.

The Government receives as rental for the farm land and buildings the cash equivalent to the market value of one-fourth of all crops produced, plus cash rental on acreage in alfalfa pasture and in barley stubble. The lease also includes the homestead units, which are rented to the association on a straight cash rental basis. Residents pay rent to the association.

The association has kept two purposes in view—to provide an abundance and a variety of farm produce for its members, and to provide work for members during periods when there are no outside jobs available.

It operates the entire farm under the management of a board of directors and a manager. It is concerned primarily with the production of farm products, and with marketing and distributing of these products to consumers at retail prices. These consumers consist not only of members of the association, but nonmembers as well, since surplus products which members are not able to consume are sold commercially. Part of the income from sales, over and above expenses, is set up as a contingency fund for hiring members temporarily unemployed elsewhere and for expenses of maintenance and improvement work on the farm lands. The remainder is distributed to customers on a patronage dividend basis—that is, in proportion to the purchases made by each.

A diversified farm program has been followed. From the purebred herd of about 40 Jersey cows, milk meeting Grade A standards is retailed at the dairy to members of the association and residents in Chandler. Any excess is sold to a nearby creamery, and some skim milk is fed to the poultry and pigs. The flock of from 2,000 to 2,400 laying hens produces high-grade eggs, most of which are sold through wholesale channels. When eggs are selling at a very low price, they are placed in storage at Phoenix to await better prices.

The advantage of retail sales from a cooperative farm has been demonstrated at Chandler, although not to the same extent as at Camelback Farms, probably because of the latter's proximity to the larger consuming center at Phoenix. At both farms, however, milk is sold direct to consumers, including the homesteaders, in gallon bottles at prices current for milk in this sized container. Demand has increased until it is difficult to supply the required amount of fluid milk at the present time.

One of the best demonstrations was the sale last holiday season of about 400 turkeys produced by Camelback Farms and about 300 produced by the Casa Grande farms. The farms sold toms for 20 cents per pound live weight and hens for 23 cents per pound. They were sold dressed. If drawn for the customer 50 cents each was charged for preparing the fowl for the oven. The price for toms went as low as 12½ cents per pound on the open market.

Eggs have been sold to the consumer at a premium of 2 to 3 cents per dozen, in case lots, over the market price paid to the producer, and at a premium of from 3 to 5 cents above the retail market prices.

The crop plans are changed from year to year, depending on the amount of water available. Water for irrigation of crops is supplied by the Salt River Valley Water Users Association. (This is the managing association for the shareholders in the project developed below the Roosevelt Dam by the Reclamation Service.) The principal crops are cotton, barley, corn, wheat, hegari, and alfalfa. There is also a large community garden.

A marked interest in community activities has been shown at Chandler Farms. Each month there is a meeting of the women's executive board, and a meeting of the Homemakers' Club with some representative of the Extension Service. Sometimes workers from the Work Projects Administration hold a series of classes to teach such arts as crocheting and knitting. The 4-H Club is thriving, and is particularly interested in the community poultry unit.

OTHER ACTIVITIES OF FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

As noted in the beginning, this paper deals with rehabilitation for only one part of the low income farm group—those families that have been forced off the land by drought, foreclosure, and mechanization. The larger part of the agency's funds and energies are used to keep families on the land they are now farming. In region 9, comprised of the States of Arizona, California, Utah, and Nevada, as of June 30, 1940, the following services were being administered for resident families:

Rural reclamation	loans	12,436
Community and cooperative services:		
1. Members owning services	loans	6,371
2. Nonmembers using services	cases	4,866
Farm debt adjustment	do	3,803
Tenant purchase	loans	174

Records affecting the off-the-land group show that 15 standard camps and nine mobile or portable camps, have capacity for sheltering and providing minimum social facilities for about 5,800 families. The mobile camp equipment is mounted on trucks and used during peak seasons in areas where families gather for short harvesting jobs. There are now 520 rental garden homes occupied or ready for occupancy. Emergency grants, to relieve extreme want or suffering, have been made in 47,000 cases. Medical treatment has been provided through the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association for about 50,000 persons.

Regardless of whether families are on or off the land, however, Farm Security Administration considers their rehabilitation as an integrated task. While some of the methods used in helping resident farm families do not fit the living conditions of the migrant worker, there are others that have uniform application. Practices that make for stronger home ties and more wholesome living, particularly, are applicable with little variation.

The simplicity of these practices in description is deceptive in evaluating their effectiveness. Home gardens and home canning are particularly significant in terms of better budgets and better health. All families that have land are urged by Farm Security field supervisors to make the best possible use of their gardens. While the workers' camp families lack land for gardens, the women are learning to do an increasing amount of home canning, using fruit and vegetables that during harvest seasons are low priced and sometimes to be had for the asking.

Medical and sanitary services and health education offer another marked example of methods that run through the whole fabric of family rehabilitation and spread benefits far beyond the limits of the numbers primarily assisted.

In essence the aim in all phases of the Farm Security Administration program is to help low-income farm families to help themselves retain a self-supporting status or regain such status if they have lost it. In accordance with this principle, every effort is made to utilize and develop the individual and collective resources, abilities, energies, and skills of the families. What much of this amounts to is merely a return to an earlier period, when the American farm was largely self-sustaining and the farm family largely self-sufficient, for ideas and patterns, and adapting them to fit present needs.

TESTIMONY OF LAURENCE I. HEWES—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. And you are regional director, Farm Security Administration, San Francisco?

Mr. HEWES. That's right, Mr. Tolan.

The CHAIRMAN. You have quite a job; haven't you? How much territory do you take in?

Mr. HEWES. The four States of Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and California.

The CHAIRMAN. How are you getting along?

Mr. HEWES. Pretty well, thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, just how do you function in these four States, Mr. Hewes? Just give us a brief picture—we have your full statement, of course—in relation to the migrant problem.

Mr. HEWES. Well, Mr. Tolan, we have the migrant problem in its most drastic form only in Arizona and California, and it is confined in those two States to the Salt River and Gila River Valleys in Arizona, to the Imperial and Coachella Valleys in California, and the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys in California. These are the areas where the migratory labor problem in this region is concentrated.

Utah, Nevada, the northern part of Arizona, and the coast section of California are not much affected by the migratory labor problem.

NUMBER OF FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION CAMPS IN CALIFORNIA

Now, we have approached the problem in Arizona and in California, as is probably fairly well known from the point of view of trying to meet the long-term need through the establishment of Casa Grande Valley Farms as a cooperative farming venture. We have met the emergency housing needs through the establishment of standard or permanent migratory labor camps, and the construction of mobile migratory labor camps, plus a program for meeting subsistence needs through the grant program during the off seasons when employment is low, and also through health work which Dr. Schaupp described to you this morning.

NUMBER OF MIGRANTS ACCOMMODATED

The CHAIRMAN. How many people will these camps that you have mentioned accommodate; how many people?

Mr. HEWES. When in operation they have a maximum capacity of around 5,700 families, and as to individuals, probably around 25,000. To this should be added about another 700 families that we can provide for in the little labor homes that are located at some of the projects. So altogether we can take care of from 25,000 to 30,000 people. In actual practice, however, because of the seasonal nature of the work, and consequent moving about of the families, all camps are not filled to capacity at any one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, are they pretty well filled up at this time?

Mr. HEWES. Of course, this is right at the turning point of the season, in a good many crops. They are starting to increase in the southern part of the San Joaquin Valley. In the northern part of the Sacramento Valley the population of the camps is starting to fall off. In those areas where cotton is coming in, which would be Pinal and Maricopa Counties in Arizona and the southern part of the San Joaquin Valley, the population of the camps is picking up.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you say, Mr. Hewes, as to the proportion of these migrant citizens who come from as far as Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas? Do many of them go back home?

Mr. HEWES. I would rather imagine not. It has been very hard to get accurate data in this entire field. It is a difficult technical statistical problem to get data on people that are as mobile as these migrants are in these two States. But my feeling is, and I believe there are others who will agree with me, that most of these people remain on the Pacific slope.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is going to leave tomorrow morning. We are going to tour 2 days through the valley, and the committee will undoubtedly get first-hand information about the camps.

Now, about these cooperative farms, how far have you progressed with those?

Mr. HEWES. We have, I think, one of the most significant ventures in that direction that there is in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that located?

CASA GRANDE COOPERATIVE FARM, ARIZONA

Mr. HEWES. It is located near Coolidge, Ariz., about 65 or 70 miles south of Phoenix, and is known as the Casa Grande Valley Farms, Inc.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get the land?

Mr. HEWES. The land was purchased originally by the Federal Government and leased with capital improvements to a cooperative association composed of 56 families, selected largely from migratory laborers in that area. There were a few relief cases in that area who were also selected.

The CHAIRMAN. How many acres are in that?

Mr. HEWES. I think there were 3,600 to 4,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, just approximately, 3,600 to 4,000. What did the Government pay for it?

Mr. HEWES. The average cost per acre was well under $100.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would the Federal Government purchase land from private owners when it owns so much land in the United States?

Mr. HEWES. (Pause.)

The CHAIRMAN. I am just thinking out loud with you now. For instance, they tell me that half of the acreage in Oregon is owned by the Federal Government. Your Congressman told me.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Most of that is mountains and forest, though.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. But we might dig out in a few places, there, you see, a few rutabagas, or something.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You might not have any people there.

Mr. HEWES. Well, Casa Grande has a rather interesting history. I can do a very nice sketch of "before and after" on that if the committee would care to hear it.

Originally it was raw land. Then an irrigation district was started. The land was sold to the group that usually is sold land just subsequent to the creation of an irrigation district, and it largely became operated on an absentee-ownership basis. The land concentrated into ownership in a very few hands, became tenant-operated. At the time that the Government acquired title to this land I think there was one person actually living in what might be called a decent human habitation on the entire tract.

There were several shelters there that were probably the most awful submarginal housing units that you can imagine. I saw one of them 3 years ago. It was a galvanized-iron shed which had been subdivided with chicken wire to house eight families, and these were people who made their living by picking cotton and other agricultural work on this tract of land, working for the various tenants who were operating it.

These tenants were living in the towns of Tucson, Phoenix, and Coolidge. I think there was just one human standard habitation with plumbing facilities in it.

The CHAIRMAN. How is it now?

Mr. HEWES. There are 56 families living there today, all of them with decent standards of housing and sanitary facilities and inside plumbing. We are meeting the costs of operation, and the cooperative is in the black slightly.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they do; pool their income?

Mr. HEWES. They operate on an operating loan from the Federal Government and it is an annual operating loan with which they pay themselves wages and which is paid back to the Federal Government before a profit is calculated, and then the profit is divided into an amount for the amortization of the various capital assets, and then a dividend. I can't tell you offhand about whether the dividend has been declared or not, but I think not.

Due to the fact that it is a large-scale operation, you have all the advantages of large-scale farming. For instance, we grow and have grown cattle and dairy products. In modern agriculture where you are meeting fierce competition in all of those outlets you have to have a quality product, and you have to be able to have available the best marketing means, and they have done so at Casa Grande.

The products in the form of beef cattle and swine have topped the Los Angeles market on more than one occasion as to price, and on several occasions, at a considerable premium. In one case I think it was 15 cents a hundredweight by shipping carload lots and by careful management.

The CHAIRMAN. That is 3,600 acres. Is that broken down into individual farms?

Mr. HEWES. No. It is broken down only insofar as it is necessary to operate. You have the cotton area, you have the alfalfa area, you have the feed lots, you have the dairy, but it is not broken down into individual tracts.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a camp boss or a farm boss here, or who handles it?

Mr. HEWES. Yes. The Farm Security Administration provides a manager, a salaried manager. Now, one of the things that we have gotten out of that has been the fact that by carefully selecting the right type of person, you can make available the knowledge of the intensive type of agriculture that we practice on the Pacific slope to people who have had only the experience of row agriculture of the Mississippi Delta.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, these people who are there are from various States, are they not?

Mr. HEWES. Yes; Texas and Oklahoma.

The CHAIRMAN. Principally?

Mr. HEWES. Yes, sir; I believe there are one or two from Arkansas.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all farmers, are they not; they were originally?

Mr. HEWES. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. How do the conduct of these farms and the running of these farms compare with other farms in the community? They are run just as well, are they?

Mr. HEWES. Well, the whole farm, you understand, is operated as one unit, and it is a far superior operation in every respect.

The CHAIRMAN. Why should that be?

Mr. HEWES. Well, just take the matter of water. You have a drought, a very serious drought in that area that requires the most careful water management, the management of your water reservoir. You have got to husband every drop of water there. That takes unified management. The small 50-acre tract or 100-acre tract is at a disadvantage in a situation like that. Also the matter of rotation of crops and then, of course, using the very best methods, you produce the very best quality. The buyers come to you. You don't have to go out and walk up and down the road with your samples of cotton and try to peddle it and take what the market will give you. The market is interested in your cotton because it is good cotton in large blocks, and the buyer comes to your doorstep and says, "What will you sell it to me for?"

Mr. OSMERS. The Farm Security in other States—I believe in Alabama we inspected a project that was a group of individual farmers, rather than a single farm. It was operated by a group of farmers. Now, in this territory do you have those groups of small farmers?

Mr. HEWES. No, we do not.

Mr. OSMERS. You do not?

Mr. HEWES. We ran out of the congressional authority to acquire title to this land; ran out of it before we could start that.

Mr. OSMERS. I wanted someone—I thought you might be the one—to make a comparison between the operation of a group of small, say 50-acre, farms and one large farm of a couple of thousand acres.

Mr. HEWES. I rather imagine in that area that it would be very adverse to the small farm.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. HEWES. It would be very difficult to compete with the tremendous advantage of large-scale operation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do these migrants become assimilated in the different community social activities, and so forth?

Mr. HEWES. Oh, yes; Mr. Tolan. I mean, these people are just the same as the rest of us. They are Anglo-Saxons, Scotch-Irish type of people that become Americanized—rather, become "Pacific coastized," or "Californiaized," or "Arizonaized" very quickly.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, that is the great trouble with this migrant problem: We have been treating these millions of migrants just as people where they are our people?

Mr. HEWES. They are the best type of American stock we have, I believe; deeply religious people, high standard of morality, with all the virtues and qualities that are respected by the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. Forced from their own homes and their own farms under circumstances under which they had no control; is that right?

Mr. HEWES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do they raise their own garden stuff there?

Mr. HEWES. Yes. Our trouble of water again, which is not a reflection on the Farm Security or on anybody else, has inhibited to a certain extent the making of family gardens around their houses, but to the extent that the water is available, irrigation water, they are doing it.

There is a group of homesteaders who are pushing that type of project among themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you recommend the cooperative farms, somewhat, or at least as a partial solution of this migrant problem?

Mr. HEWES. Basing it on the purely economic factors, I would say that that would depend entirely on what price you could buy the land for, what the available market was. If you undertook such an operation in a remote place, paid too much for your land, like any other venture it would probably fail. With all the other factors favorable, however, I would think that it would be, in view of our experience at Casa Grande, at least one approach to this problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do the children go to school?

Mr. HEWES. They go to school in Coolidge.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. Is that the only farm of that type that you have in your region?

Mr. HEWES. We have a small one in California near Visalia, Mineral King. We have plans for extending that when and if we have authority to acquire title, and providing we can get the land at a reasonable price.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Coming back to this—Casa Grande, is it?

Mr. HEWES. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many families do you have there?

Mr. HEWES. We have 56.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is approximately 60 to 70 acres per family?

Mr. HEWES. That's right, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, now, I listened to all of the advantages that you gave. Is there a single one of those advantages that could not be exercised by the Farm Security Administration in a supervisory capacity with these families operating individual farms rather than on a cooperative scale?

Mr. HEWES. Well, I was trying to bring that point out in my previous testimony, the point being that it is much more difficult with our type of agriculture, at least, to get the machinery.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I understand.

Mr. HEWES. You can't have the advantage of large-scale power implements, your water, your matter of husbanding your water, the matter of marketing your produce; it is much harder to market.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I heard you mention each one of them, and I simply ask the question: If those same advantages could not be made available to these people through the Farm Security Administration in a supervisory way, with them operating individual farms all there together?

Now, the thing that prompts the question is: I have a similar project in my district, one of the old Resettlement Administration projects, except they are individual farms and all of the marketing that we are doing down there is done there. Of course, they have their cooperative for that purpose. Yet each individual family farms its own tract of land and sells its products through the marketing agency, gets the profit back instead of all of it just being lumped into a pool.

Of course, it is true that we don't have the water problem. But after all, you are going to have to control that anyhow.

Mr. HEWES. Well, I would say, in answer to that, that this is an educational process with this particular group of people, and it is easier to get that educational process across when you are working with a group of people than when you are working on individual farms. Those folks, you understand, are perfectly fine people. They have just not had the advantage of working with irrigation, working with power machinery. They have to learn things. They have to learn how to judge a piece of livestock, a unit of livestock. They have to learn how to market it. They have to learn the advantage of butter fat testing and of the various things that you do with poultry. They have to learn every step of that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They never own any rights in that property, do they?

Mr. HEWES. They have a property interest; oh, yes. They have a property interest.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is it?

Mr. HEWES. They have one sixty-first of the assets that are created—that they create.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is actually no title vested in them in that; no right of tenure whatsoever?

Mr. HEWES. Oh, yes. They have an agreement with the Federal Government, a 5-year agreement as an association member, and that right of tenure—that also includes the right of renewal.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Based upon satisfactory performance?

Mr. HEWES. That's right, as judged by their own group.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all. We are going down to Visalia, I believe, tomorrow or the next day. I hope we have the opportunity to see one of them there.

The CHAIRMAN. There is just one more question I want to ask.

There was a prepared statement filed here by one of the witnesses at this hearing from which I quote as follows:

> We find that in most of these camps—

That is, migrant camps—

> the migrants are set apart from the community with no chance of assimilation. We find that under the bureaucratic method of administration—

We have heard that word in Washington——

Mr. OSMERS (interposing). "Bureaucratic"?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes, it reads very familiar.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing)—

> under the bureaucratic method of administration there is a rallying point for radical and subversive elements, housing men who work for them because inside the camp they cannot be touched by local, county, or State law-enforcement agencies.

What do you say about that?

Mr. HEWES. Well, Mr. Tolan, that is in no sense true. I am very glad you asked me the question because I am very glad to refute it, and to deny it completely, with all the vigor at my command.

It is one of the points on which we are most anxious to cooperate with the communities, and it is one of the things that all of our people are instructed in. The community assimilation is the most important point in the whole problem. We can't build Federal islands. We don't want to.

So far as the employees of the Farm Security Administration in this region are concerned, I can answer for them personally. I am responsible for them, and they are good, loyal American people, and they haven't in the slightest way tampered or fooled, or are in any way responsible for having anything to do with subversive activity.

When it comes to the question of the migrant himself, I say that answers itself. They are good American people and so far as handling our relationships with the communities, the Bankhead Act very definitely and specifically makes the migratory labor camp a part of the community. We pay taxes.

The Federal Government, by the Bankhead Act, becomes a taxpayer to the local taxing authorities, and in return for that is entitled to police protection, the school privilege, and all the other forces at the command of any community.

And our whole attitude, our whole approach to this thing has been to get these people assimilated and to make them feel normal and make them feel as though they were a part of a larger community; make them feel at home. And our whole program is devised with that intent.

So the statement which you quoted, of course, is a pretty serious charge if it is not refuted. Therefore, I deny it on my knowledge of the facts and my firm belief that such an allegation cannot be sustained whenever or wherever it is put to proof.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought we should touch it up a little.

Mr. HEWES. I am glad you gave me the opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir. I know you are doing a very good job.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will have 3 minutes recess.

(Whereupon a brief recess was taken, after which proceedings were resumed as follows:)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mark this as the next exhibit, Mr. Reporter.

(The document referred to was marked as an exhibit and made a part of this record.)[1]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Young.

TESTIMONY OF WALKER R. YOUNG, SUPERVISING ENGINEER, CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT

The CHAIRMAN. You are manager of the Central Valley Water Project?

Mr. YOUNG. No, sir. My title is supervising engineer of the Central Valley project, a Bureau of Reclamation project, the Bureau of Reclamation being one of the bureaus of the Department of the Interior.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, that is—what dam is that?

Mr. YOUNG. That, sir——

Mr. SPARKMAN (interposing). Or series of dams?

Mr. YOUNG. That is a map showing the——

Mr. SPARKMAN (interposing). No, I wasn't referring to that. I mean, the Central Valley water project is fed out of what stream?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, the Central Valley project is supplied with water from the watersheds of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And the map indicates that area?

Mr. YOUNG. The map shows the Central Valley project, extending from the northern end of the valley, near Redding, to Bakersfield, extending some 455 or 500 miles in length and perhaps averaging 50 miles in width, constituting the great Central Valley of California. It is made up of two valleys in reality, the Sacramento Valley on the north and the San Joaquin to the south. The Sacramento waters originate in the Siskiyous, being identified by Mount Shasta and flow southerly to the common delta of the two rivers. The San Joaquin River rises in the Sierra Nevadas, flows westerly, finally turning northerly, through the San Joaquin Valley, joining the Sacramento in the delta, to flow through the bay system into the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Young, you have filed a statement for the record?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes, sir.

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[1] This document, an illustrated report on farm labor camps in Maricopa County, Ariz., was filed with the committee and not printed.

(The statement appears below:)

STATEMENT BY WALKER R. YOUNG, SUPERVISING ENGINEER, CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT, CALIFORNIA

THE CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT, CALIFORNIA

The Central Valley project may be described in a few words as a maintenance job on the water and power resources of one of the Nation's most important agricultural areas, the Great Central Valley of California. It involves conservation and regulation of the waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers for the following purposes:

1. Improvement of inland navigation.
2. Increased flood protection.
3. Supplemental irrigation for producing crop lands.
4. Salinity control in the delta region.
5. Improved industrial and domestic water supplies.
6. Electric power development.

THE CENTRAL VALLEY

When white men first visited the interior of California, in 1773, they found the valley an expanse of part desert and part swamp which they preferred to leave to the Indians. It was not until a hundred years later that the first American settlers, utilizing the unregulated spring flood flow of the rivers, made the semiarid valley a vast area of cattle and grain ranches. Today, under intensive irrigation, it has become an empire of diversified agriculture, settled by an aggressive population of one and a quarter million persons (see table 1), supported by producing lands representing an investment of more than $2,000,000,000—all dependent upon a single natural resource, water.

TABLE 1.—*Population of Great Central Valley*

	On farms [1]	In cities [1]	Total, 1940 [2]	Total, 1930 [3]	10-year increase
Sacramento Valley (9 counties)	49, 760	149, 280	199, 040	157, 140	41, 900
Delta area (4 counties)	112, 512	337, 535	450, 047	364, 381	85, 666
San Joaquin Valley (7 counties)	150, 107	450, 321	600, 428	440, 329	160, 099
Total, Central Valley (20 counties)	312, 379	937, 136	1, 249, 515	961, 850	[4] 287, 665
Total, State (58 counties)			6, 873, 811	5, 677, 251	[5] 1, 196, 560

[1] Total population assumed divided, 75 percent in cities and towns, 25 percent on farms.
[2] Preliminary 1940 census figures.
[3] Official 1930 census figures.
[4] 30-percent increase.
[5] 21-percent increase.

The Central Valley really is two valleys, the Sacramento on the north and the San Joaquin on the south with a common delta in the middle, embracing 18,000 square miles of territory equal to the combined area of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and half of New Jersey. It is 500 miles long from Mount Shasta to the Tehachapi Divide, about 50 miles wide between the Sierra Nevada and the Coast Range, and varies in elevation from sea level to over 400 feet. This territory includes 10,000,000 acres of irrigable land (see table 2) surrounded by a mountain watershed of 40,000 square miles. Its 3,080,000 acres presently under irrigation comprise two-thirds of the irrigated lands in California and 16 percent of the irrigated lands in the entire United States. It is the heart of California both geographically and economically—the "back country" of metropolitan San Francisco and Los Angeles which, according to an estimate of the Stanford University Graduate School of Business, enjoy a trade valued at $750,000,000 annually on commodities moving to and from the valley.

TABLE 2.—*Lands in Great Central Valley*

[In acres]

	Gross agricultural area	Maximum cultivated	Net irrigable	Presently irrigated	Under Central Valley project	
					Lands to receive supplemental water	New lands which can be served
Sacramento Valley	6,000,000	1,760,000	3,870,000	540,000	400,000	[2] 85,000
Delta and upper bay region	450,000	400,000	430,000	320,000	400,000	[3] 30,000
San Joaquin Valley	8,220,000	2,720,000	5,700,000	2,220,000	[1] 1,200,000	[4] 60,000
Total	14,670,000	4,880,000	10,000,000	3,080,000	2,000,000	175,000

[1] Includes 50,000 acres of abandoned croplands to be restored to production; does not include 260,000 acres of irrigated land to be given exchange supply of water.

[2] Under existing works diverting from Sacramento River.

[3] Under Contra Costa Canal west of delta proper.

[4] Under San Joaquin pumping system.

Nature has been kind to the valley by endowing it with soil rich in the elements of plant growth, and temperatures conducive to subtropical fruit culture the year round. It is famous the world over for its raisins, table grapes, and sweet wines. Other major crops include peaches, figs, apricots, nuts, plums, olives, oranges, melons, alfalfa, cotton, grain, asparagus, and potatoes. Of increasing importance are sugar beets, rice, flax, hops, peas, beans, and tomatoes. The annual production of these crops totals $300,000,000. About 90,000 carloads of fresh fruits and vegetables are shipped outside the State every year from the Central Valley, with 75 percent of them being hauled to markets more than 2,000 miles away. The valley's dairy, livestock, and poultry products are consumed in the nearby metropolitan areas.

Industrially, there are canneries, creameries, wineries, processing plants, lumber and paper mills, and oil and sugar refineries which operate in many of the 83 cities and towns off the agricultural, forest, and mineral resources of the area. Extensive petroleum fields dot the southern valley. Gold mining still is important in the romantic mother lode counties. Transportation facilities include three transcontinental railroads, several thousand miles of State highways, national bus and air lines, river packet and barge service, and intercoastal steamship connections at interior deep-water ports.

THE WATER PROBLEM

That is the setting upon which the curtain is rising for one of the greatest reclamation dramas of history. The water problem of the Central Valley is mainly one of conservation. There is water abundant in quantity, as testified with a vengeance by the disastrous flood flows of February–March 1940. But the spectacular agricultural development in the last quarter century has far outstripped the natural limitations of the unregulated water supply; the water resources are out of balance with the irrigable lands. Geographically, the Sacramento Valley has tributary watersheds producing two-thirds of the water and agricultural lands with only one-third of the irrigation need, whereas the San Joaquin has one-third of the water and crop lands with two-thirds of the need. Seasonally, there is periodic flood and drought—almost all the rain and snowfall in a few months of winter and early spring, and two-thirds of the combined waters of the two rivers escape to the ocean during the nonirrigation season, leaving a shortage in the late summer and fall when water is most needed.

More than a million acres face an acute irrigation crisis. In the southern San Joaquin Valley the surface waters long ago were fully appropriated for irrigation, and the farmers resorted to pumping from underground. As this type of irrigation increased, ground-water levels fell—and the farmers discovered, years too late, that their draft upon this subterranean supply is greater than its natural replenishment. Some wells are going dry. In areas where the water table 20 years ago stood 10 to 20 feet below the surface, it now is down as far as 250 feet, requiring a pumping lift, considering draw-down in the wells, of about 275 feet. The cost of such irrigation pumping in many cases has made the continuance of crop farming economically impossible. Hydrologic studies show that under the 400,000 acres on which the water table is falling in Kern, Tulare, and Fresno Counties, there is annual water sufficient for only half that area. Thus the conclusion is unavoidable that eventually 200,000 acres of highly developed lands, with an annual yield of $20,000,000 worth of crops, will have to be abandoned to production unless relief is forthcoming. As a matter of tragic fact, in excess of 50,000 acres of once-lush crop lands already have gone—and for the rest of the stricken area, its just a question as to which farmers can hold out and which must give up, pending the arrival of a supplemental water supply from the Central Valley project.

The irrigation problem in the delta is entirely different, but equally insidious. In this so-called "Little Holland" of California, comprising parts of Sacramento, San Joaquin, Solano, and Contra Costa Counties, the productivity of another 400,000 acres of rich lands is menaced by the intrusion of salt water from San Francisco Bay. The fertile peat and silt swamps, where the waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers meet and mingle in a myriad of channels, are situated for the most part at or below sea level. Reclaimed during the last 75 years by the construction of levees and drainage ditches, the land has been placed under irrigation of the network of channels. In recent years of increased diversion of water for use upstream, the flow of the rivers in the late summer and fall has become critically low, permitting salt water from the bays to work its way up into the delta channels. At such times, of course, the farmers find the water unfit for irrigation; the blight of salinity is upon their land. Crop losses some years have been tremendous—as much as $1,260,000 in the dry year of 1931. Municipalities and industries in the upper bay region also have suffered as wells have become brackish.

THE PROJECT

To conserve and regulate the Great Central Valley's water resources, and to rescue threatened areas from the paralysis of aridity and salinity, the United States Bureau of Reclamation is constructing storage dams on the headwaters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, more than 350 miles of main canals, and many auxiliary structures. (See map.)

Shasta Dam, 12 miles north of Redding, is to be the second largest masonry structure in the world. (See table 3.) With a tributary drainage area of 6,665 square miles, the dam will back up waters of the Sacramento, Pit, and McCloud Rivers, a distance of 35 miles to create a reservoir with a storage capacity of 4,500,000 acre-feet. The reservoir will be operated to diminish the flow of the Sacramento River in flood times and increase it during the dry months—in substance, to stabilize the year-round flow—and thereby check the annual waste of water to the sea, permit restoration of all-year navigation far upstream, provide improved irrigation in much of the Sacramento Valley, repel seasonal intrusion of salt water in the delta channels, and afford a surplus of water in the delta for export to the Contra Costa area and the San Joaquin Valley through other features of the project.

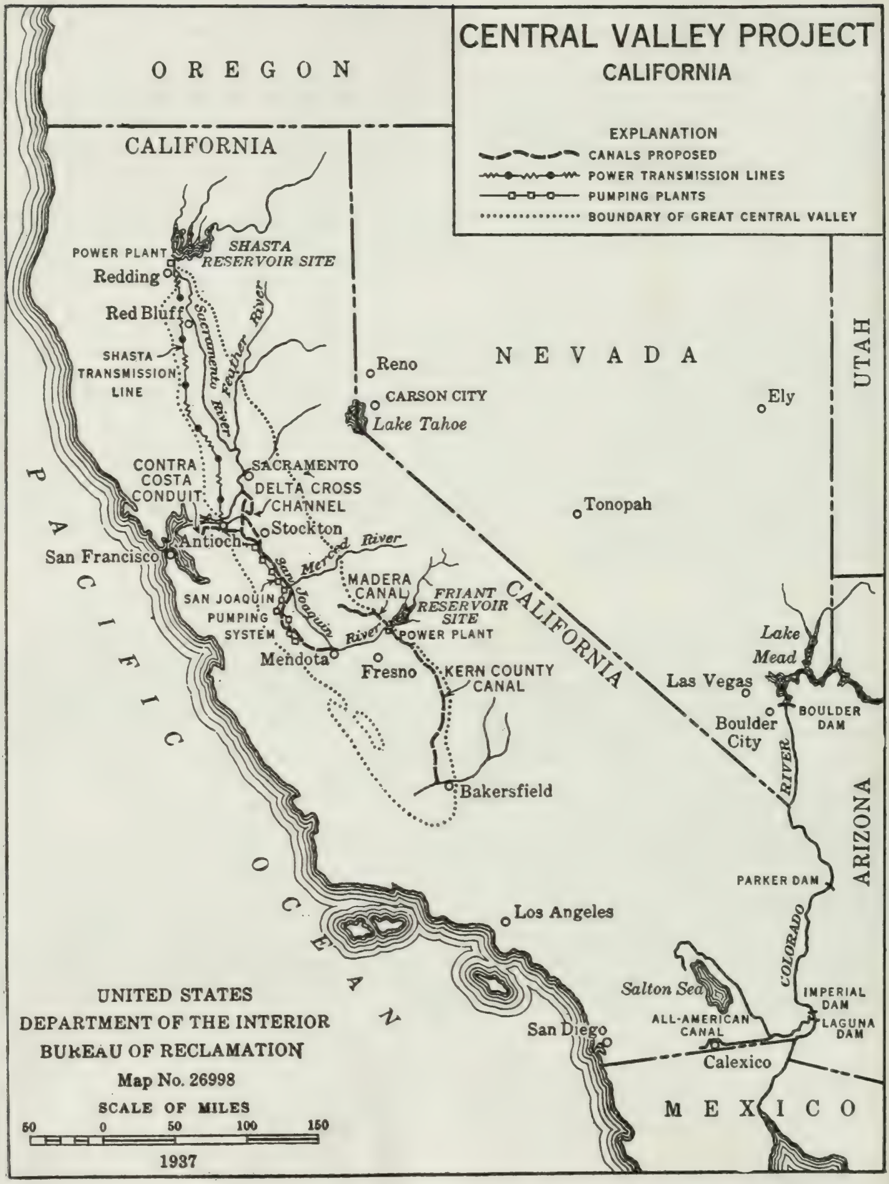
CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT
CALIFORNIA
EXPLANATION
CANALS PROPOSED
POWER TRANSMISSION LINES
PUMPING PLANTS
BOUNDARY OF GREAT CENTRAL VALLEY
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
UTAH
ARIZONA
MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
POWER PLANT
SHASTA RESERVOIR SITE
Redding
Red Bluff
Sacramento River
Feather River
SHASTA TRANSMISSION LINE
Reno
CARSON CITY
Lake Tahoe
Ely
CONTRA COSTA CONDUIT
SACRAMENTO
DELTA CROSS CHANNEL
Stockton
Antioch
San Francisco
Tonopah
Merced River
MADERA CANAL
FRIANT RESERVOIR SITE
SAN JOAQUIN PUMPING SYSTEM
San Joaquin River
POWER PLANT
Mendota
Fresno
KERN COUNTY CANAL
CALIFORNIA
Lake Mead
Las Vegas
Boulder City
BOULDER DAM
RIVER
Bakersfield
PARKER DAM
COLORADO
Los Angeles
Salton Sea
IMPERIAL DAM
LAGUNA DAM
ALL-AMERICAN CANAL
San Diego
Calexico
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION
Map No. 26998
SCALE OF MILES
50
0
50
100
150
1937

TABLE 3.—*Comparison of Central Valley project with other large conservation projects*

	Central Valley project		Boulder Canyon project	Columbia Basin project	Tennessee Valley Authority	
	Shasta Dam	Friant Dam	Boulder Dam	Grand Coulee Dam	Norris Dam	Wilson Dam
Dam:						
Height (feet)	560	320	727	550	265	137
Crest length (feet)	3, 500	3, 430	1. 282	4, 200	1,872	4, 860
Concrete mass (cubic yards)	6, 000, 000	2, 200, 000	4, 360, 000	10, 250, 000	1, 195, 000	1, 331, 000
Power installation (horsepower)	515, 000	None	1, 835, 000	2, 700, 000	134, 000	600, 000
Reservoir:						
Capacity (acre-feet)	4, 500, 000	520, 000	30,500,000	9, 517, 000	3, 350, 000	500, 000
Length (miles)	35	15	115	151	72	15
Surface area (acres)	29, 580	4 800	146, 500	82, 000	34, 200	---------
Main canals:						
Total length (miles)	350		210	190	None.	
Irrigable lands (acres)	2, 000, 000		1, 900, 000	1, 200, 000	None.	

Shasta power plant will generate about 1,500,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity annually which will be carried down the valley over a 200-mile transmission line, to be made available for municipal, agricultural, industrial, and project use. Accessory jobs at Shasta include relocation around the reservoir site of part of the Southern Pacific Railroad's main line between San Francisco and Portland, Oreg., and part of U. S. Highway 99 leading over the Siskiyou Mountains.

Water from the regulated Sacramento River will be diverted southerly through the delta in a cross channel to be constructed at the eastern edge. The purpose of this feature is to facilitate fresh-water flushing of the sometimes salty waterways there, and to introduce an adequate all-year supply to the intakes of the Contra Costa Canal and the San Joaquin pumping system.

The Contra Costa Canal, scene of first project construction in October 1937, will convey fresh water westerly from the delta a distance of 46 miles to serve an upland agricultural area, many industrial plants in the upper bay region, and a number of municipalities. It includes four pumping plants to lift the water to an elevation of 124 feet. With 20 miles of the canal completed, this feature of the Central Valley project already is in partial operation, domestic water service having been started on a temporary basis to the city of Pittsburg in August 1940.

The San Joaquin pumping system will comprise a series of pumping plants and a high line canal leading from the delta up the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. Part of the surplus water made available by Shasta Reservoir, and conveyed through the delta by the cross channel, will be pumped out near Stockton, raised to an elevation of about 200 feet, and carried southerly in this canal a distance of more than 100 miles. Crop lands along the lower San Joaquin River now using water that henceforth is to be stored and diverted at Friant Dam, thereby will be given in exchange a substitute supply from the more abundant Sacramento River.

Friant Dam on the San Joaquin River 20 miles north of Fresno will be the fourth largest masonry dam in the world. The reservoir extending 15 miles up the river will have a capacity of 520,000 acre-feet, providing increased flood protection, river regulation, and much-needed irrigation storage.

Water will be diverted at the dam through two gravity canals for supplemental surface irrigation in the southern San Joaquin Valley and to facilitate ground-water recharge in the areas suffering from underground storage depletion because of excessive irrigation pumping. The Madera Canal will extend northerly 40 miles to the Chowchilla River north of Madera. The large Friant-Kern Canal will extend southerly 160 miles as far as the Kern River west of Bakersfield, serving portions of Fresno, Tulare, Kings, and Kern Counties.

CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

Conceived as early as 1871, developed by various Federal and State agencies after years of investigation, approved by vote of the people of California in 1933, and officially adopted as a Federal reclamation undertaking in 1935, the Central Valley project has advanced from vision to the stage of large-scale construction. It has been fully authorized by the Congress. The relative magnitude of the plan is indicated by the fact that the combined storage capacity of Shasta and Friant Reservoirs—5,020,000 acre-feet—is equal to 70 percent of all the existing reservoir capacity behind the 600 existing dams in California.

The estimated cost of the project is $228,010,000. (See table 4.) Work was started under an Emergency Relief Administration allotment. Subsequently funds have been appropriated by the Congress and one allotment was received from the Public Works Administration. A statement of funds made available follows:

Emergency Relief, 1935	$4, 200, 000
General fund, 1936–37	6, 900, 000
General fund, 1937–38	12, 500, 000
General fund, 1938–39	9, 000, 000
Public Works, 1938	2, 000, 000
General fund, 1939–40	10, 000, 000
Deficiency, general fund, 1940	5, 000, 000
General fund, 1940–41	23, 600, 000
Total to date	73, 200, 000

TABLE 4.—*Tentative construction program for completion of Central Valley project in 1946*

Fiscal year	Expenditures	Features to be completed
Ending June 30, 1940	[1] $43, 172, 130	
Ending June 30, 1941	[2] 29, 973, 840	
Ending June 30, 1942	[3] 51, 937, 730	
Ending June 30, 1943	[3] 50, 401, 090	Friant Dam and Reservoir. Madera Canal. Contra Costa Canal.
Ending June 30, 1944	[3] 28, 548, 140	Shasta Dam and Reservoir. Shasta power plant.
Ending June 30, 1945	[3] 15, 900, 000	Shasta transmission lines.
Ending June 30, 1946	[3] 8, 077, 070	Friant-Kern Canal. Delta Cross Channel. San Joaquin pumping system.
Total estimated cost	228, 010, 000	

[1] Actual.

[2] Funds available.

[3] Depending upon funds to be made available by the Congress.

Contracts have been awarded in excess of $75,000,000 for work on Shasta Dam and power plant, Friant Dam, the railroad and highway relocations around Shasta Reservoir, and the Contra Costa Canal. Building firms from 16 States have shared the principal work so far started or completed. Expenditures for materials and supplies have been made in 39 States.

Employment on the project (see table 5) has exceeded the 5,000 mark. For each person thus directly employed, it is believed at least two others are given work indirectly in the production and transportation of materials and equipment used in the construction. More than 13,300,000 man-hours of labor have been expended directly on the project since the start of work, and probably an additional 26,000,000 man-hours indirectly in California and many other States. On the basis of an estimate that the project will provide a total of 80,000,000 man-hours of direct work, about 66,700,000 man-hours are required for completion. This possibly will mean an additional 130,000,000 man-hours of indirect work throughout the country.

TABLE 5.—*Employment on Central Valley project*

	Employees as of July 31, 1940	Peak employment reached so far	Man-hours of work expended to July 31, 1940
Contractors	3,889	4,244	8,709,308
Bureau of Reclamation	661	687	3,933,546
Civilian Conservation Corps	300	400	688,680
Total	4,850	5,331	[1] 13,331,534

[1] It is estimated an additional 66,700,000 man-hours of work will be expended in completion of project.

The tentative construction program shown in table No. 4 contemplates completion of the project in 1946, an eventuality which depends entirely upon whether funds are made available by the Congress in amounts sufficient to meet the anticipated expenditures indicated for each fiscal year. To advance the date of completion appreciably would require a deficiency appropriation for the current fiscal year and appropriations in future years somewhat greater than the amounts indicated. Should future annual appropriations be less than the amounts indicated, the completion dates for the various features of the project will be correspondingly postponed.

Generally speaking, the project is a unit, and no one feature can be utilized to its fullest advantage until the entire project is completed. For instance, under the program in table No. 4, Friant Dam and the Madera Canal are to be completed in 1943. However, since the rights to store water in Friant Reservoir are being secured in part through an exchange of water to be effected by the San Joaquin pumping system, the Madera Canal cannot be placed in normal operation until the San Joaquin pumping system is completed in 1946. The same situation applies to the Friant-Kern Canal, under which more than half the service area of the project is located. An exception may be realized in the case of lands under the Sacramento River and under the Contra Costa Canal, which can be served after Shasta Dam is completed in 1944.

In considering the rate of development of project irrigation, it should be noted that the Central Valley project includes only the main carriers. It does not provide for construction by the Bureau of Reclamation of lateral canals to convey water to individual farms. A proposal to authorize such construction as part of the project is pending before the Congress. In the event this proposed legislation is not enacted, it will be necessary for the lateral canals, where needed, to be financed by local or State interests. There are a number of operating districts in the valley which are in position to contract for water from the project. Several new districts are being organized. In some areas in position to be served there has as yet been no organization of prospective water users.

THE FUTURE

The Central Valley project is designed to preserve settled and producing lands threatened with retrogression because of the inadequacy of their present water supplies. To that end, it will be of tremendous importance to California and the Nation in stabilizing the agricultural economy of the Great Central Valley. Although there are no public lands to be opened to entry under the project, it will anchor a good many farm families on thousands of acres of presently irrigated lands which, without the project, might be subject to future abandonment or limited tenure. In restoring to production 50,000 acres of croplands already abandoned, it will afford some opportunities for resettlement. How many new families can be supported in the producing areas to be improved by supplemental irrigation (table No. 2) will depend to a large extent upon the future size of farm units. The present development in the Central Valley is characterized by relatively large average holdings.

Irrespective of the underlying objective of furnishing water principally for supplemental irrigation, the project also can incidentally serve about 175,000 acres of new land, the irrigation of which should be of direct influence in enabling the valley to support a larger population. Since water, and not land, is the limiting factor in the agricultural development of the valley, the new land areas shown in table No. 2 include only those for which adequate water will be available, over and above the supplemental supply to be furnished presently irrigated areas. The figures do not include, for instance, about 1,300,000 acres of undeveloped lands which are in position to be served by the Friant-Kern and Madera Canals, but for which project water is not available.

The tide of home seekers surging westward in the last decade has been felt quite strongly in the Central Valley which probably has received more than its proportionate share of the 200,000 families that the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates migrated into California. Table No. 1 shows a 30 percent increase in the valley's population since 1930, compared to a State-wide increase of 21 percent. A familiar sight in the valley—particularly in the southern counties which furnished the setting for Grapes of Wrath—is the bulging automobile load of nomadic farm workers, both adults and children, rolling along the highway with personal belongings and kitchen utensils strapped on the sides and top, seemingly forever on the go. To the refugees from the Dust Bowl States, the West still is the "promised land", despite the fact that few have been able to acquire irrigated lands because of the small areas supplied with water that have been available. The vast majority of migrants entering the Central Valley, according to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, have been forced to depend upon seasonal agricultural employment or have relied almost wholly on relief in one form or another.

Given an adequate water supply, the valley undoubtedly can absorb a far larger population than it now supports, both on farms and in cities. An example is furnished by the following news item published in the Pittsburg Post-Dispatch of August 22, 1940, 4 days after the first delivery of water to the city from the Central Valley project:

"Coincident with the arrival of Contra Costa Canal water to Pittsburg, a survey conducted by the Better Housing Committee of the chamber of commerce revealed today that 60 low-cost homes are under construction in the Pittsburg area, with every indication that the new water supply will encourage a continued building boom."

Not to be overlooked is the potential industrial development of the valley, particularly in view of the tendency toward decentralization and distribution of small industrial units over rural areas where coordination with agriculture may be effected. In a paper on "Reclamation as an Aid to Industrial and Agricultural Balance" published in the Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers, 1938, E. P. Goodrich and C. V. Davis cite the following Central Valley example:

"The Madera irrigation district is suitable for combined industrial and agricultural development owing to its proximity to important markets, its climate, its large undeveloped areas of fertile soil, its available labor suppy, and its assurance of a water suppy from the Central Valley project."

The destiny of California's interior counties was recognized by the National Resources Planning Board in a report in 1936 as follows:

"In the future, as well as now, the extent of California's agriculture, especially in the interior valleys, will be limited by the supply of water for irrigation. In the future, even more than now, its industries will depend for power on hydroelectric energy. The future of the cities, no less than that of the farm lands and factories, will be influenced greatly by the supply of water available to them. Completion of the Central Valley project as soon as practicable is of prime importance."

The favorable outlook for the Great Central Valley was expressed by Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Stanford University, in a 1938 address before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco as follows:

"California is made by water—controlled water. We are starting now to bring the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers under control as we already have the Colorado River with Boulder Dam. Inevitably the regulated water supply of the Central Valley project will increase our population by several millions."

TESTIMONY OF WALKER R. YOUNG—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have read that over, not as thoroughly as I should like, but at least to some extent. And I would like to ask you a few questions based upon that.

Of course, we would like to have any other comments that you may care to make.

Among the six objectives you have noted, which are incidental and which are the real objectives in the order of their importance?

CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT: PURPOSES AND CONSTRUCTION

Mr. YOUNG. The project is designed first for the control of navigation, for flood control, for irrigation, for salinity control in the delta area, for municipal and industrial development; and, incidentally, for the development of electric energy.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much land is affected from the standpoint of irrigation?

Mr. YOUNG. There are approximately 2,000,000 acres lying in a position to be served from the works of the Central Valley project, as at present laid out.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much of that would have been abandoned land if some such project as this had not been developed?

Mr. YOUNG. Altogether there are probably 1,000,000 acres of land that are threatened with retrogression without something being done in the way of rescue or prevention of that progressive retrogression. Of the total there are probably 400,000 acres in the delta area—if you will pardon my pointing—in this area [indicating] that without control are threatened with salinity encroachments by reason of salt water coming up through the bays and getting into these channels from which the lands secure their water supply.

In this area, Tulare and Kern Counties, there are 400,000 acres that are threatened; that is, with a deficient water supply [indicating]. There are 200,000 acres of that land that probably will go out of production unless something is done. Of that 200,000 acres, there are perhaps 50,000 acres that have already been abandoned.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Can that be reclaimed?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How will the water impounded by Shasta Dam be disposed of?

Mr. YOUNG. In connection with Shasta Dam there is a hydroelectric power plant to be constructed, 375,000 kilowatt installed capacity; water issuing from the reservoir can be made to pass through the turbines installed in that powerhouse to generate electricity. That is the incidental part, because we have to release the water in any event, and we may as well put it through the power plant to take advantage of the head and quantity of water that must be released.

The water flows from the Shasta Reservoir down the Sacramento River to the delta. The delta might be called the center or head of the project through the use of which we accomplish the desired purpose. The purpose, you might say, is to transfer water from the area where there is the greatest supply, which is the Sacramento Valley, to the San Joaquin Valley where the supply is deficient. In other words, of all the water available for irrigation of the entire great Central Valley, two-thirds of that water originates in the Sacramento Valley and one-third in the San Joaquin; whereas, of the total irrigable area in the Great Central Valley, one-third lies in the Sacramento Valley and two-thirds in the San Joaquin. Therefore it is necessary to make an exchange of water whereby Sacramento River water is taken southerly into the San Joaquin Valley.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, how do you do that; by piping it?

Mr. YOUNG. We do that by utilizing a so-called west-side canal, which is a canal designed with pumping plants to lift the water out of the delta after having received the water from the San Joaquin River, lifting that water approximately 200 feet.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean out of the Sacramento?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes. The Sacramento runs into the delta and the delta, in fact, becomes a reservoir from which we pump the water that we are going to take down the San Joaquin Valley. Having lifted that water approximately 200 feet, it runs from there by gravity approximately 100 miles to this point known as the Mendota Pool [indicating].

Mr. SPARKMAN. That 100 miles, is that an artificial canal all the way?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes; intended to be; not built, but it is laid out.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Oh, that has not been constructed as yet?

Mr. YOUNG. No, sir; it is located.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Shasta Dam is already built?

Mr. YOUNG. Shasta Dam is under construction at this time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about Friant?

Mr. YOUNG. Friant Dam is under construction at this time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What will you do with the power?

Mr. YOUNG. The power is to be brought down by transmission line to the center of the power load at Antioch. A portion of that power will be used in the pumping plants that are a part of the project itself. The power in excess of that needed for the operation of the project will be available for sale in the market.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will the same be true of Friant Dam?

Mr. YOUNG. There is no power to be generated there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is no power contemplated at Friant Dam?

Mr. YOUNG. The power is to be generated only at Shasta Dam.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that why you need so much water on this side for irrigation purposes?

Mr. YOUNG. No; this dam is not adapted to power development for the reason that the water will be drawn down every year to the point where there would be no power head left. You would be generating power only during the irrigation season, starting with a full reservoir. As the reservoir emptied the power head would become less, with no head remaining at the end of the irrigation season.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will the cost of water be lowered by the system to such an extent that it will be economical?

Mr. YOUNG. In comparison with present water?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. YOUNG. Studies made by the State of California over the preceding 15 years before the project was taken over by the Bureau of Reclamation indicated that the project was economically feasible.

The Secretary of the Interior in 1935, I believe it was, submitted his report on the feasibility of the project. He rendered a favorable report. The President approved the project on the basis that it was an economically feasible project.

Answering your question directly, I think it cannot be determined as yet what the price of water or power will be. In fact, we have not been able, nor were we in a position to enter into agreements or repayment contracts for the reason that it cannot at this time be said what either of those facilities will cost.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is the largest number of men you have worked on the project at any one time so far?

Mr. YOUNG. We have had in excess of 5,000 men.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has that been an attraction, do you think, to migrants? Has it attracted people here from other States?

Mr. YOUNG. I think it has attracted people from other States. It is certain it has. But I doubt very much that from the group of people we ordinarily call "migrants" there are any employed on the project. Project workers are mostly, if not altogether, what you might call "construction people." In other words, they are men who follow these construction jobs around from State to State. They have worked for one boss, one contractor; that contractor gets a job here, and naturally they come here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And they came purposely for that?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When the project is over, they will pass on to one of a similar nature?

Mr. YOUNG. Other work. We do have what we call "camp followers." In a sense they are migrants, but I believe they are not the migrants that you gentlemen have in mind. They are people that follow these construction jobs.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will there be opportunity for new lands to be settled in this area when the projects are completed?

Mr. YOUNG. The Central Valley project is not designed and not intended to be a project to bring new lands into cultivation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. For the purpose of rescuing?

Mr. YOUNG. It is a rescue project, a remedial project to keep the people who are now here on the land; in other words, to prevent abandonment. It follows naturally that in supplying a supplemental water supply for an area as large as we have in mind here, in other words, 2,000,000 acres, there will be isolated tracts here and there, land that will not have been irrigated that possibly will be brought under cultivation. But the percentage, I would say, will be very small.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mentioned a few minutes ago that one of the objects was the development of industry.

What type of industry do you contemplate would be attracted by or could make use handily of that power?

Mr. YOUNG. Any industry that would use power at all could use our power to advantage. There are at present numerous industries here, sugar refineries, paper mills, chemical works, steel works.

Mr. SPARKMAN. May I ask you: Is that an agricultural section down in the delta, or is it industrial?

Mr. Young. The delta itself is agricultural, but in Contra Costa County lying along the southerly shore of Suisun Bay is an area that is typically industrial.

Mr. Sparkman. Have you had any inquiries about the power so far?

Mr. Young. Yes, sir. We have had numerous requests for power. In fact, applications have come in for power.

Mr. Sparkman. Have you run into any opposition toward the generation of power there?

Mr. Young. Why——[pause].

Mr. Sparkman. Any reaction on the part of some of the public or the public utilities, such as we are constantly running into down in the Tennessee Valley, for instance? The greater part of the country revolted against that, and yet it seems that these projects out in this part of the country all go in and generate much more power than we do and they are never objected to.

Mr. Young. Well, I haven't had any personal contact with any particular objection. There are utilities in California, of course, that are wondering just how far we are going. They are in business here and naturally they are interested in what we are going to do. However, we have had offers from one prominent company to buy all the power that we can make. So if we elect to operate in that way, I suppose you might say that that would be an out for our power.

Mr. Sparkman. That is a matter entirely within the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior as to the disposition of the power?

Mr. Young. Yes; I think it is.

Mr. Sparkman. The law doesn't restrict it in any way?

Mr. Young. No, sir; except that in the disposal of power I believe the law provides that where price is equal preference shall be given first to public use of power, such as in irrigation districts. In the event the power could be sold elsewhere at a figure that would be advantageous to the Government, I think the Secretary in his discretion could sell the power to that company, firm, or whatever it might be.

Mr. Sparkman. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. What is the total estimated cost?

Mr. Young. The total estimated cost of the project is $228,010,000.

Mr. Osmers. Is that both dams and the valley work?

Mr. Young. That is for the Shasta Dam, including the power features, the Friant Dam, the Contra Costa Canal, the Delta Cross Channel, the West Side pumping system, the Madera Canal, and the Friant-Kern Canal.

Mr. Osmers. That would affect a territory of 2,000,000 acres, did I understand you to say?

Mr. Young. Yes, sir. The areas shown in green on that map, Mr. Congressman, are the areas which are in a position to be served.

Mr. Osmers. That is about 2,000,000 acres?

Mr. Young. About 2,000,000 acres.

Mr. Osmers. In other words, that would be $112 per acre, dividing it quickly?

Mr. Young. Well, if you divide the total cost by the acreage you might arrive at a per-acre cost. But it is a rather complex project.

Mr. Osmers. I appreciate all of that.

Mr. Young. There are donations, say, by the Government, through the War Department on account of the navigation and flood control features. It is still to be determined how much of the project cost is to be allotted, say, to irrigation, how much to power, how much to salinity control or whatever purposes are served. So it would be very difficult at this time to give you a satisfactory answer to your question.

Mr. Osmers. Well, it is up to the taxpayers. You don't have to worry about that?

Mr. Young. They are going to be very much interested in it, but the thing they are interested in right now, sir, is how much of the project is to be allocated to irrigation.

Mr. Osmers. Yes. Naturally the residents in that particular area certainly would be interested in that.

Mr. Young. And by the same token, the people interested in power are wondering how much of the cost is going to be allocated to power.

Mr. Osmers. Quite naturally. At the present time where does the area get its power?

Mr. Young. The area right now is served by the public utility here, which is the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

Mr. Osmers. How do they generate their power; by hydro plants or steam plants?

Mr. Young. Both; both ways.

Mr. Osmers. I see.

The Chairman. I have read your statement, Mr. Young, and you have filed a very comprehensive statement and it is going to be very valuable to this committee, and we thank you very much for appearing here to testify.

Mr. Young. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

The Chairman. At this time we will call Mr. Duffy, Mr. Torbert, and Mr. Clawson.

PANEL TESTIMONY OF WALTER A. DUFFY, PORTLAND, OREG.; EDWARD N. TORBERT, OF EPHRATA, WASH.; AND MARION CLAWSON, OF SPOKANE, WASH.

Mr. Osmers. Now, I believe, all of you gentlemen have submitted statements, is that correct, covering various phases of this work, and you have been called here for our purposes the "Northwest Panel"?

(Assent.)

STATEMENT BY WALTER A. DUFFY, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, REGION XI

Activities of Farm Security Administration in Region XI

In addition to oral discussion which may be undertaken today, I am handing you this written statement on the subject at hand. I am attaching also some supplementary material as follows:

(1) A copy of the preliminary draft of a research study recently prepared by the Farm Security Administration in collaboration with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, entitled "Migration Into States of the Pacific Northwest, 1930–38." [1]

(2) A statement prepared by Mr. Gilbert Sussman, office of the solicitor, Farm Security Administration, region XI, dealing with certain aspects of the legal status of destitute migrants in the Pacific Northwest States. (See p. 2651.)

(3) Current report No. 6, entitled "Employment Situation of Agricultural Workers Living in Farm Security Administration Migratory Labor Camps," prepared by the Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. (See p. 2640.)

(4) A report entitled "Migratory Labor Camps and Farm Labor Employment," prepared by the Farm Security Administration, the Oregon State Employment Service, and the Federal Farm Placement Service, for the year 1940. (See p. 2657.)

I suggest that these supplementary statements be incorporated into the records of this committee.

Reliable studies indicate that over 450,000 people have migrated to the Northwest States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho since 1930. This movement of population in itself is not alarming. Similar heavy movements of people have taken place in previous decades. But the circumstances surrounding the recent migration have been, and are, ones which cause destitution, disillusionment, and sharply increased competition for jobs and farms.

Along with city public relief agencies, the Farm Security Administration has borne the brunt of a demand to help remedy economic and social problems attending this migration. About 190,000, or 41 percent, of the people who have come to the Northwest since 1930 are people of farm background and experience. They want farms and farm work. In general, the supply of farms and farm work has been far short of the demand. Developed farm land suitable for immediate settlement has long since been occupied, and consequently much of the recent settlement has been on submarginal land and in suburban, part-time farming areas. A study made in 1937 by the Land Utilization Division of the Farm Security Administration showed that about 24 percent of current rural settlement at that time was on abandoned farms. Another 48 percent was on unimproved land. We have reason to believe that this situation still persists. Certainly no adequate and effective measures have been taken to stop it.

Competitive bidding for farm rental and sale opportunities has been strong. Particularly in irrigated sections of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, farm rental prices have been driven up to the maximum capable of payment by better equipped, financed, and skilled operators. The more nearly destitute migrants have been forced to the submarginal land.

In the face of this situation, the Farm Security Administration in the Northwest has launched and operated a relocation program in an attempt to give guidance and financial assistance to migrating farmers who would otherwise be victimized by prevailing conditions. This activity has been carried forward mainly through our standard rehabilitation loan and grant program. The Farm Security Administration county supervisors, acting under coordinated direction, have given maximum possible aid to migrant farm families, helping to find available farms, arranging for subdivision of larger holdings, and extending financial assistance through loans and grants. During the past 4 years the Farm Security Administration has helped about 3,500 immigrating farm families to become reestablished in the Northwest through this kind of a program.

Relocation assistance of this type has been of decisive benefit to the people who have received it. As members of this committee well know, however, the effectiveness of such service to meet the existing need is sharply limited by a lack of developed farm land and by a lack of authorization and funds for purchase and subdivision of land for settlement. In other words, the extent of effective aid to destitute and near destitute migrant families and landless farmers through these readily available farms fall short of meeting the needs of these people. The major problem is still with us, and it may be of increasing seriousness.

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[1] Filed with the committee and not printed.

In October of last year we were gravely concerned lest unemployed and landless migrant families in the Northwest suffer extreme destitution and malnutrition, during the imminent winter season. We, therefore made a careful judgment, through our field offices, of the numbers of destitute or near destitute families in Northwest rural communities who would require grants for food, clothing, shelter, and medical needs during the winter. This survey showed that there were about 36,926 families then living in rural communities who were either totally or partially unable to earn their subsistence; 13,886 of these families were classed as migrants. Grant funds in the amount of $608,000 were distributed to resident and nonresident families in the above categories by the Farm Security Administration in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho last season; $134,000 of these funds went to immigrant people.

I will only briefly mention the migratory camp program in the Northwest, since the activities of this program are quite fully known to this committee. Detailed information is being submitted to you separately. As in other areas, the Farm Security Administration camp program in the Northwest has been made to serve both seasonal farm workers and migrating farm families searching for permanent locations. At the present time we are operating 11 camps, 4 of which are of the standard, permanent type. To August 20 this season 3,233 families, including 11,945 people, have used the service of the camps. A fairly large percentage of these family heads have farm-operating experience, and are seeking permanent locations.

All evidence that is arrayed for guidance of the Farm Security Administration program in the Northwest indicates that—

(1) There are a large number, probably over 25,000, low income, near destitute resident and nonresident families in this area, experienced in farming, who will immediately grasp any opportunity to become reestablished on farms.

(2) The present supply of farms, even with subdivision of large holdings, is inadequate to give needy families an economic basis.

(3) Reclamation through irrigation, clearing, and drainage may be of great importance as a means to reestablish destitute migrating farm people.

It is in relation to a viewpoint based on these premises that I have prepared the substance of this testimony.

From the standpoint of settlement financing in new irrigation projects, three areas are of immediate, active importance in the Northwest at the present time. These are:

Project	Location	Area
Vale-Owyhee	East Central Oregon, near Snake River	90, 000
Black Canyon	Southwest Idaho, near Snake River	56, 000
Roza	Central Washington, near Yakima	72, 000

In addition, the Columbia Basin project of over 1,000,000 acres is in construction.

The Vale-Owyhee project has been almost completely settled by about 1,100 farm families, most of whom have occupied their farms since 1935. Black Canyon and Roza are being actively settled at the present time. This settlement is all being administered under the provisions of the Selective Settlement Act of the Department of the Interior, and subject to the Bureau of Reclamation's Antispeculation Act of 1937.

As soon as the heavy influx of Vale-Owyhee settlers had occurred, mainly in 1935 and 1936, it became apparent that the majority of them were financially unprepared to meet the rigorous conditions necessary to making farms and homes. There was an urgent need of operating credit for farm livestock, machinery, feed, seed, supplies, and also for actual subsistence. There was an equally critical need for funds to construct houses, barns, wells, fences, and for development of land. To a large extent the meager resources of a numerous group of these settlers were entirely used to make down payments on raw land, and to provide living needs for the first few months after settlement. No uniform or effective control of land-tenure conditions existed, except such control as was established by the Antispeculation Act.

Under its standard and cooperative loan authorization, the Farm Security Administration has been in a position to extend operating credit to these settlers. The demand has been very heavy. Six hundred and seventy-five families in this Malheur County area have borrowed funds from the Farm Security Administration. A few of these are in the older irrigated districts. About half of the 1,100 settlers in the new area have taken loans. These loans were mainly of the standard rehabilitation type, extended under the usual repayment and interest provisions—a 5-year maturity period and 5-percent interest.

No agency, public or private, has been able to meet the general need for credit to be used in construction of houses, wells, farm buildings, and land improvements. Occasional operators have qualified for private credit. No public or semipublic agency has been able to extend a real-estate improvement type of credit for one or all of the following reasons:

1. The settlers generally have no recognized equity in ownership of their farms to pledge as security. Irrigation water construction charges are, in effect, first real estate mortgages upon the farms, and such an agency as the Federal land bank, for instance, has declined to make any real-estate loans until the amount of construction charge per acre is fixed. Pledgable security will then be determined by the amount of such assessment per acre, in comparison with unencumbered value.

2. The farm-tenure situation does not assure security of occupancy by the settlers. The tenure pattern, as indicated by a study of over 600 of the farms is about as follows:

	Percent of settlers
Contract purchases without title	30
Owners, mortgaged title	12
Owners, no debts secured by real estate	25
Homesteaders, desert claim	16
Renters	13
Mixed classifications	4
Total	100

The debts secured by land are generally unpaid balances on purchase accounts. The interest rate and repayment provisions contained in the land-purchase contracts and mortgage agreements are in many instances such as to make default almost inevitable, and place the settler under constant threat of eviction. Furthermore, severity of living conditions, low farm incomes during the early years after settlement, and lack of facilities for rapid development of the farms may be expected to contribute to unstable occupancy.

3. Obviously, the situation has been uninviting to investors of private capital, and no Federal agency has been authorized to undertake building-construction financing, including the necessary item of refinancing purchase accounts and real-estate mortgages.

The lack of an adequate settlement financing program, including lack of land-tenure control, has resulted in unsatisfactory housing and living conditions, so prevalent as to be of public importance. In the spring of 1940 the Farm Security Administration made a survey of farm building and living facilities, as a step toward development of a better settlement financing program for this and similar areas. Information obtained from 620 farms in the new settlement area showed the following facts:

Housing.—Of the 620 farms, 110 had dwellings with but 1 room, and 166 had dwellings with but 2 rooms; 20.3 percent of the houses were constructed at a cash cost of less than $100; 50 percent at a cost of less than $200; and 74.6 percent at a cost of less than $350. Little improvement of the houses has occured since settlement. There is a dearth of even the simplest facilities for comfort and home economy; a general lack of bedroom space, sinks and drains, work porches, linoleum in the kitchen, sanitary toilets, bath facilities, storage space, and cupboards. Numerous instances were found where bad housing conditions such as earth floors in dwellings contributed directly to illness in the families.

Water supply.—Conditions of domestic water supply are inimical to the health and welfare of the families; 39.2 percent of the families had no wells and hauled their drinking water, often from distances of 5 miles or more; 33.8 percent additional depended upon shallow wells for domestic water. These shallow-dug wells were in many cases crude and unsatisfactory. On farms with no wells, the stock water supply, also, must be hauled during the winter season. This causes considerable inefficiency, and does not favor good livestock management practices.

Stock shelters.—Over one-fourth of the farms—25.6 percent—have no barns whatever; 43.1 percent have lean-to, improvised, and temporary barns; 103 of these are constructed of materials listed as sagebrush, thistles, willows, sod, tin cans, etc. Of all barns reported, only 64 cost more than $100; only 24 cost more than $200; and only 5 cost more than $500. These facts are of considerable significance in an area where dairying is recommended, and essential, as a primary enterprise in the farm economy.

In conjunction with these conditions, which directly influence the welfare of settler families, there has naturally been a general shortage of cash income available for family living, during the period of land clearing and farm development. One result of this situation has been the inability of numerous settlers to obtain even minimum medical and dental service. Such service as has been received has been contributed practically free of charge by the doctors. A summary of doctors' and hospitals' accounts was made for 216 Farm Security Administration borrowers. This group owed $9,799.38 for medical services. The length of time the bills had run was obtainable for 126 accounts. Seventy-two and two-tenths percent of these had made no payment whatever. The median time the accounts had run was 1¼ years. The enumerators report that such illnesses as influenza, measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, chicken pox, rheumatism, and chronic disorders commonly receive no medical attention. There has been some typhoid fever, and instances have come to the attention of enumerators where even this disease received no medical attention. Some of the doctors make no home calls in the new project area unless cash is paid in advance.

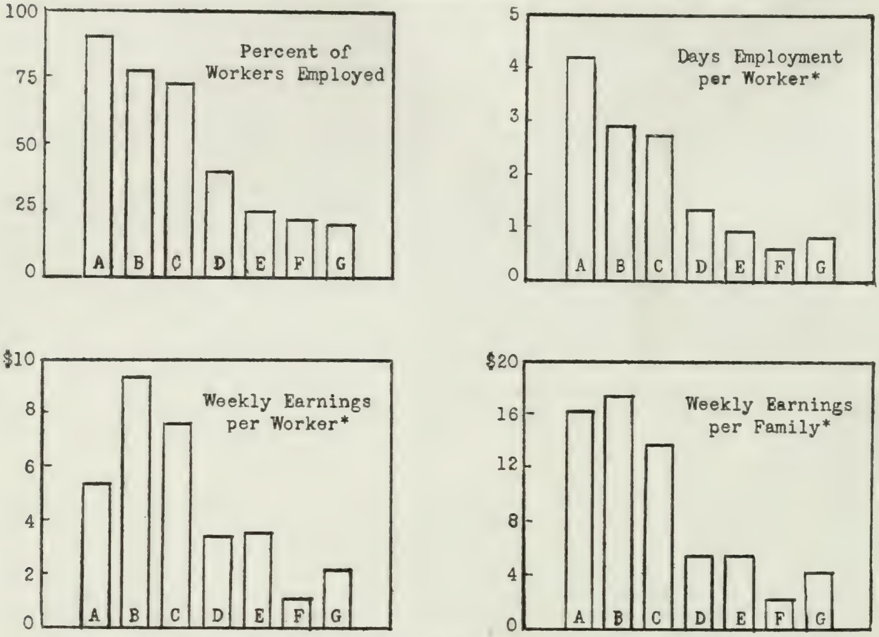
Such conditions as those set out above can be traced directly to the fact that existing settlement financing and land-control policies are inadequate to serve the needs of farm people who in our present day endeavor to develop farms on new land in irrigation projects. It is natural that such a situation should exist. The existing policy has been serviceable in a period of economic expansion, and for settlers with more resources. It now seems necessary to develop a new viewpoint and policy based on the fact that the primary justification for reclamation and settlement of new land is to provide homes and a living basis for disestablished farm people.

I have confidence that in a large measure the reshaping of policy that is needed will be developed through the foresighted activities of the Columbia Basin Joint Investigation's program, and the Northern Great Plains program. These programs establish precedents for integrating and coordinating the policies and actions of various public and private agencies, as the interests of these agencies bear upon important social and economic problems. I know of no other approach that can be relied upon to deal effectively with such a many-sided problem as the one at hand, namely providing a new economic basis for destitute and near-destitute immigrating citizens.

In closing I want to enter in this record an emphatic, unqualified expression of confidence in the migrant families who are taking the impact of this problem. Our experience in the Northwest has uniformly supported the idea that these people are intelligent, vigorous Americans, who will put to constructive use any fair opportunity to make farms and homes. These people have hope, and they continue to strive for a better living when they really have a right to despair, or revolt against the conditions that surround them. Our Farm Security Administration supervisors who have daily contact with these families uniformly testify to their industry and ability as comparing favorably with that of any group of working citizens. A clear-sighted knowledge of the problem at hand will recognize the sound quality of these people whose welfare is at stake. They are fully able to put to good use any improved opportunities which may directly or indirectly be the result of work of this committee.

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS LIVING IN F. S. A. MIGRATORY LABOR CAMPS

(Current Report No. 6, Arizona-California camps, June 15 to July 13, 1940)



*These averages include all workers and all families.

Camps designated by:
- A. Western Oregon.
- B. Eastern Oregon & Southern Idaho.
- C. Yakima, Washington.
- D. Imperial & Coachella Valleys.
- E. Northern California
- F. Arizona.
- G. San Joaquin Valley.

Berkeley, California.

August 21, 1940.

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS LIVING IN FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION MIGRATORY LABOR CAMPS, ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, OREGON, WASHINGTON, IDAHO, JUNE 15 TO JULY 13, 1940

The data for these reports are supplied from a 10 percent sample of all the families in the camps. An entirely new and different sample is selected every week. All members of each household who are working or seeking work are reported upon with regard to their employment activities during the week in which the particular family is included in the sample

NORTHWEST CAMPS ARE ADDED TO THE REPORT

This current summary, for the first time, includes the employment situation of the camps in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho—the camps of Region XI of the Farm Security Administration. This expansion of the report is fortunate in that it permits a complete Pacific Coast coverage and, at the same time, facilitates interregional comparisons.

It is anticipated that the next current report will be able to offer a more complete analysis of public-assistance employment received by workers living in Farm Security Administration camps.

TABLE 1.—*Summary of weekly employment,*[1] *agricultural workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps in California and Arizona, June 15 to July 13, 1940*

	Week ending—				4-week average
	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	
1. Percentage of workers receiving employment	29.7	27.4	19.2	22.0	24.5
2. Percentage of families with at least 1 worker employed	44.5	45.7	32.0	38.0	40.0
3. Average workers per family:					
(*a*) Employed on other than public assistance	.60	.52	.38	.43	.48
(*b*) Unemployed	1.26	1.31	1.38	1.31	1.31
(*c*) Total workers	2.01	1.90	1.99	1.97	1.97
4. Average days employment:					
(*a*) Employed workers	3.26	3.75	3.81	3.67	3.59
(*b*) All workers	.96	1.03	.71	.81	.87
5. Employed index [2]	16.0	17.1	11.9	13.4	14.6
6. Average distance (in miles) from camp to job	8.4	8.0	7.2	9.5	8.3
Camps included in above figures	14	14	15	15	----------
Families included in above figures	191	186	194	192	763

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[1] Public-assistance projects excluded.

[2] Man-days employment received on other than public-assistance projects divided by man-days available for employment (allowing for a 6-day week). If all workers were fully employed the index number would be 100.

TABLE 1A.—*Summary of weekly employment,*[1] *agricultural workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, June 15 to July 13, 1940*

	Week ending—				4-week average
	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	
1. Percentage of workers receiving employment	89.4	77.0	76.4	83.1	81.5
2. Percentage of ,families with at least one worker employed	88.9	81.9	84.5	90.9	86.4
3. Average workers per family:					
(a) Employed	1.82	1.57	1.59	1.87	1.70
(b) Unemployed	.17	.41	.45	.32	.35
(c) Total workers [2]	2.06	2.03	2.08	2.24	2.09
4. Average days employmnet:					
(a) Employed workers	4.4	4.3	3.9	4.1	4.2
(b) All workers	3.9	3.3	3.0	3.4	3.4
5. Employment index [3]	65.4	48.0	49.3	56.9	54.9
6. Average distance (in miles) from camp to job	5.6	6.3	5.5	5.5	5.8
Camps included in above figures	8	9	8	6	----------
Families included in above figures	117	121	110	101	449

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[1] Public assistance projects excluded.

[2] Includes a small number who were employed on public assistance work.

[3] Man-days employment received on other than public assistance projects — man-days available for employment (allowing for a 6-day week). If all workers were fully employed the index number would be 100.

TABLE 2.—*Summary of weekly earnings,[1] agricultural workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps in California and Arizona, June 15 to July 13, 1940*

	Week ending—				4-week average
	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	
1. Average earnings:					
(a) Per worker employed	$8.13	$9.28	$9.28	$9.23	$8.91
(b) Per worker: all workers	$2.41	$2.54	$1.78	$2.03	$2.18
2. Average family earnings:					
(a) Per family with at least 1 worker employed	$10.90	$10.59	$11.08	$10.49	$10.75
(b) Per family: all families	$4.85	$4.84	$3.54	$3.99	$4.30
Camps included in above figures	14	14	15	15	----------
Families included in above figures	191	186	194	192	763

[1] Public assistance projects excluded.

TABLE 2A.—*Summary of weekly earnings,[1] agricultural workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, June 15 to July 13, 1940*

	Week ending—				4-week average
	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	
1. Average earnings:					
(a) Per worker employed	$11.49	$8.99	$9.48	$8.07	$9.56
(b) Per worker: all workers	$10.29	$6.91	$7.25	$6.69	$7.80
2. Average family earnings:					
(a) Per family with at least one worker employed	$23.49	$17.21	$17.88	$16.47	$18.87
(b) Per family: all families	$20.82	$14.10	$15.07	$14.98	$16.29
Camps included in above figures	8	9	8	6	----------
Families included in above figures	117	121	110	101	449

[1] Public assistance projects excluded.

TABLE 3.—*Weekly employment, by regions,[1] agricultural workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps in California and Arizona, June 15 to July 13, 1940*

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA CAMPS

	Week ending—				4-week average
	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	
1. Percent of workers employed	39	25	17	19	25
2. Percent of families with at least 1 worker employed	50	33	31	33	37
3. Average earnings per family with at least 1 worker employed	$14.37	$16.54	$12.22	$15.63	$14.71
4. Average earnings, all families	$7.19	$5.51	$3.79	$5.21	$5.46
5. Employment index	21.2	16.4	10.4	13.4	15.6
6. Average miles from camp to job	6.4	6.2	8.6	6.5	6.7
7. Number of camps included in above calculations	5	5	5	5	----------
8. Number of families included in above calculations	64	60	58	63	245

[1] Public assistance projects excluded.

TABLE 3.—*Weekly employment, by regions, agricultural workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps in California and Arizona, June 15 to July 13, 1940*—Continued

SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY CAMPS

	Week ending—				4-week average
	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	
1. Percent of workers employed	18	27	16	19	20
2. Percent of families with at least 1 worker employed	34	48	28	35	37
3. Average earnings, per family with at least 1 worker employed	$11.01	$10.78	$12.17	$11.07	$11.18
4. Average earnings, all families	$3.78	$5.23	$3.45	$3.93	$4.10
5. Employment index	11.4	18.6	11.5	13.7	13.7
6. Average miles from camp to job	16.5	9.6	6.7	18.0	12.6
7. Number of camps included in above calculations	4	4	4	4	----------
8. Number of families included in above calculations	67	66	67	62	262

IMPERIAL AND COACHELLA VALLEY CAMPS (INCLUDING SAN JACINTO)

	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	4-week average
1. Percent of workers employed	49	29	35	46	40
2. Percent of families with at least 1 worker employed	61	60	43	69	58
3. Average earnings: per family with at least 1 worker employed	$10.51	$9.08	$11.60	$7.90	$9.52
4. Average earnings: all families	$6.42	$5.45	$5.03	$5.45	$5.50
5. Employment index	26.1	17.5	22.0	23.8	22.4
6. Average miles from camp to job	6.9	9.2	5.9	6.0	6.6
7. Number of camps included in above calculations	2	2	3	3	----------
8. Number of families included in above calculations	18	20	30	29	97

ARIZONA CAMPS

	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	4-week average
1. Percent of workers employed	24	31	16	14	21
2. Percent of families with at least 1 worker employed	45	53	31	26	39
3. Average earnings: per family with at least 1 worker employed	$5.14	$5.48	$7.09	$3.63	$5.39
4. Average earnings: all families	$2.33	$2.88	$2.18	$0.96	$2.10
5. Employment index	10.2	15.6	7.0	5.3	9.5
6. Average miles from camp to job	6.3	7.7	7.9	5.7	7.0
7. Number of camps included in above calculations	3	3	3	3	----------
8. Number of families included in above calculations	42	40	39	38	159

TABLE 3A.—*Weekly employment, by regions,*[1] *agricultural workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, June 15 to July 13, 1940*

WESTERN OREGON CAMPS[2]

	Week ending—				4-week average
	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	
1. Percent of workers employed	96.7	83.0	79.4	100.0	89.5
2. Percent of families with at least 1 worker employed	100.0	94.9	97.4	100.0	97.9
3. Average earnings per family with at least 1 worker employed	$17.55	$16.15	$14.37	$18.16	$16.44
4. Average earnings all families	$17.55	$15.38	$13.95	$18.16	$16.12
5. Employment index	73.7	66.4	57.2	80.3	69.2
6. Average miles from camp to job	3.5	4.6	3.6	3.1	3.7
7. Number of camps included in above calculations	3	3	3	2	----------
8. Number of families included in above calculations	34	39	39	32	144

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[1] Public-assistance projects excluded.

[2] Dayton, West Stayton, Gresham, Banks. Banks moved to West Stayton on June 29.

TABLE 3A.—*Weekly employment, by regions, agricultural workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, June 15 to July 13, 1940*—Continued

EASTERN OREGON AND SOUTH IDAHO CAMPS [3]

	Week ending—				4-week average
	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	
1. Percent of workers employed	84.9	62.6	75.9	77.6	76.5
2. Percent of families with at least 1 worker employed	84.3	69.0	77.8	94.4	80.8
3. Average earnings per family with at least 1 worker employed	$26.37	$16.08	$23.61	$16.11	$21.49
4. Average earnings all families	$22.16	$11.09	$18.30	$15.20	$17.33
5. Employment index	60.2	22.2	44.7	38.0	44.3
6. Average miles from camp to job	7.2	7.0	6.2	5.8	6.7
7. Number of camps included in above calculations	5	5	4	3	----------
8. Number of families included in above calculations	83	58	45	39	225

YAKIMA, WASH.

	June 22	June 29	July 6	July 13	4-week average
1. Percent of workers employed		90.0	70.4	58.0	72.9
2. Percent of families with at least 1 worker employed		91.7	76.9	76.7	81.3
3. Average earnings: Per family with at least 1 worker employed		$21.03	$14.53	$14.70	$16.80
4. Average earnings: All families		$19.29	$11.18	$11.31	$13.66
5. Employment index		55.3	39.8	39.0	44.9
6. Average miles from camp to job		8.7	9.3	13.0	10.1
7. Number of camps included in above calculations		1	1	1	----------
8. Number of families included in above calculations		24	26	30	80

[3] Athena, Nyssa, Blackfoot, Twin Falls, Caldwell.

TABLE 4.—*Summary of employment and earnings, by regions,*[1] *agricultural workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps, 4-week averages, June 15 to July 13, 1940*

	California and Arizona	Oregon, Washington, and Idaho
1. Percentage of workers receiving employment	24.5	81.5
2. Percentage of families with at least 1 worker employed	40.0	86.4
3. Average days employment:		
(a) Employed workers	3.6	4.2
(b) All workers	.9	3.4
4. Employment index [2]	14.6	54.9
5. Average distance (in miles) from camp to job	8.3	5.8
6. Average earnings:		
(a) Per worker employed	$8.91	$9.56
(b) Per worker: all workers	$2.18	$7.80
7. Average family earnings:		
(a) Per family with at least one worker employed	$10.75	$18.87
(b) Per family: all families	$4.30	$16.29
(Families included in above figures)	763	449

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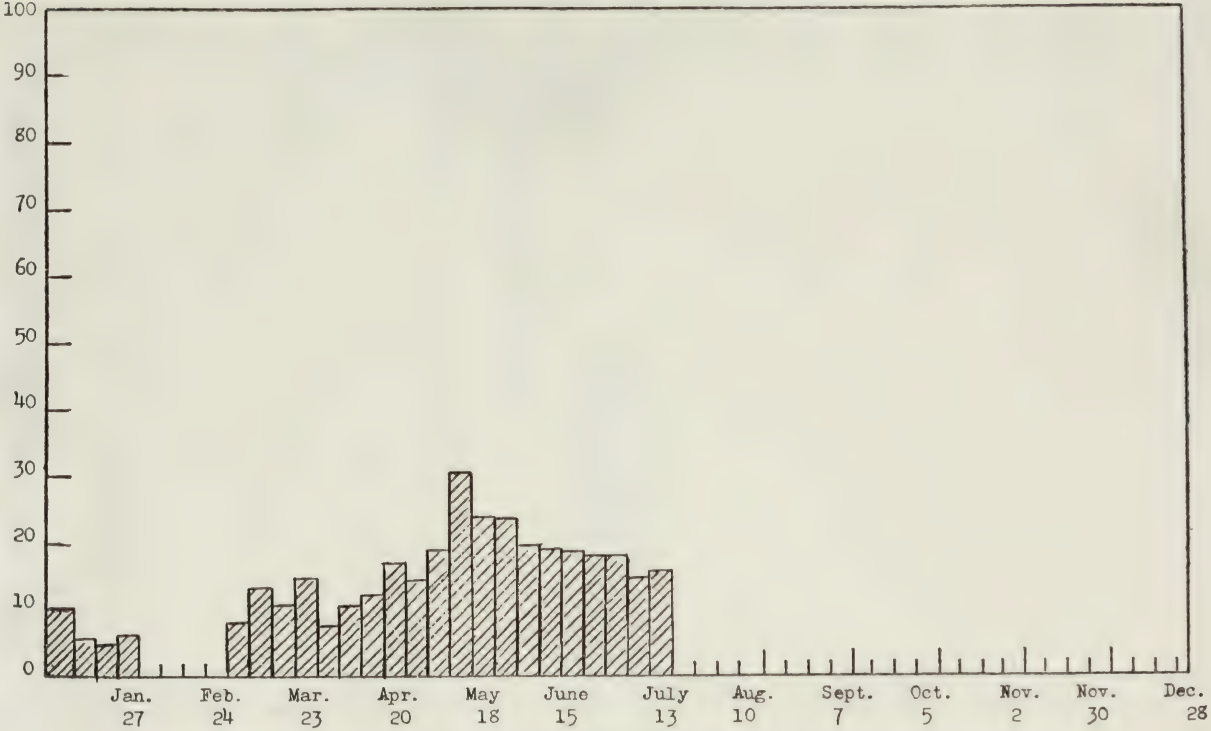
[1] Public assistance projects excluded.

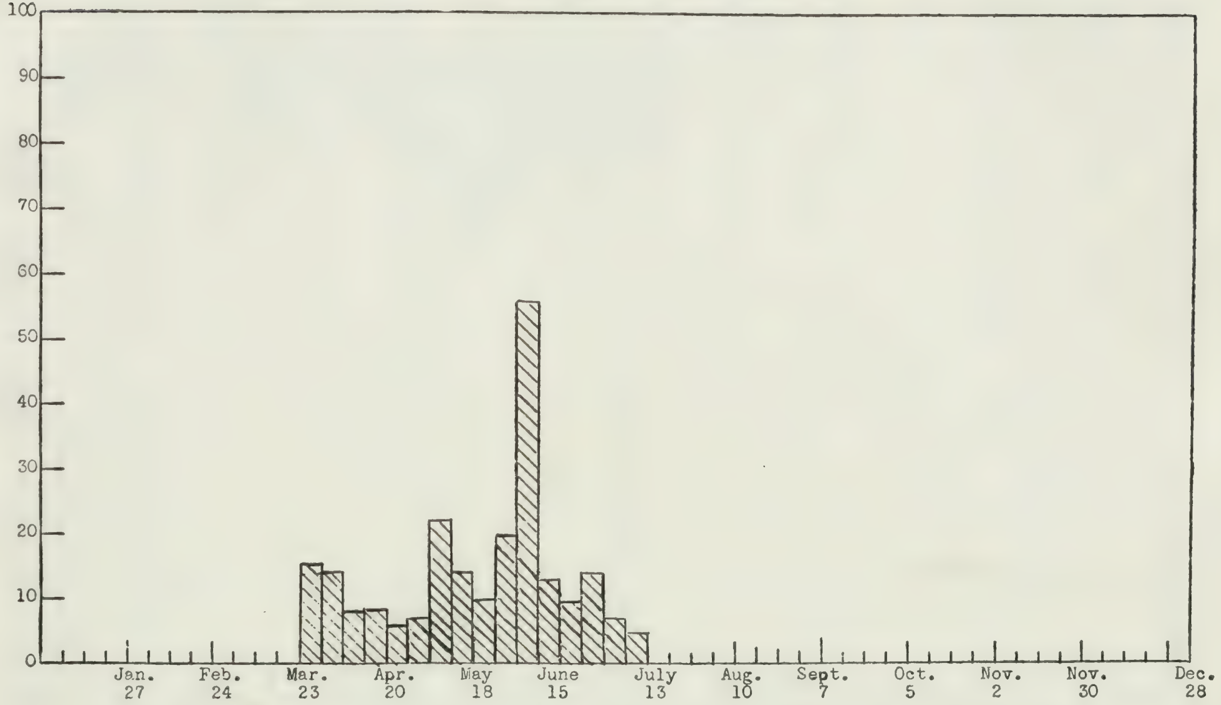
[2] Man-days employment received on other than public assistance projects÷man-days available for employment (allowing for a 6-day week). If all workers were fully employed the index number would be 100.

Weekly employment index* for California—Farm workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps



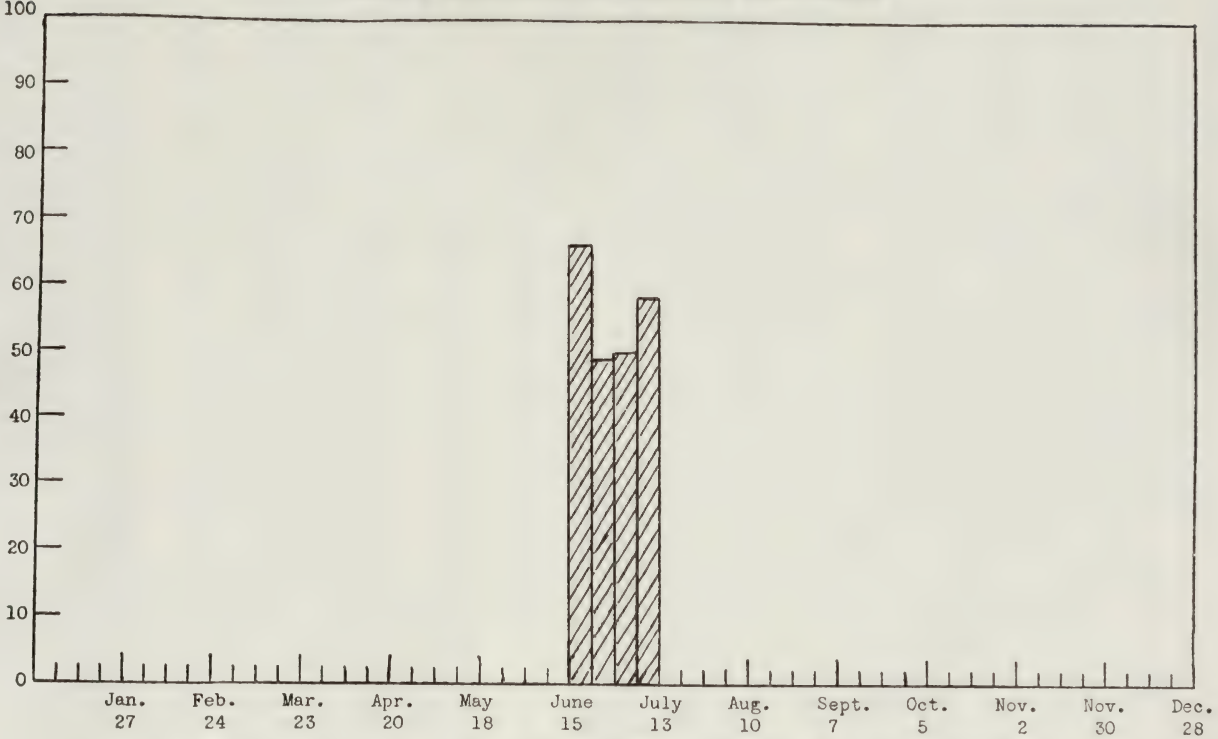
*The employment index is determined as follows: Aggregate man-days employment on other than public assistance projects for the week is divided by the aggregate man-days available for employment (employed plus unemployed), allowing for a six-day week.

Weekly employment index* for Arizona—Farm workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps



*The employment index is determined as follows: Aggregate man-days employment on other than public assistance projects for the week is divided by the aggregate man-days available for employment (employed plus unemployed), allowing for a six-day week.

Weekly employment index* for the Northwest—Farm workers living in Farm Security Administration migratory labor camps



* The employment index is determined as follows: Aggregate man-days employment on other than public assistance projects for the week is divided by the aggregate man-days available for employment (employed plus unemployed), allowing for a six-day week.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER A. DUFFY—Resumed

INSUFFICIENT PRODUCTIVE LAND IN NORTHWEST TO ABSORB MIGRANT POPULATION

Mr. OSMERS. Now, Mr. Duffy, in your opinion, is there enough land in the northwestern States which, if cleared and developed, would absorb the agricultural families that have migrated there?

Mr. DUFFY. I believe you would have to consider the type of land upon which you would place them. If you were thinking in terms of land that is proper, or, as satisfactory for settlement and have in mind the continuation of present farming methods or the type of agriculture which ordinarily is followed, I would say "No."

By a process of intensifying production, by improved methods, improved technique in agriculture, you undoubtedly could find space for many more families by the first process.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, in that area, interrupting for a minute, you have a great deal of cut-over and stump land as a result of logging operations in the past; have you not?

Mr. DUFFY. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, is that land available and suitable for settlement at all?

Mr. DUFFY. It should be pointed out that the vast majority, or the very large percentage of that land is not suitable for agriculture.

Mr. OSMERS. It is not suitable for agriculture?

Mr. DUFFY. Some of this is submarginal land.

Mr. OSMERS. It is submarginal as to fertility or as to location, as to topography, or in what respect?

Mr. DUFFY. All three factors.

VALE OWYHEE PROJECT FOR RESETTLEMENT

Mr. OSMERS. All three factors. I see. Now, there is a project up there that you mentioned called the Vale Owyhee?

Mr. DUFFY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, how much capital is required to develop and improve and equip a farm unit on this project?

Mr. DUFFY. If you are thinking in terms of the complete setting up of the project, the unit, it would probably take from ten to twelve thousand dollars including the cost of land, buildings, and operating equipment.

Mr. OSMERS. Per family?

Mr. DUFFY. Per family.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. DUFFY. Now, if you modify that question, I think, in terms of what it might take to start a family who in turn might continue their development and create a certain amount of their capital, probably from four to six thousand dollars would start them off.

Mr. OSMERS. And to make that distinction clear in my own mind, you mean that if you wanted to set a man up, completely, it would cost ten or twelve thousand dollars. If you just wanted to give him enough capital to start so that he could create some of his own wealth, you could do it for as low as from four to six thousand dollars?

Mr. **Duffy**. I think that's right.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is rather important to the committee. If we should recommend to the Federal Government that they engage in such an operation, we would want to know that figure.

Now, in your project there, the Vale Owyhee project, how are you going about the financing of that? How much is the Government financing?

Mr. **Duffy**. Well, our experience in the Farm Security Administration has been that we were brought into that development work largely by the tremendous demand and the need of the people for some agency to come in there and work with them.

Now, if you remember, the Farm Security Administration in the rural rehabilitation program is confined to making loans for operating equipment and for minor repairs on buildings and that sort of thing. Then you remember what you need in a settlement project of any kind is the money for the development of the land itself, the putting on of the necessary buildings, including a home, a well, and all that. You will see that the system under which we are loaning, or any system that is now in effect, is really not adapted to the needs of the people in such a project. Have I made myself clear?

Mr. **Osmers**. Yes. I think that covers it pretty well.

I wanted to inquire whether private credit agencies were assisting at all in the financing of these settlers?

Mr. **Duffy**. That slamming door stopped that question. What credit agencies?

Mr. **Osmers**. Are any private credit agencies participating in the financing of the settlers?

Mr. **Duffy**. I believe not. There may be an isolated case of a bank or some other institution helping a settler, but I believe on the whole it would be very limited, and I know of none.

Mr. **Osmers**. I see. Now, this project is in the Columbia Basin is it?

Mr. **Duffy**. No. Unless you think of the great broad Columbia system, it is in the Snake area.

Mr. **Osmers**. I see.

Mr. **Duffy**. Tributaries to that Snake River form the source of water supply for the Vale-Owyhee project.

Mr. **Osmers**. I see. Now, do they have an antispeculation law in that State?

Mr. **Duffy**. Yes. That project is operated under a certain restriction that is made up. I think that Mr. Torbert could perhaps give you the detail on that law rather than I.

Mr. **Osmers**. All right. Well, then, we will let it go over for Mr. Torbert.

What are the sizes of the holdings in the project there?

Mr. **Duffey**. Well, they will run from 40 acres up to probably a few instances of as much as 200 acres. But usually the size is 80 acres.

Mr. **Osmers**. About 80 acres, you would say?

Mr. **Duffy**. Yes.

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, would you say that that was about the right size for settlement in that area?

Mr. Duffy. From what information we have it would look as though 80 acres is approximately satisfactory, at least a desirable size family farm for that area.

Mr. Osmers. Now——

Mr. Duffy (interposing). That question perhaps should be circumscribed somewhat, or, the answer, rather, in that there is some variation in the land.

Mr. Osmers. As to fertility?

Mr. Duffy. Yes. Fertility and——

Mr. Osmers. Peak of cultivation and so on?

Mr. Duffy. That's right.

Mr. Osmers. Would you say that existing provisions for the settlement of land under the reclamation project in the Northwest meets the need of settlers?

Mr. Duffy. I do not believe so.

Mr. Osmers. In what respect?

Mr. Duffy. Well, I think——

Mr. Osmers. Would you say that they did not meet the needs?

Mr. Duffy. I think that we must have in mind that we have perhaps a new type of settler that is coming on to our project at the present time, or coming into the West. This settler is one who probably has been displaced in some other community, probably, in the East, or he may have been off of some other reclamation project in the West. He is usually an older man. He may be 45, or more, in a very large percentage of the cases, at least, and those two factors are important to have in mind. He is likely to be near penniless, and he is pretty well along in years.

Now, we are asking that family to come in and start from scratch, you might say, to develop their capital and to do the things which an American family ought to do for their children. And I believe that it is impossible for that type of family, except in isolated instances, to accomplish the thing that we expect of them.

GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AFFECTING SETTLERS

Mr. Osmers. Would you say that the Government should make some changes in their regulations that make it easier for the settler?

Mr. Duffy. I believe they should and I think that—if I may proceed a little further——

Mr. Osmers. Go right ahead.

Mr. Duffy. Because of my previous rather drastic statement, I think that the Government has apprehended the problem in view of the fact that they have set up the Columbia Basin investigation committee whose function it is—which no doubt could better be explained by my colleagues than myself—to make broad studies and investigations as to the best methods which in turn would point the way to a well-planned settlement scheme for the Columbia Basin project.

Mr. Osmers. Do you think there would be any advantage in the Columbia Basin project to group the farm houses together in a village pattern, rather than to spread them out in individual farms?

I am speaking now of the customary public services of lighting, roads, water supply, sewage, and so forth.

Mr. DUFFY. Well I think undoubtedly there could be considerable economy effected in development by that sort of an arrangement. But I also think that we must bear in mind that we have certain customs or ideas that have been followed through—approximately several centuries that we have been living and developing here in America. We have developed in that time these ideas which are rather contrary to the type of thing that you mentioned, from the standpoint of a farm system or pattern.

Mr. OSMERS. You are thinking now along sociological lines about the benefit of the individual, independent farm home; is that what you are referring to?

Mr. DUFFY. That's right.

Mr. OSMERS. And rather than the collectivised farms, if I may use that expression.

Mr. DUFFY. Yes.

ADVANTAGE OF LARGE-SCALE FARMING

Mr. OSMERS. Now, there seem to be quite a few of our witnesses, at least, who have said that there is considerable advantage in farming larger tracts of land.

Now, do you think it possible to harmonize our traditional American independent farm with large-scale farming operations?

Mr. DUFFY. I think it is possible to do that, and I believe that we ought to be searching for the best ways and means of carrying that into effect. But I do not believe that we can sort of superimpose a plan immediately that would be generally acceptable.

Therefore, my thought would be that we ought to perhaps try out the central system, as you have mentioned, of settlement. We perhaps should try out means of ownership, by a group, of machinery and equipment, especially higher-cost, larger-scale type equipment, and see what can be accomplished in operation in a cooperative way.

Mr. OSMERS. A previous witness gave testimony which indicated that a project in Arizona was quite successfully operated along those lines, that is, that you have just outlined there, where they would all jointly own the land and the machinery and work everything on a community basis, rather than a series of individual operations. I don't know whether you were in the room when he testified or not.

Mr. DUFFY. Yes; I was.

(The statement of Gilbert Sussman, regional attorney, office of the solicitor, United States Department of Agriculture, Portland, Oreg., and referred to on p. 2636, is as follows.)

STATEMENT OF GILBERT SUSSMAN, REGIONAL ATTORNEY, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, 309 TERMINAL SALES BUILDING, PORTLAND, OREG.

LEGAL STATUS OF DESTITUTE MIGRANTS

A consideration of the legal status of destitute migrants reduces itself to a consideration of the ability of destitute migrants to receive public assistance from the State and county agencies in the States and counties in which they or their families may be at a particular time. There are various statutory and administrative limitations relating to or affecting the extent and the manner of making public assistance and public aid available to indigents. These include limitations upon appropriations and the power to levy taxes for relief, requirements with respect to the nature, manner, and form of application, and miscellaneous other matters such as proof of need, ownership, or surrender of property, etc., which affect or are prerequisites to eligibility to receive public assistance or relief. However, the statutory and administrative limitations and requirements are equally applicable both to destitute migrants and other needy persons, except that migrants, because of their mode of existence and the constant moving about which characterizes them as migrants, constantly are confronted with the consequences resulting from the inability to satisfy certain requirements, chiefly that relating to residence. It is almost exclusively this particular requirement which makes the situation of destitute migrants different from that of other needy persons and which, except where State and county public assistance and public welfare agencies do not rigidly adhere to such requirements, prevents their obtaining assistance. Therefore, this statement will confine itself to an enumeration of the residence requirements for public assistance in the three Northwestern States. (Because of the fact that aid to crippled children and to the blind are of relative unimportance, no reference thereto is made.)

OREGON

Public assistance.—Satisfactory residence is a condition to obtaining public assistance. Section 9 of the act (ch. 241, Oregon Laws 1939, which repeals all previous acts) providing for public assistance, which is defined so as to include all types of assistance, specifically provides that no person shall be eligible for general assistance under the provisions of the public assistance act "unless he has lived within the county for a period of 1 year, and within the State for a period of 3 years, preceding the date of application for general assistance," although casual absence from the county or State is not to be deemed as not living in the county. It is further provided that "Any person absent from the State of Oregon for 1 year shall lose settlement in the State, and any person absent from the county for 1 year shall lose settlement in the county for the purposes of this act." A limited amount of latitude is allowed and county public welfare departments may "in their discretion and in accordance with rules and regulations of the State public welfare commission, provide general assistance in unusual or emergency cases for persons who have lived within the county for a period of less than 1 year, or within the State for a period of less than 3 years."

Inasmuch as public assistance under the public assistance act has virtually replaced all forms of public aid and assistance to the needy poor except for certain forms of relief which provide little assistance or assistance for a limited few, as for example, the county poor farm, it is necessary in order that a needy person be entitled to receive assistance that he be a resident of the State of Oregon for 3 years and of the particular county for 1 year. While it is true, as asserted by the officials of the Oregon State Public Welfare Department, that residence requirements are not insisted upon where actual need is present, nevertheless the statute, as will be observed, authorizes only limited departure from the rigid residence requirements, and budgetary limitations and other factors may at any time prevent the receiving of public assistance by destitute migrants, or may result in the county public welfare departments taking advantage of the provision authorizing the return of applicants for general assistance to their State or county of legal settlement.

Old-age assistance.—Satisfactory residence is likewise a condition to receiving old-age assistance. Section 27-3701 of the Oregon Code, 1935 supplement, as amended by chapter 455, Oregon Laws 1939, provides, in addition to other requirements, that old-age assistance shall be given to a person who "has been a resident of the State of Oregon 5 years or more within the 9 years immediately preceding application for assistance, and for at least 1 year immediately preceding the date of application." Inasmuch as this provision is substantially like similar requirements in other States, it is impossible that a destitute migrant in the State of Oregon who otherwise would be eligible for old-age assistance cannot qualify under the laws of Oregon or of any other State for such assistance.

Dependent children.—Satisfactory residence is also a condition to the granting of assistance to a dependent child. Section 2 of chapter 288, Oregon Laws 1937 (the act providing for aid to dependent children), as amended by section 2 of chapter 454, Oregon Laws 1939, specifically imposes two requirements to the granting of aid to a dependent child. Thus, the section authorizes the granting of assistance to a dependent child "who is living in a home meeting the standards of care and health fixed by the rules and regulations of the State public welfare commission, and who has resided in the State for 1 year immediately preceding the application for such aid or who was born within the State within 1 year immediately preceding the application if its mother has resided in the State for 1 year immediately preceding the birth."

The residence requirement is mandatory. The Oregon State Public Welfare Department has advised that no standards of care and health with respect to the home in which a dependent child resides have been set so that this requirement, which in all probability could not be satisfied in the case of migrants, is not at present a barrier to such assistance.

Poor laws.—Although as indicated, in the State of Oregon public assistance under the public assistance act has virtually eliminated all other forms of public assistance, it is necessary to satisfy various residence requirements in order to appeal to such other agencies as may exist. Chapter 14 of title 27, Oregon Code, provides for the support of the poor. Section 27–1406, Oregon Code, 1935 supplement, provides that when application is made to the county court of any county in the State for relief it shall be necessary for the applicant to present satisfactory evidence that he has been a resident of the county for at least 6 months and of the State of Oregon for at least 1 year continuously preceding the day upon which such application is made. No indication as to what is meant by "continuously" is contained in the provision, but it is easy to see how a strict construction of the provision would operate. Section 27–1414, Oregon Code, 1935 supplement, provides that no county court or other public agency dispensing aid and assistance from funds supplied by county taxation shall furnish aid or assistance "unless the person making application for such aid be at the time of such application a resident of the county to which such application is directed," although the provision does not define who is a resident. The following section, section 17–1415, provides that a person shall be deemed to be a resident of the State of Oregon within the meaning of the various acts pertaining to poor or indigent or incapacitated persons "who shall have lived continuously in the State for a period of 3 years without receiving any public or private relief; and, with the intent to make it his or her home, and who has not acquired residence in another State by living continuously therein for at least 1 year subsequent to his residence in this State; provided, however, that the time spent in any public institution or on parole therefrom, or in a private charitable institution, or while dependent on public or private relief, or support, shall not be counted in determining the matter of residence in this State."

An examination of these statutory provisions makes it abundantly clear that a destitute migrant is virtually disqualified from obtaining relief or assistance as a poor person under the Oregon statutes and may easily be disqualified if conditions, including the lack of funds, dictate a policy of withholding aid whenever possible. There is, of course, the alternative which is frequently available, and in cases in which an applicant is not a lawful resident of the State of Oregon the county court of the county in which such person is found may, at its discretion, transport such person to the State in which such person is a resident.

Self-help and rehabilitation.—Chapter 27 of title 68 of the Oregon Code, 1935 supplement, provides for the establishment of a State commission for self-help and rehabilitation for the unemployed and contemplates the utilization of farm lands owned by the State to enable such unemployed to aid in their rehabilitation. Section 68–2705 provides that any person who is a resident of the State of Oregon may make application to come under the benefits of the act, and further provides that preference shall be given "(a) to residents within the county in which the development is to take place; (b) to residents of the State for a period of 5 years; (c) to those who possess a satisfactory agricultural training or background." The act does not define who is a resident of the State of Oregon or who is a resident within the county and it is possible, therefore, that mere physical residence is sufficient, even though the applicant has not resided within the county or State for any definite period. It seems unlikely, however, that such a contention would be sustained and the provisions with respect to preference undoubtedly militate against migrants.

WASHINGTON

Public assistance.—Satisfactory residence is a condition to obtaining public assistance under the Emergency Relief Administration Act. This act, chapter 1–A of title 67 (secs. 9992–1 to 9992–56, inclusive, Remington's Revised Statutes) does not contain any provision making residence a condition to the obtaining of public relief and aid. However, sections 9992–26, 9992–48, and 9992–49 provide that the director of public welfare shall make and enforce such rules and regulations as will best promote efficiency and effectiveness in the furnishing of emergency relief and that such rules and regulations shall have the force and effect of law. Pursuant to these provisions, rules and regulations have been adopted which make residence within the State for a period of 1 year and within the county for 6 months a prerequisite to the obtaining of public aid and assistance. The regulations further provide that settlement is lost by absence from the State for a period of 1 year although casual absence will not result in a loss of settlement. County welfare boards may, in their discretion, either extend aid to needy persons who are unable to qualify because of lack of sufficient residence or return such persons to the State and county of legal settlement.

Public assistance under the Emergency Relief Administration Act has replaced all forms of public aid and assistance to the needy poor, the statutory provisions relating to paupers, pensioners and public aid having been repealed, except for one provision, to which reference is hereafter made. In consequence, compliance with the resident requirements established by the director of public welfare is necessary in order that a needy person be entitled to obtain relief. As in the case of Oregon, however, it would appear that the county welfare boards do not in all instances, rigidly adhere to the residence requirements of the Emergency Relief Administration where the need is of an emergent character and available funds permit.

Old-age assistance.—Satisfactory residence is likewise a condition to receiving old-age assistance. Section 9998–3 of Remington's Revised Statutes (the old-age assistance act is c. 2–A of title 67) makes residence within the State of Washington for 5 years within the 10 years immediately preceding application for old-age assistance one of the requirements which must be satisfied by an applicant for such assistance. As pointed out with reference to the Oregon provisions, it is possible that a destitute migrant in the State of Washington, who is otherwise eligible for old-age assistance, cannot qualify for old-age assistance under the laws of the State of Washington and yet, because of his lack of residence for the required period in any other State, be unable to qualify elsewhere.

Dependent children.—Statutory residence is also a condition to the granting of assistance to a dependent child. Section 9992–104 of Remington's Revised Statutes (the act providing State assistance for dependent and crippled children is ch. 1–B of title 67) provides that: "To be eligible for aid granted under this act, it shall be established to the satisfaction of the department of social security that the parent has been a resident of the State for 1 year, or that the child of such family has resided in this State for a period of 1 year immediately preceding application for such aid, or was born within the State within 1 year immediately preceding the application if his mother has resided in the State for 1 year immediately preceding his birth."

Poor laws.—The enactment of the Emergency Relief Administration Act and the provision therein made for public assistance has led to the repeal of all other statutory provisions for aid to the poor and needy, except the provision providing for medical aid to a person coming within the definition of a pauper. Section 9986 of Remington's Revised Statutes provides "When any nonresident, or any other person not coming within the definition of a pauper, shall fall sick in any county in this State, not having money or property to pay his board, nursing, or medical aid, it shall be the duty of the commissioners of the proper county, on complaint being made, to give or order to be given such assistance to such poor person as they may deem just and necessary; and if said sick person shall die, then the said commissioners shall give or order to be given to such person a decent burial; and the said commissioners shall make [such] allowance for board, nursing, medical aid, or burial expenses, as they shall deem just and equitable, and order the same to be paid out of the county treasury."

As will be observed, such assistance is to be extended to nonresidents as well as to residents.

IDAHO

Public assistance.—Satisfactory residence is a condition to obtaining public assistance. The public assistance law (ch. 216, Idaho Session Laws, 1937), which provides for the centralization of the administration of all forms of public assistance in the State department of public assistance, contains no provision setting forth necessary qualifications of an applicant for relief other than that the applicant be a resident of the county in which application is made. No period of residence within the county is required by the law. However, it would seem that, as a matter of law, 6 months' residence within the county may be required in view of the provisions of section 30 of chapter 216, which requires the county from which a recipient of assistance moves to another county to contribute to the relief of such recipient for a period of 6 months after his removal. In 1939 a requirement of residence within the State was imposed by chapter 270 of the 1939 Idaho Session Laws, which provides that "no person shall be eligible for, or receive general relief assistance from any department under the public-assistance law unless he has resided in the State of Idaho at least 3 years continuously next preceding the date of application for relief."

In practice, the State and county departments have construed the word "continuously" rather strictly so that casual absence for a period of 2 months or more has been sufficient, in some instances, to disqualify an applicant and make him ineligible to obtain assistance. However, in Idaho the State and county departments have in other instances departed from strict adherence to the residence requirements and have assisted needy and destitute persons where the need has been acute. Again, although no provision therefor has been made in any of the applicable statutes, in some instances in which needy persons are not eligible they have been returned to the State and county of legal settlement.

Old-age assistance.—Satisfactory residence is likewise a condition to receiving old-age assistance. Section 33 of chapter 216, 1937 Idaho Session Laws, requires that an applicant for old-age assistance, in addition to satisfying other requirements, must have resided in the State for at least 5 years within the 9 years immediately preceding the application for assistance, the last year of which must be continuous and immediately precede such application.

Dependent children.—Satisfactory residence is also a condition to the granting of assistance to a dependent child. Section 41, chapter 216, 1937 Idaho Session Laws, specifically provides that "Assistance shall be given under this act to any dependent child who—

1. Has resided in the State for 1 year immediately preceding the application for such assistance; or was born within the State within 1 year immediately preceding the application, and whose mother has resided in the State 1 year immediately preceding the birth of said child.
2. Is living in a suitable family home meeting the standards of care and health fixed by the laws of this State and the rules and regulations of the State department thereunder.
3. Is of an age which qualifies him to receive Federal cooperative assistance under any act of Congress now or hereafter enacted.

For all practical purposes, the requirement with respect to the character of the home in which a dependent child resides, which otherwise might preclude the granting of aid to dependent children of migrants, is nonexistent.

Poor laws.—Although the purpose of enacting the public-assistance law was to centralize in a single agency the administration of all forms of public assistance and relief to persons in need, the county poor-relief law, chapter 29 of title 30 of the Idaho Code Annotated, has not been repealed. Section 30–2904 provides that any sick or indigent person desiring aid from any county of the State may make a written application to certain designated officials for aid. The application must set forth and describe all property owned by him and if the applicant has no available property he must declare his indigency and destitution. Provision is made, by section 30–2905, for investigation, and if the officer to whom application is made is fully satisfied that the applicant is sick, indigent, and in destitute circumstances, then the applicant must be placed in the poorhouse or hospital of the county or if the county is not provided with a poorhouse or hospital the expenditure of any sum not exceeding $40 in the aggregate to provide for the immediate necessities of the applicant may be authorized. The statutory provisions relative to county poor relief contain no requirements of residence other than that the application be directed to officers of the county in which the applicant resides. It would seem, therefore, that no period of residence is required as a condition to obtaining the limited assistance authorized by the statute. In practice, apparently little relief is afforded under the provisions of these statutes.

Public works.—Satisfactory residence is also a condition to obtaining employment under the public-works program, which may be a source of work relief as distinguished from direct relief. The act relating to public-work contracts was amended by chapter 33 of the 1939 Idaho Session Laws so as to virtually limit employment to residents of the State of Idaho. Section 1 of chapter 33, amends section 1, chapter 111, Idaho Session Laws, 1933, as amended, so as to provide in part, "In all State, county, municipal, and school construction, repair, and maintenance work under any of the laws of this State the contractor, or person in charge thereof, must employ 95% bona fide Idaho residents as employees on any such contracts; if fifty or less persons are employed the contractor may employ 10% nonresidents, provided, however, in all cases such employers must give preference to the employment of bona fide Idaho residents in the performance of such work" [exact quotation].

Section 3 of chapter 33 amends section 2 of chapter 111, Idaho Session Laws, 1933, as amended, so as to define a bona fide resident as one "who, at the time of his said employment and immediately prior thereto, has resided in this State for not less than 1 year."

* * * * * * *

In summary, therefore, it appears that in all three of the Northwestern States residence within the State and county of a greater or lesser period is one of the requirements which must be satisfied by an applicant for public assistance or relief in order that he be eligible for and entitled thereto. The same is true with respect to applications for old-age assistance and assistance to dependent children, both of which types of assistance may be of more than passing importance to destitute migrants who nevertheless are primarily concerned with general public assistance. Residence for a stated period is apparently not as rigid a requirement to obtain relief or assistance under the poor laws, where such laws have not been repealed. However, since the assistance afforded by such laws is extremely limited and the fact that possible assistance thereunder may be had is for the most part not generally known, for all practical purposes such assistance may be disregarded.

In practice the extent to which public assistance is made available to destitute migrants is dependent to a considerable degree, upon the manner in which the legal and administrative prohibitions are interpreted and the discretion permitted exercised by the administrative officials charged with the administration of the public assistance laws. Because of requirements in certain instances of continuous residence rigid interpretation of the casual absence provisions may deprive migrants who would appear to be bona fide residents of a particular State and county from receiving assistance. Furthermore, it is entirely possible because of statutory provisions relating to loss of settlement that a particular migrant, despite the extreme acuteness of his need, may not be in a position to establish eligibility to receive aid from any State or county in which he may have resided. On the other hand, the generous exercise of their discretionary authority by local administrative officials can avoid some of the hardships which would otherwise result. However, the extent to which such amelioration is possible is extremely limited because of budgetary limitations, the importance and effect of which are, insofar as migrants are concerned, greatly intensified by the fact that migrants are likely to be concentrated in large numbers in a few areas and frequently in counties which ordinarily receive or have available a relatively small amount of funds for such assistance.

(The text of the statement of John E. Cooter, and George B. Herington, mentioned on p. 2636, is as follows: Charts and maps are held in committee files:)

JOINT REPORT OF JOHN E. COOTER, FARM PLACEMENT SUPERVISOR, SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD, OREGON, AND GEORGE B. HERINGTON, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, LABOR RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE AND ACTING CHIEF, MIGRATORY LABOR CAMPS REGION XI (OREGON, WASHINGTON, AND IDAHO)

Migratory Labor Camps and Farm Labor Employment in Region XI, Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture and Cooperation Oregon State Employment Service and Federal Farm Placement Service, Oregon—Season, 1940

This report is concerned with three interrelated problems. First is the housing of seasonal agricultural labor in bare comfort, with decency, sanitation, and order. Second is the placement of available employment personnel to work in seasonal agricultural employment in a reasonably connected manner in order to offer to the employee the greatest available serial of work or connected series of jobs toward maximum seasonal earnings. The third, simultaneously to serve the employment requirements of the growers at the time and in the place the work is to be done. To carry to solution all three of these problems with certainty has involved joint effort as here reported in the functioning of two separate agencies, both working in close cooperation in previous planning and in common purpose during operations of the agricultural season of 1940.

The Farm Security Administration, among its functions, is charged with a responsibility toward rehabilitation of low-income farmers who have no established credit, and in aiding disestablished farm families and other persons seeking or engaged in agricultural labor. Both responsibilities as exercised tend toward decent living and health conditions, subsistence, and competent annual earnings.

The employment services of the various States operating as State agencies aided by the Federal Government in cooperation with farm placement supervisors assigned to such States by the Federal Social Security Administration have as one of their important functions the finding and the placement of agricultural workers with the growers when, where, and as needed to handle the hired labor work involved in cultivation somewhat, but particularly in the more intense concentrations of labor demand involved in harvesting the crops by the employing farmers. Several factors enter into the functioning of each agency, and a number of these become common factors in the problems of both agencies. To give a background for appraisal and immediate understanding of these factors, and the status of a need of cooperation between the two agencies in the solution of the problems involved warrants a brief statement as to the various facts which have actuated both agencies toward an action program with a review of certain phases of the related factors applicable to Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

Farm pattern.—Oregon, Washington, and Idaho are States in which the pattern of farming is primarily characterized by family sized farms. Some wheat and cattle ranches, plantations of peas, etc., and some few specialty farms are in larger units but this is not the general pattern. For example, in the Athena canning-pea area of Oregon some 16,000 acres are operated by a few land-leasing operators. The operation is highly mechanized, runs 24 hours per day during 6 weeks of harvest. The locale is about halfway between Pendleton, Oreg., and Walla Walla, Wash., an area with no excess housing. The pea-culture areas are surrounded and interspersed with an enormous dry-farming wheat-growing area, the operations of which nowadays use very small combined harvester crews in the whole harvest process. The wheat harvest opens generally with the slackening of the canning-pea harvest, though this is dependent on the particular weather conditions of the different years. Contrasting is the Nyssa and Ontario area in the lower Snake River Valley on the Oregon side, and a like area on the Idaho side which is composed of both old irrigated areas and newly irrigated extensions of each area. There is much fruit on the Idaho side, much of haying on both sides, some 18,000 acres of sugar-beet culture, a growing early potato, onion, lettuce, and green pea culture. The State line which largely follows the river is merely a formality so far as the agricultural operation and employment function as a whole is concerned, as there is a continuous business back and forth across the river limited only by the bridgeheads at various points. A new sugar-beet factory (1938) at Nyssa drains beets from the whole valley while the contracted beet culture is limited to parcels comprising not over one-quarter of the individual farm areas which largely run from 80 to 160 acres of individual farmers operatable acreage each year.

Employer and employee relation.—This makes for one basic and preeminent chacteristic of the agricultural employment situation, that of a great number of individual employers, many of whom, and members of their families, work in the fields with their employed seasonal workers in a widespread of similar jobs of simultaneous types of work but in nearly all cases with short-time jobs as to any one employer. Likewise, there is a better understanding and a clearer picture of the workers' job of work, and its progress, and its quality on the part of the employer, an available understanding of the producer-employee contact which becomes a view of the pattern of farming, characteristic of the great majority, perhaps as high as 90 percent, of the seasonal agricultural employment areas in the Pacific Northwest States of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.

Employment service function.—The problem of assigning to the growers a supply of workers to meet their needs when and where wanted, especially in the intensively operated areas, is the employment service function and interest on behalf of the employers. Reflecting on the full or lost time of the employee and on his seasonal earning capacity is the manner in which he may be dispatched from one finished job to the next, or to a new job with least lost time through the efficient functioning of the employment service on his behalf. This reflects back in a fuller use of a smaller total number of people to do the total work of an area, and to each employee gives a greater total earnings return through steadier and more nearly constant work opportunity, and again reflects a need of less housing for workers, and a less total needed movement of workers from area to area.

Farm Security Administration function.—The Farm Security Administration, charged among other things with the rehabilitation of low-income farm families and workers, and in cases where a worker may not be qualified to receive local relief through uncompleted citizenship, becomes the agency which may supplement an insufficient annual earning program to assure current subsistence, is thus vitally interested in knowing that the worker may make complete as nearly as possible a full season's use of the working time he has available for doing the kind of work he can do in that season or time in which he can do so and in which season the work exists.

Out of an integration of these responsibilities arises the warrant of a certain community of interest between the Farm Placement Service, the related State employment service, and the Farm Security Administration.

Migration inflence on farm-labor supply.—The movement into the Pacific Northwest of a vast group of disestablished people, largely without means of reestablishment, those coming from distress areas of the States to the east, people of farm origin, of collateral farm services origin, and of miscellaneous original occupation, all from the more populous areas of the Middle West, has created many incidental and often major problems coming within the scope of both agencies, due to a lack of opportunity for rapid adjustment and economic assimilation. The Farm Security Administration has offices in all farming areas of the country. It has had unusual opportunity to observe the cumulative causes behind this migration and the effects at the source. It has used every available means to rehabilitate the farm originating section of this group in place, but the movement has continued as individual families have met a recurringly disastrous series of natural events leading to their economic attrition. The old pioneer spirit of moving on west to seek a new start after encountering adversity has been in evidence through the whole movement. There has been characteristic in this migration a movement of families intact. There is particularly evident among these families a spirit of work, little defeatism, strong hope, and but little willingness to accept relief without exchangeable work. Most of them have their chins up. No new public land of economic agricultural capacity has been available to them. Industrial employment opportunity has been available to them. Industrial employment opportunity has been for some time in an oversaturated condition, and a large proportion of these families have remained in a floating status and in a vast number of cases are dependent on odd jobs and on such seasonal agricultural labor as may become available. This work is paid for by the day or at piecework rates and requires a nomadic movement from crop area to crop area.

Measurement of recent migration into Pacific Northwest.—A realistic measurement of this migration which had conspicuously brought many problems to the Farm Security Administration and other agencies was undertaken by the Labor Relations Division of the Farm Security Administration, region XI, through 1939. This was done in cooperation with school authorities of the three States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and also with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. A similar survey was later extended in the same manner to California and Arizona by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The Farm Security Administration, National Youth Administration, Work Projects Administration, State department of education, and other agencies, aided in these surveys. No small sampling was undertaken. For example, 45,000 families were located and fundamental data was coded, punched, and tabulated in the reegion XI survey[1] of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. In California there was a backlog of entrance data concerning entrance of 221,000 persons in need of manual employment, moving by automobile mainly, from June 15, 1935, to December 31, 1937, 18½ months,[2] which has been followed by a more or less similar entrance rate ever since, which totaled well above 300,000 additional persons. A 5-year increase thus of nearly one-half million people in need of manual employment. At a presumption of 4.5 persons per family, there is an aggregate of nearly 1,000,000 distressed families who have recently migrated into California alone, a large percentage being of farm origin.

Source of migration.—About 90 percent of the California entrants appear to have originated in States south of the thirty-seventh parallel.[3] In Oregon, Washington, and Idaho[4] the surveys show about 90 percent of the families entering Oregon, Washington, and Idaho to have originated north of the thirty-seventh parallel. The thirty-seventh parallel, incidentally, is the border between Utah and Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico, Kansas and Oklahoma, and runs just north of the border between Missouri and Arkansas, runs on east nearly on the original Mason and Dixon line.

Outstanding facts of migration, region XI.—30,000 of the 45,000 families enumerated in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho had not moved from one of the three States to another since arrival. Families consist of an average of 4.6 persons. Nineteen and six-tenths percent of the families have one child, 27.3 percent have two, 21.3 percent have three, and 31.8 percent of the families have four or more children living at home. Families are distinguished as being in the main of parent ages, 21 to 40. Considerable data leads to an opinion that education of those parents runs at about 81 percent eighth grade and over.[5] Statistics of Farm Security Administration migratory-camp registrations, family make-up, education former and present, occupations, route, etc., will shortly be compiled for the 1940 work season and will give a very much closer analysis of a wider scope of survey base than has heretofore been possible and will provide a closely modern picture.

Occupations, locations.—In the group as a whole nearly all normal former occupations are recognized, professional, skilled, and semiskilled, former farm hands, farm owners, tenants, unskilled, with wide variation in amount of time spent in such occupations. Of the whole group of 45,211 families accounted for in the three States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho—42,049 are divided in 1939 residence as follows: 18,304 Washington, 17,178 Oregon, 6,567 in Idaho. Of these, 10,607 have moved from one into another of the three States. The greatest inbound movement into the three States was in 1936–37, amounting to about 7,000 families each in 1936–37. Seventeen and eight-tenths percent moved into cities of 100,000 population or over, as Portland, 9.1 percent; Seattle, 3.3 percent; Tacoma, 2.2 percent; Spokane, 3.2 percent. Fourteen percent moved into cities of 10,000 to 100,000 population. Seventeen and four-tenths percent moved into towns of 2,500 to 10,000 population, and 50.8 percent moved into rural areas. Seventy and two-tenths percent of the former farmers and farm laborers, 58.7 percent of the former unskilled workers have settled in rural areas. In 1939 changes in occupation undertaken in the new environment reflect 82.6 percent of the now migrating families so located in the rural areas now to be farmers or farm laborers and 61.6 percent of the families now so listed as unskilled workers who have settled themselves in rural areas show a noticeable change in occupation.[6]

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[1] Pending publication, Migration into Pacific Northwest, Farm Security Administration, Loan and Relief Division, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, O'Day & Troxell.

[2] Dr. Paul S. Taylor, University of California, before special committee of U. S. Senate to investigate unemployment and relief, 75th Cong., 3d sess., hearings February 28 to April 8, 1938. Farm Security Administration and California Department of Agriculture data.

[3] Study of 6,605 migrant families, Farm Security Administration-Works Progress Administration, 1938.

[4] Pending publication. Migration Into Pacific Northwest, Farm Security Administration, Loan and Relief Division, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, O'Day & Troxell.

[5] Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry on the Pacific Coast, Carl F. Rouss, Paul H. Landis, and Richard Wakefield, Bulletin No. 363, August 1938.

Factor in labor supply.—Above is a brief picture of certain elements of a migration of disestablished and in most cases destitute or nearly destitute families who are now materially a factor in the labor supply for the seasonal agricultural work of the three States and who, in many cases, have so far found little or no other outlet for their energy. These people have become infused into the stream of migratory seasonal workers who formerly followed this type of work. This stream was and is yet fed by a movement of from 3,000 to 4,000 seasonal crop workers who annually move from California into the Oregon-Washington series of crop harvests. Many of the latter group have some special knack, such as green picking, orchard work, etc. Of these, some work in the fields and orchards part of the time, some in the packing plants, part of the family in the one, part in the other type of work, true migratory agricultural laborers of the nomadic type.

Other groups of mobile seasonal laborers.—There is also a source of migratory or rather mobile workers who live around cities and towns doing odd jobs in the winter and moving to the fields in the crop seasons, ekeing out a somewhat precarious living.

For certain flash or fast harvests on a large scale such as hops, an habitual one-crop working group moves out into the hop yards from homes in towns and cities, families in the main, many of whom wish to make a specific stake.

From all of these groups the presently needed supply of agricultural workers in each crop is to be recruited as the crops mature. Each year this placement operation becomes a principal Employment Service undertaking.

From the dearth of winter work in most irrigated and strictly agricultural areas, the small earnings resulting in which Farm Security Administration becomes involved, that of aiding the low-income, insufficient-income, agricultural-labor families. This involves sustenance, health, housing, and rehabilitation. The income of families dependent on such work seldom run above $300 to $450 per year.

Housing of seasonal labor.—A partial solution has been undertaken by Farm Security Administration, through its migratory-camp system. This was based on careful surveys of those crop areas in which intensive application of seasonal agricultural labor was apparent. The averge of each crop, the man-days per acre in each, operation through the season, the available resident labor, the transportation facilities for workers were carefully measured in each crop area through surveys mde by the Labor Division of the Farm Security Administration. A central farm-family labor camp site was selected in each area from which in any given crop area, the most work for the longest time, for the greatest number of people could be reached in the shortest average distance. In some of these standard or fixed camps plants were built. In others, provision was made for mobile camp units.

Farm Security Administration standard camps.—The fixed units provided from 50 to 150 concrete tent platforms with roping rails, permanent shelter-unit buildings to care for housing 150 to 250 families. Sanitary toilets, sewage disposal, garbage collection, and complete bathing and laundry facilities were provided. Ample water and hot-water provisions were made. A clinic was built with an attendant registered nurse of public health experience and on call; services of collaborating physicians were arranged for. An assembly building for religious exercises, amusement, nursery, and educational housing was provided. Thirty to fifty small but well-equipped homes with subsistence gardens and water were built. Former farm background families were carefully selected from among those who showed evidence of ability to get an anchor down at farming and who were already making their way upward in the community. These families were placed in these farm labor homes on a very low rental basis that they may live decently while seeking ways and means toward more permanent tenure and rehabilitation as farmers. In such process Farm Security Administration may offer much help. The mobile and migratory families of workers in agriculture, to whom the camps are open, may be thus housed in one way or another, offering limited but fully decent, sanitary, and health-improving conditions. Community life is again developed and encouraged. Rental other than in the houses is based on 2 hours work per week per family on camp-maintenance projects. A careful record is being made of weekly earnings and thus of annual earnings in various crop operations by various families as well as of the constancy and volume of work that is available. Twin Falls and Caldwell, Idaho; Walla Walla, Granger, and Yakima, Wash.; Dayton, Oreg., are sites of such standard or fixed camps. All or part of these are open the year round, all under established continuing management by the Farm Security Administration. Several of these have farm areas attached which become an aid in the subsistence of occupants.

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[6] Migration to States of Pacific Northwest, Troxell, O'Day, Department of Agriculture, (Farm Security Administration, Board of Agricultural Employment), study being prepared for publication.

Farm Security Administration mobile camps.—For the crop areas where intense labor demand occurs and for short seasons, the camp operation is implemented by mobile camp units of which seven are now available in the three States of Farm Security Administration region XI. These mobile camp units are set up at the start of a season of intense labor demand in various areas and on leased ground usually. They are provided where possible with municipally available water supply, have flyproof, pit toilets, portable shower baths for women and for men supplied with ample hot water and laundry facilities. A large recreation tent is provided. A mobile clinic is housed in a special trailer. The manager's office is in a trailer. About 200 wood tent platforms, tentage, and stoves in part coverage are supplied. All is operated under strict sanitary control and with a competent management and health staff who are employees of the Farm Security Administration. Two hours per week of work in camp maintenance and operation is required of each family as rental as in the standard camps. When the season is over or nearly over so far as labor requirements may be concerned, these outfits are moved on to the next area requiring a large labor pool. With seven such outfits now available, the Farm Security Administration is able to cover the following points in the three States during the total agricultural season.

MOBILE CAMP SERVICES TO LOCALITIES, 1940

Idaho.—Idaho Falls, spring beet season; Blackfoot, spring beet season; Driggs, green-pea season; Victor, green-pea season; Idaho Falls, fall beet and potato season; Blackfoot, fall beet and potato season.

Washington.—Toppenish, fall beets and fruits, etc.; Wenatchee, apple and pear harvests; Summer, berries and fruit harvests.

Oregon.—Nyssa, all season, beets, potatoes, lettuce, peas, spring, summer, and fall; Athena, canning pea season; Banks, strawberry picking; Gresham, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, etc.; Stayton, green beans; Independence, hops; Grants Pass, hops; Hood River Valley, pears and apples; Merrill, Klamath Basin, potatoes.

In the winter these mobile camps are closed, equipment is moved to repair and storage quarters, platforms are piled. The equipment is again dispatched in the spring. Thus 18 separate settings have been provided for various periods with 7 outfits. Some additional outfits are planned to enable coverage of additional areas.

Mobile outfits are built on a basis of handling 200 families each but are at times found to be providing easily for 350 to 400 families, movable community settings thus running at times from 1,200 to 1,400 in their total population of men, women, and children. In Oregon the Dayton standard camp operates somewhat as a headquarters between movements of families from one crop area to another in which there may be or may not be a mobile camp, and it also serves a considerable employing area. In Idaho and Washington the standard camps are each located in a long season, high demand, employing area. The camp idea as applied in the Pacific Northwest is an outgrowth of a development of similar camps made in California and Arizona (region IX) during several years past though important adaptations were made to the climatic and other conditions peculiar to the Pacific Northwest and to its problems. These camps thus become a headquarters for a large group of seasonal workers in each area so occupied. As workers have learned of this innovation they have rapidly filled the facilities.

Employment service measurement of needs prior to season—preparation.—In the period prior to the actual establishment of the camp in any area in Oregon the employment service will have made a scientific approach to its coming problems. In such areas the crop or crops requiring a recruiting of large bodies of labor are measured. A large map is carefully plotted up with acreage, employer, labor demand, and probable timing. Employers are met and encouraged to do all their recruiting through the temporary area or local central employment office. Small mimeograph maps showing sections of the area radial to the employment office are prepared. On these sectional maps the employment office, the roads and highways and the farms are shown. When a laborer or group of laborers is assigned to a grower by the employment office there is placed in his hand an order to report and one of these mimeographed area sectional maps on which in red pencil is traced the road to follow, thus the way to get to the job becomes unmistakably clear. The farm location code number from the master map, the farmer's name, telephone number, employment requirements are all written up into a workbook—serially indexed and so provided that all orders as filled may be posted against currently ascertained individual requirements. The registration of known available workers is brought up to date, arrangements for notification of workers in known latent supply is made, and the field office is ready to open up for service to employer and employee.

Farm Security Administration preparation paralleling employment survey.—In most of the crop areas the Farm Security Administration had a mobile camp set-up ready to house and assemble workers a short time prior to start of work. In the Farm Security Administration camps every worker as he registers with the employment service and his nucleus of workers becomes established and is also available for instant assignment and successive serial assignments. In many cases the field employment office has been set up immediately adjacent to or actually on the camp site. In day-to-day service this office operates early and late to accommodate the growers. Field supervisors, office supervisors of the employment service, camp managers, maintain daily contact with each other, exchange data, meet and confer with growers and all concerned toward developing an ever better service.

Current correction of employment demand data.—Local growers' associations have been encouraged to supplement the current day-to-day labor need status and some have provided one or two crop riders who canvas the field situation daily, particularly in the cases of highly perishable products, strawberries, for example, where the difference between a sunny day and a cloudy day or overcast forenoon will be the difference between fast ripening and a slow ripening of the fruit, thus more or less pickers will be needed from day to day. Field contacts are thus continuous, the requirements in terms of labor are continuously and currently kept accurate.

Direction of migrating labor.—In order that newcomers and others of a moving labor group may be certain of direction the employment service causes large banners to be hung across arterial highways opposite or near branch employment offices during labor mobilization periods—

"Agricultural Workers
Register Here for Employment
Information"

At these offices clear information becomes available to the prospective employees. Advice as to exact location of Farm Security Administration camps is given in neighborhoods when such are operating. Farm Security Administration folders giving data on location of employment offices and in each State as to operation and location of all Farm Security Administration camps accompanied by a sketch map and a description of how these camps are conducted and distributed and give the workers and their families a complete and compact idea of what to expect in the crop area as to housing. Coupled at the same time there is given verbally reliable information of work prospects and often a definite assignment may be made to go to work as soon as the family can establish its headquarters. Otherwise the office has the knowledge of where to contact the workers as soon as work is ready.

Camp operation—induction.—At the camps registration of the whole family with much data of ultimate statistical value is accomplished, agreement to abide by camp rules is signed, a site assigned. A campers' reception committee waits on the newcomers and they are thus made to feel at home, facilities and simple camp rules are explained, contacts made. The camp nurse calls on the family, health status is determined, corrective measures put under way when needful. Surplus commodities are carried in stock for issue and provided when necessary to overcome conditions of existing actual hunger found among many entering families. A camp fund provided by campers, own assessment as agreed on among the campers and administered by the campers' own committee in each camp becomes available for many mutual or individual needs and emergencies as determined and allocated by such committee. Entertainment, religious observance, and a means of caring for children while families are working is provided for. In nearly every camp an orchestra from among the group has been organized; camp dances and other functions are thus provided with music. Local councils of churches have been found most willing to provide a rotation of Sunday school and ministerial services. A most orderly, sanitary, and well-conducted community results. The bath facilities and laundry provision with their abundant hot-water supply, drying lines, and ironing boards are among the most welcome and are almost constantly used facilities. Some few families have their own tents and stoves, others are sheltered by tents provided by the camp, kerosene stoves are issued to parties needing same. Cold water is piped throughout the camp. The manager, a nurse, the head caretaker who handles mechanical equipment, another caretaker as Farm Security Administration staff, supervise the operation, sanitation, and order of each of the camps, maintain the property, encourage social activities and generally manage the natural functions of the camp as a unit. A local physician makes regular or emergency calls, checks periodically the sanitation and supervises drinking water tests. The clinic trailer is supplied with a wide variety of standard medicines, first aid equipment, and instruments. Eight semistationary tubs are set and piped in the laundry, drying lines are provided, and 12 men's, 12 women's stall showers are provided—with dressing-room tents for each group. A power unit of 12.5 kilowatts mounted on a heavy trailer is operated with a Diesel engine and in turn operates Diesel oil burning hot water heater. A quickly jointed, hot and cold water pipe distribution system is provided. Electric lights at needful spots for assurance of safe travel in camp lanes, in the recreation tent, and other public facilities are notable parts of the camp plants. Garbage disposal in a sanitary manner is done daily, all cans are disinfected and replaced, maintained with covers in place to avoid flies. Roadways are watered and dust minimized. Over all the Stars and Stripes wave day by day. Under the flag a steady stream of orderly, clean, tidy, and self-respecting people, making their way is to be found before and after work hours. This is a marked contrast with former years when camps under any kind of rude shelter were grouped or tucked away after the most primitive manner, usually unclean, unsanitary, definitely antisocial in every tendency.

The movement to the work and between crop areas is accomplished by the employee driving by himself, or with other members of his family, or with an expense-dividing group of riders, in the individual cars of workers. The worker's car is a strict necessity to the following of seasonal crop work. Growers' trucks in many cases also call at the camps at stated times for assigned groups of workers.

Economy in labor, supply, benefits.—One effect aimed for and in which much progress has been made is well illustrated in experience had with certain berry areas. Heretofore it has been thought desirable for a grower to have as many pickers as he could muster and for these to go into the berry yards early, pick till finished, leaving the crew idle for the balance of the day. All of this work is paid as piece work. If the grower has his own camp, and many growers do have camps, the pickers retire to idleness the balance of the day, and if the ripening is short the earnings are short. Now the idea is developing that a crew may pick one grower's berries in the morning, another grower's right after and with a common source camp for a large number of growers, this has resulted, so far, in assurance to the grower who has a crop at stake, that he will have pickers, to the picker that he will have work more nearly all day and can thus earn more in a day. Again the picker if he was not in a grower's camp did not have to go out and on his own time and at his own expense scout out a second job the same day—assignment to it is waiting his finishing of the first assignment. There is much to be done yet to perfect this idea for in all changes of this kind mutual confidence must become fully established through experience. Even though much remains to be done in processing and refining the functioning which has been learned from experience now had, the fact remains that the idea has been conceived, put to work and that it has been demonstrated the idea has, does, and will work, and experience to this end has been now had. To carry this through takes a great deal of constant contact and careful planning, but it is becoming evident that it is fully worthwhile, and it can be demonstrated that it is plain good management. The grower often has his hazards of whole year's work contained in his crop gathering, its packing, and the supervision. If any uncertainty as to picker supply can be relieved and the fact of service accomplishment be made simple a gain has been made. Furthermore by detailed, painstaking knowledge of the current facts and crop status of the crop area through a detailed factual basis of planning; for labor assignment the crop not only can be picked more accurately and surely, but with a far smaller but more fully occupied labor supply all of whom may thus be making more nearly a full day's pay every day. It becomes in the final analysis an example of good broad gage application of the principles of management toward a "least waste" situation. This is an ideal which the farm placement supervisors and in this particular case the Oregon Employment Service are working toward and on which encouraging progress has been noted. It overcomes a waste encountered in any other way of doing the job which has so far been devised through a cause and effect analysis, and a ways and means devising for accomplishment. An employer with a large operation may conceivably be warranted in setting up an employment section in his general organization but he assumes all the overhead, all the chances. With a large group of small operators such a course is beyond their means, and if a competent broad-spending public employment service can do the job thoroughly its public cost of overhead has overcome so many individual losses, wastes, and chances of wastes for so many citizens, employees and employers that its functioning and expense of functioning may become well justified.

Results of cooperation of the two agencies.—The Oregon State Employment Service and the Farm Placement Service have in this manner been able objectively to idealize and then to operate cooperatively the functioning of their responsibilities and the results have been particularly encouraging. The Farm Security Administration camp, with its orderly nucleus of properly housed and assembled workers who need the work, all of it they can get and as steady work as possible, becomes one unit of a group of factors and is furnished by the Federal agency, which deals also with the results of an interstate migration and its variously generated problems. The factors the State furnishes include a thorough field analysis of each local crop problem as to the job of placement to be done, a development of smoothly and clearly understood operating ways, and means of coupling the interest of employer and employee. The two agencies cooperating smoothly and with a clear understanding of each other's functions may and can do a sound service to both grower and worker.

Public attitude.—Most of the camp set-ups have been invited in by growers and local bodies after an understanding of the proposed cooperative functioning of the two public bodies has been established and in all cases so far encountered an enthusiastic invitation to repeat has followed the close of a season. In many cases the Farm Placement Service, when making early preliminary contacts with the local growers' organizations, has introduced the Farm Security Administration camp idea. On interest being shown and invitation being given the Farm Security Administration officers have gone to the area and discussed the detail of camp operations available, with a resulting community invitation to enter the area. Community cooperation has in all such cases been clearly and practically in effect through the resulting operation.

Diagram of agriculture labor demand—Oregon.—To gain a clear picture of the situation in the one State of Oregon a diagram of labor demand by crop areas and a seasonal mass curve with serial monthly distribution of demand, a route and locality map, accompanies this statement. In this diagram the steady overlap of area work and the advance of the season is clearly shown. The distance between crop areas also becomes evident.

To demonstrate the results had in a 12-week period up to August 15, 1940, a table of such result as found by Farm Security Administration, Labor Relations Research Section, region XI, shows the factors of constancy of employment, the distances to work, the family workers as employed in each family, and the earnings accomplished by each worker and of each family in several Farm Security Administration camps which have been cooperatively served as to their employment functioning by the management of the Oregon Employment Service, table 1.

The volume of registration in Farm Security Administration camps of region XI by family units and by total number of persons included in such family units at all camps and mobile camps at various sites shown up to and including the last reports compiled on table 2.

Farm placements by different areas are shown for 1940 up to August 15 and for 1939 as to the crop areas now served by Farm Security Administration camp and State employment service combinations and cooperation, in the general table 3 appended.

Washington.—In 1940 the Yakima standard camp of 400 families capacity has been served by an employment office of the Washington State Employment Service established on the camp area, adjacent to camp entrance, facing on the highway and since its establishment the worker-agency-employer relation has been one of constant and steady work provision. Walla Walla and Granger, Wash., could not be ready in time but there, at Wenatchee and Toppenish employment offices, contact is anticipated in the same manner as at Yakima, and as already done in Oregon.

Idaho.—In Idaho a strong spirit of similar cooperation exists, but funds were not available to employment service for extension in field offices or preseason crop area surveys making for detailed cooperation as was desired. Existing local offices, however, have in all cases extended themselves toward such cooperation so far as means allowed.

The photograph attached makes clear the general appearance of a mobile camp as operated in region XI.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Torbert, your statement will go into the record at this point.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY DR. E. N. TORBERT, EPHRATA, WASH., FIELD COORDINATOR, COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT, BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT, WASHINGTON

SUMMARY

1. The Columbia Basin project embraces 1,200,000 acres of irrigable land.
2. The number of farm units which will be established is dependent upon studies now in progress and upon experience in areas developed early. If the average size is 40 acres, 30,000 farm families will be accommodated.
3. The number of opportunities for employment in towns and villages of the project area will probably be about double the number of farm families accommodated.
4. At the rate of construction planned, water can first be delivered to irrigable lands in the spring of 1944.
5. The construction program, as planned, will permit the irrigation of from 50,000 to 70,000 acres annually, beginning in 1944.
6. To carry the construction program forward the costs are estimated at approximately $25,000,000 in the fiscal year 1941, $20,000,000 in the fiscal years 1942–45, inclusive, and progressively smaller amounts thereafter.
7. Maintenance of the program is contingent upon appropriations of $7,500,000 in addition to funds already appropriated for the fiscal year 1941; and of the full amounts of the estimates thereafter.

8. Responsibility for accommodating needy but worthy migrants on the project lands has been recognized from the outset of the development.

9. Exhaustive studies have been launched to anticipate and to find solutions for settlement and development problems.

10. The primary objective of these studies is to establish conditions which will enable the settler, by his own efforts, to succeed. In the case of needy migrants this involves the financial and other assistance requisite for self-rehabilitation.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION AND CONSTRUCTION STATUS

The Columbia Basin project embraces an area of 2½ million acres in eastern Washington, principally within Fraklin, Adams, and Grant Counties (fig. 1). Of this area, which is equivalent to that of the State of Delaware, approximately one-half is irrigable. These 1,200,000 irrigable acres constitute the largest and finest undeveloped tract still remaining in the United States. In addition to the irrigation of these lands, purposes of the project include: The improvement of navigation on the Columbia River, flood control, improvement of power facilities downstream from Grand Coulee Dam, and the production of cheap power for the general development of the Pacific Northwest.

The Columbia River, floodwaters of which are to be used for irrigation, occupies a channel several hundred feet lower than the irrigable lands. For the delivery of these waters to the land, the project includes the following major features: The Grand Coulee Dam, its two power plants, a pumping plant, balancing reservoir, and canal system (fig. 2). From river level, the water will be raised 355 feet in the lake behind the dam. From lake level, pumps operated by electric energy generated at the dam will lift water 280 feet into the balancing reservoir in the Grand Coulee where it will be available for distribution by gravity through the canal system. Supplementary pumping from the main canals will permit the irrigation of lands lying 100 feet above main canal levels. Power for supplementary pumping will be available from plants to be installed at drops in the canal system. The power plants at the dam will have a total capacity of 1,944,000 kilowatts available for commercial prime power and for seasonal pumping requirements. Revenue from the sale of power will repay an appreciable part of the cost of the irrigation works.

The dam, one of the two powerhouses, and the foundations for the pumping plant are nearing completion. Placement of mass concrete in the powerhouse will be completed by September 1940, and in the dam by December 1940. Final work on the dam, it is anticipated, will be concluded in the fall of 1941. The two station service power units, each of 12,500 kilowatts, will be in service by December 1940. The first of the 18 main power units of 108,000 kilovolt-amperes each is planned to be in operation in July 1941, the second in October 1941, and the third in April 1942. Further development, and the initiation of construction on the irrigation works are contingent upon additional appropriations. Estimates of the amounts required to insure an economical and orderly development looking toward the irrigation of from 50,000 to 70,000 acres of new land each year, beginning in the spring of 1944, are presented subsequently.

THE PROJECT AREA

The 2,500,000 acres of the project area present considerable diversity in physical conditions and in population distribution. Two parallel, east-west trending ridges which lie above canal level, broad belts of rocky "scabland," and a large sandy waste account for the greater part of the nonirrigable half of the area. The irrigable lands rise over broad flats and benches and, in the eastern part of the area, onto rolling lands, from less than 400 feet in elevation at the south to more than 1,300 feet on the north and east. When fully developed, the irrigated lands will form a pattern of great blocks separated by dry and sparsely peopled, or uninhabited zones of varying width.

Wheat is grown by dry-farming methods on the higher lands to the east and north. Wheat yields are low and farms necessarily are large; many of them exceed 2,000 acres. These lands have been classed as submarginal for wheat production and recommended for retirement to other uses by agricultural economists in surveys of the Northwest. Other portions of the project area have

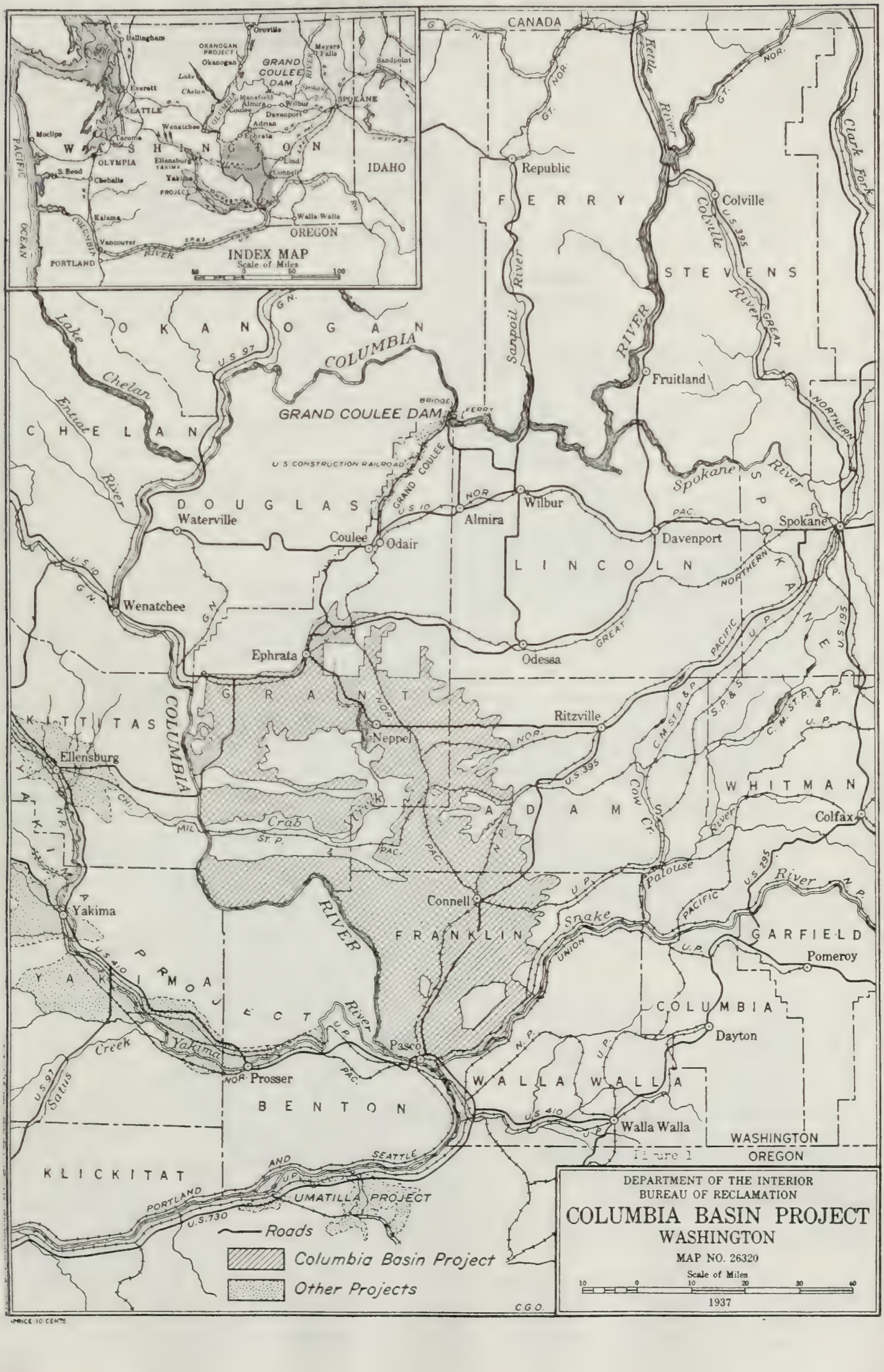
INDEX MAP
Scale of Miles
Bellingham
Oroville
OKANOGAN PROJECT
Okanogan
GRAND COULEE DAM
Meyers Falls
Sandpoint
Everett
Lake Chelan
Mansfield
Almira
Wilbur
SPOKANE
SEATTLE
Coulee
Davenport
Adrian
Ephrata
Wenatchee
Mocline
WASHINGTON
Tacoma
OLYMPIA
Ellensburg
YAKIMA
Lind
Connell
IDAHO
S. Bend
Chehalis
Yakima
PROJECT
Walla Walla
Kalama
OREGON
Vancouver
PORTLAND
COLUMBIA RIVER
PACIFIC OCEAN
CANADA
Kettle River
Clark Fork
Republic
Colville
FERRY
STEVENS
Sanpoil River
Colville River
U.S. 395
GT. NOR.
GREAT NORTHERN
OKANOGAN
U.S. 97
COLUMBIA
Lake Chelan
Entiat River
CHELAN
GRAND COULEE DAM
BRIDGE
FERRY
Fruitland
U.S. CONSTRUCTION RAILROAD
GRAND COULEE
Spokane River
DOUGLAS
Waterville
U.S. 10
NOR.
Almira
Wilbur
Coulee
Odair
Davenport
Spokane
LINCOLN
SPOKANE
Wenatchee
G.N.
Ephrata
Odessa
PACIFIC
U.P.
U.S. 195
GRANT
KITTITAS
COLUMBIA
Neppel
Ritzville
C.M. ST. P. & P.
S.P. & S.
Ellensburg
CHI.
MIL
ST. P.
Crab Creek
U.S. 395
Cow Cr.
ADAMS
WHITMAN
Colfax
Palouse River
YAKIMA
Yakima
N.P.
Connell
FRANKLIN
Snake River
U.S. 295
GARFIELD
RIVER
UNION PACIFIC
Pomeroy
YAKIMA PROJECT
U.S. 410
COLUMBIA
Dayton
Yakima River
Creek
Pasco
Prosser
Satus
BENTON
WALLA WALLA
Walla Walla
WASHINGTON
OREGON
KLICKITAT
PORTLAND AND SEATTLE
UMATILLA PROJECT
U.S. 730
Roads
▨ Columbia Basin Project
░ Other Projects
C.G.O.
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION
COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT
WASHINGTON
MAP NO. 26320
Scale of Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40
1937
PRICE 10 CENTS

Figure 1

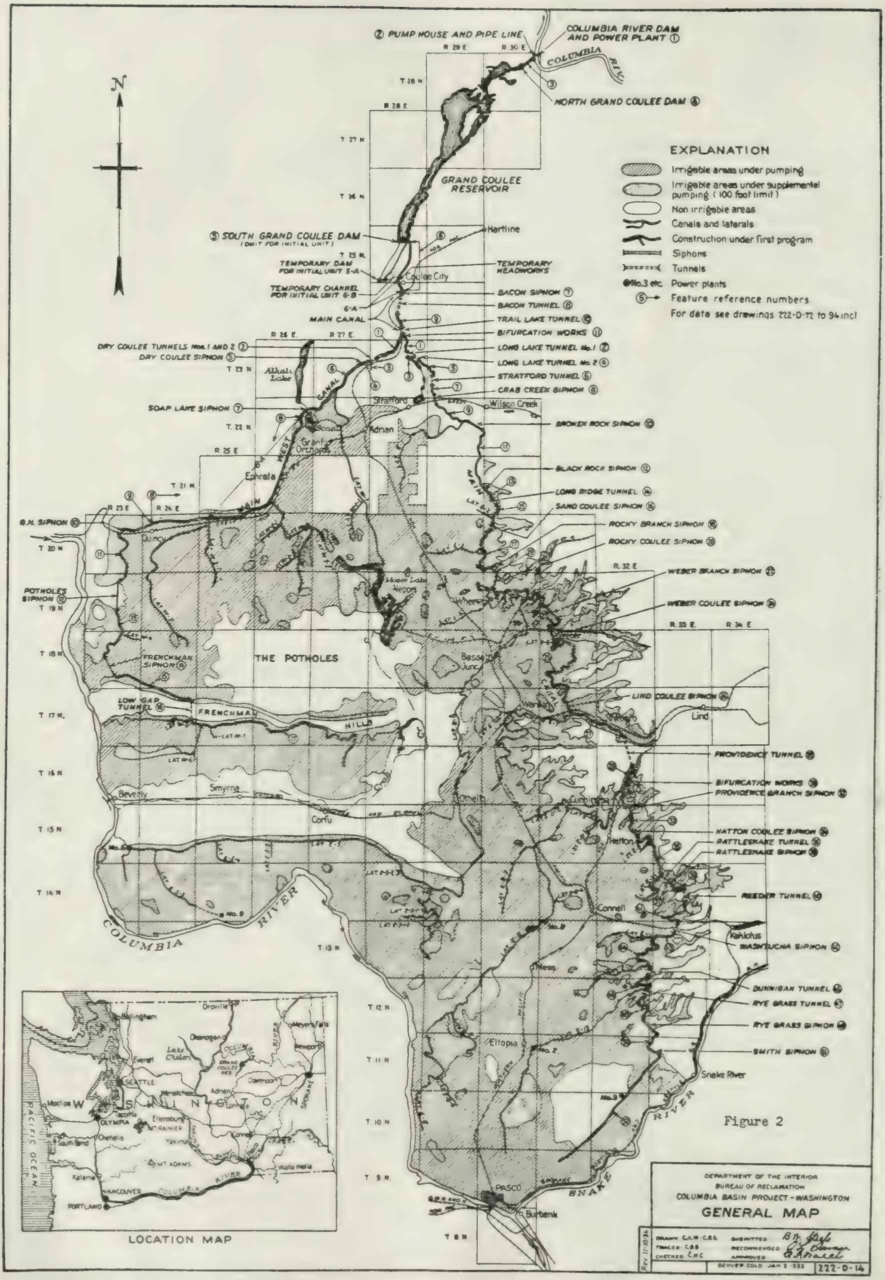
② PUMP HOUSE AND PIPE LINE
COLUMBIA RIVER DAM AND POWER PLANT ①
COLUMBIA RIVER
NORTH GRAND COULEE DAM ④
N
GRAND COULEE RESERVOIR
Hartline
⑤ SOUTH GRAND COULEE DAM (OMIT FOR INITIAL UNIT)
TEMPORARY DAM FOR INITIAL UNIT 5-A
TEMPORARY CHANNEL FOR INITIAL UNIT 6-B
6-A
MAIN CANAL
Coulee City
TEMPORARY HEADWORKS
BACON SIPHON ⑦
BACON TUNNEL ⑧
TRAIL LAKE TUNNEL
BIFURCATION WORKS ⑪
LONG LAKE TUNNEL No. 1
LONG LAKE TUNNEL No. 2 ④
STRATFORD TUNNEL ⑥
CRAB CREEK SIPHON ⑧
DRY COULEE TUNNELS Nos. 1 AND 2 ②
DRY COULEE SIPHON ⑤
Alkali Lake
SOAP LAKE SIPHON ⑦
Stratford
Wilson Creek
Adrian
Grant Orchards
Ephrata
WEST CANAL
MAIN
Quincy
G.N. SIPHON ⑩
POTHOLES SIPHON ⑫
BROKEN ROCK SIPHON
BLACK ROCK SIPHON ⑫
LONG RIDGE TUNNEL
SAND COULEE SIPHON
ROCKY BRANCH SIPHON
ROCKY COULEE SIPHON
WEBER BRANCH SIPHON
WEBER COULEE SIPHON
Moses Lake
Neppel
Wheeler
Bassett Junc.
THE POTHOLES
FRENCHMAN SIPHON
LOW GAP TUNNEL
FRENCHMAN HILLS
LIND COULEE SIPHON
Lind
Warden
PROVIDENCE TUNNEL
BIFURCATION WORKS
PROVIDENCE BRANCH SIPHON
Othello
Cunningham
Hatton
HATTON COULEE SIPHON
RATTLESNAKE TUNNEL
RATTLESNAKE SIPHON
REEDER TUNNEL
Connell
Kahlotus
WASHTUCNA SIPHON
DUNNIGAN TUNNEL
RYE GRASS TUNNEL
RYE GRASS SIPHON
SMITH SIPHON
Snake River
SNAKE RIVER
Beverly
Smyrna
Corfu
COLUMBIA RIVER
Eltopia
PASCO
Burbank
No. 2
No. 3
No. 8
R 26 E
R 27 E
R 28 E
R 29 E
R 30 E
R 25 E
R 23 E
R 24 E
R 32 E
R 33 E
R 34 E
T 28 N
T 27 N
T 26 N
T 25 N
T 23 N
T 22 N
T 21 N
T 20 N
T 19 N
T 18 N
T 17 N
T 16 N
T 15 N
T 14 N
T 13 N
T 12 N
T 11 N
T 10 N
T 9 N
T 8 N
EXPLANATION
Irrigable areas under pumping
Irrigable areas under supplemental pumping (100 foot limit)
Non irrigable areas
Canals and laterals
Construction under first program
Siphons
Tunnels
No. 3 etc. Power plants
⑤ Feature reference numbers
For data see drawings 222-D-72 to 94 incl
Bellingham
Oroville
Okanogan
Lake Chelan
Everett
SEATTLE
Wenatchee
Davenport
SPOKANE
Newport
Moclips
WASHINGTON
Tacoma
OLYMPIA
Ellensburg
MT. RAINIER
Adrian
Ephrata
Chehalis
South Bend
Yakima
Connell
MT. ADAMS
Kalama
VANCOUVER
PORTLAND
Walla Walla
COLUMBIA RIVER
PACIFIC OCEAN
LOCATION MAP
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION
COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT – WASHINGTON
GENERAL MAP
DRAWN C.A.M.-C.B.B.
TRACED C.B.B.
CHECKED E.H.C.
SUBMITTED
RECOMMENDED
APPROVED
DENVER COLO. JAN 2 1932
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Figure 2

Columbia Basin Project—Washington

insufficient rain for grain production and, with the exception of a few small tracts irrigated by pumping from wells or the Columbia River, have virtually no population.

The total population of the project lands is approximately 10,000 at present. Somewhat more than a third of this total is concentrated in the southern tip of the area at Pasco, the largest town of the project lands, and a small irrigation district adjoining it. Other principal towns, of which no one has as many as 1,000 inhabitants, are spaced at about 20-mile intervals along railroads in the eastern and northern parts of the area. With full irrigation development, the farm population may exceed 100,000 and town and village population perhaps twice that figure.

To forward essential cooperation in the irrigation development, the owners of irrigable land have organized three irrigation districts under State statute (fig. 3). A contract between the Federal Government and the districts for repayment of construction charges allocated to irrigation will be made in the near future. The districts may ultimately take over the management of a large part of the water distribution system.

GENERAL SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

The accommodation of needy but competent migrants has long been recognized as a responsibility of the Columbia Basin project. Since the almost prophetic pleas for its establishment in order to provide opportunities for worthy but displaced citizens made in hearings before the House Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation in 1932—prior to the severe droughts of the middle thirties—the importance of that responsibility has continued to grow with the continuing, westward streams of migrants searching, with only partial success, for new opportunities.

The expectation of large numbers of deserving, unfortunate settlers has intensified a need, recognized by the Bureau of Reclamation in its long experience, for considering carefully problems of settlement and development. In common with other projects, two fundamental obligations of the Federal reclamation program apply to the Columbia Basin project: (1) It must provide opportunities for the establishment of self-supporting farms and homes; and (2) beneficiaries must repay costs of construction to the Federal Government. Discharge of these obligations involves the creation of a set of conditions enabling the competent settler to establish an irrigated farm which will yield an income adequate to provide a satisfactory family living and to permit repayment of the portion of construction costs chargeable to irrigation. Attainment of these objectives, difficult under many circumstances, is made more trying by the prospect of large numbers of destitute settlers in the Columbia Basin. Recognizing these responsibilities and difficulties, the Bureau of Reclamation has launched a comprehensive program directed toward solutions of the problems involved.

Implementing the settlers' own efforts is the keynote of the program. Land, water, and climate, and location with respect to transportation and expanding market areas provide the base for success. The problem is to make these resources readily available in such ways as to stimulate the exercise of individual initiative in their rational and successful use.

What in general the settler may expect in the way of such help is developed in the following discussion of the program. Most of the studies upon which action will be based are not sufficiently advanced to permit an itemized forecast at this time. With reference to the prospective farmer, however, steps have been taken which will assure him of good land at nonspeculative prices. Every opportunity is being investigated for lightening his water costs by apportioning construction charges among all benefited parties. Also, the assignment of equitable water charges in relation to the productivity of his land is being carefully studied. Information on types of farming best calculated to bring success will be at his disposal. Studies are being made of methods of providing financial aid for purposes of land development, home construction, acquisition of stock and equipment, and operating expenses. The maximum practicable number of farm units will be established.

The program inevitably is led beyond the problems of the farmer to consideration of the nonfarm settler and to problems of broader economic and social nature. The number of economic opportunities to be created in towns and villages of the project area may be expected, in the light of experience on other projects, to be

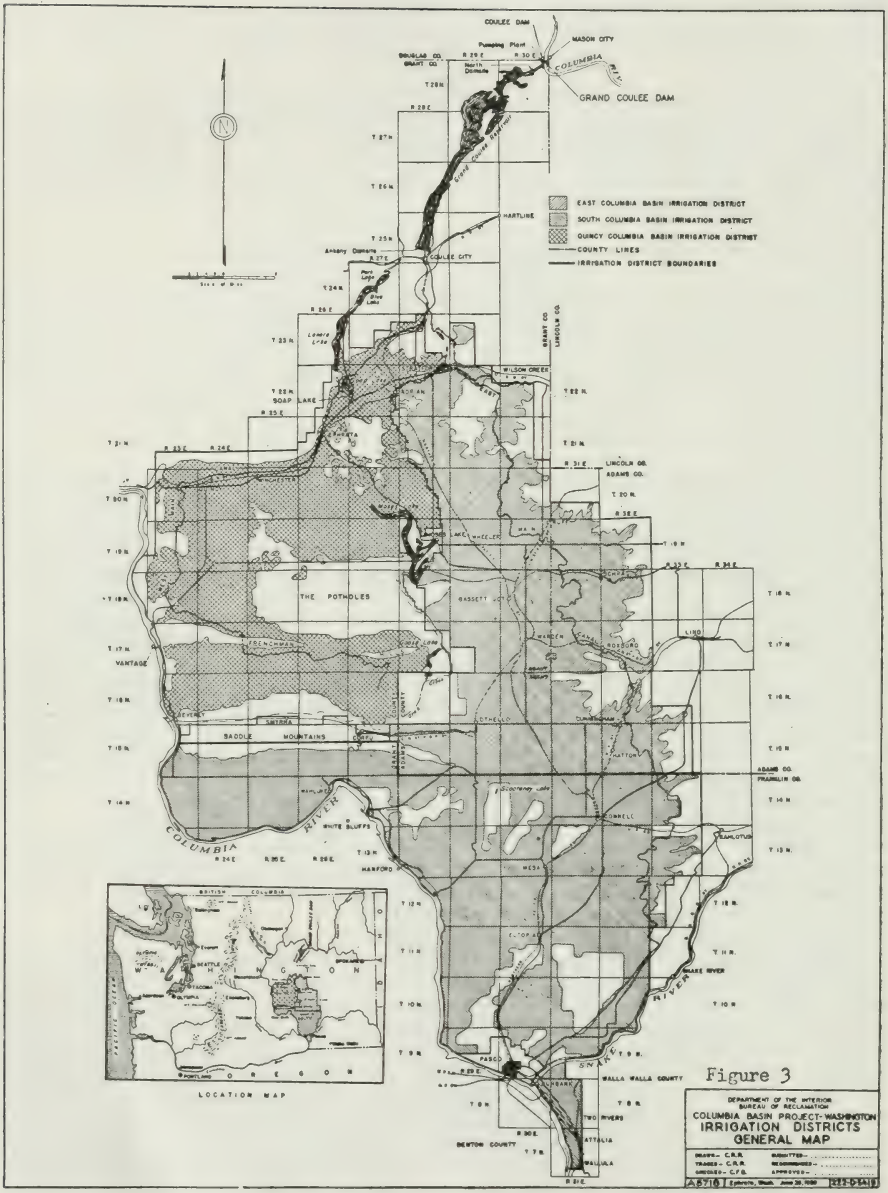

Figure 3

COULEE DAM
MASON CITY
Pumping Plant
COLUMBIA RIV.
GRAND COULEE DAM
DOUGLAS CO.
GRANT CO.
North Dam
Grand Coulee Reservoir
HARTLINE
COULEE CITY
Park Lake
Blue Lake
Lenore Lake
SOAP LAKE
EPHRATA
STRATFORD
ADRIAN
WILSON CREEK
GRANT CO.
LINCOLN CO.
LINCOLN CO.
ADAMS CO.
QUINCY
WINCHESTER
MOSES LAKE
WHEELER
THE POTHOLES
BASSETT JCT.
O'SULLIVAN
WARDEN
ROXBORO
LIND
FRENCHMAN
VANTAGE
BEVERLY
SMYRNA
SADDLE MOUNTAINS
CORFU
OTHELLO
CUNNINGHAM
HATTON
Scooteney Lake
WAHLUKE
WHITE BLUFFS
HANFORD
COLUMBIA RIVER
CONNELL
KAHLOTUS
MESA
ELTOPIA
SNAKE RIVER
PASCO
BURBANK
WALLA WALLA COUNTY
TWO RIVERS
ATTALIA
WALLULA
BENTON COUNTY
FRANKLIN CO.
ADAMS CO.
EAST COLUMBIA BASIN IRRIGATION DISTRICT
SOUTH COLUMBIA BASIN IRRIGATION DISTRICT
QUINCY COLUMBIA BASIN IRRIGATION DISTRICT
COUNTY LINES
IRRIGATION DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
BRITISH COLUMBIA
SEATTLE
TACOMA
OLYMPIA
SPOKANE
WASHINGTON
OREGON
PORTLAND
PACIFIC OCEAN
IDAHO
LOCATION MAP
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION
COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT-WASHINGTON
IRRIGATION DISTRICTS
GENERAL MAP
DRAWN - C.R.R.
TRACED - C.R.R.
CHECKED - C.F.B.
SUBMITTED -
RECOMMENDED -
APPROVED -
A5716
Ephrata, Wash.

about twice that on farms. Opportunities for a combination of part-time farming and urban employment will be presented. The optimum number location, and character of villages, an adequate highway net, other transportation facilities, and many additional elements which make up a satisfactory economic and social environment are of concern and are being carefully studied.

The studies are timed for completion by 1942 so that suitable action programs may be formulated and all necessary preparations made prior to the delivery of water to the first tract in 1944.

ANTISPECULATION ACT

The Antispeculation Act (act of May 27, 1937, 50 Stat. 208) enacted by the Congress and subsequently ratified by the Legislature of the State of Washington is designed to insure settlers of the opportunity to secure irrigable lands in the Columbia Basin at reasonable, nonspeculative values. The act, by limiting the irrigable acreage for which water may be obtained by an individual owner, also provides for establishing farms of family size.

Major provisions of the act include the appraisal of irrigable lands at their dry-land values without reference to the prospect of irrigation. The appraised value supplies a base rate for sale and purchase provisions. Under the act one owner will be able to obtain a water right for only 40 acres; man and wife can obtain a water right for 80 acres. Irrigable lands held over and above these amounts are designated as excess lands. These must be sold at not more than the appraised, dry-land values or else water cannot be obtained either for the land reserved by the original holder or for the excess land sold.

Provisions of the repayment contracts to be made with the irrigation districts will make the law operative. Meanwhile, however, its existence, and the data on appraised values of tracts which are available upon inquiry, appear to be effective in protecting the buyer.

BASIC SURVEYS

A number of detailed land surveys are being made preparatory to occupation of the irrigable areas. In a retracement survey each section corner and quarter section corner is established and marked. There follows a topographic survey in which each section of land is mapped with 2-foot contour interval at a scale of 1 inch equals 400 feet. These topographic maps are used for a third survey in which the land is classified according to its suitability for irrigation. A fourth survey involves, in accordance with provisions of the Antispeculation Act, the appraisal at dry-land values of all lands classified as irrigable.

A primary purpose of the land classification survey is to insure that water is delivered only to those lands on which irrigation farming can succeed. In addition to the classification of land as irrigable or nonirrigable, however, the irrigable land is divided into three classes. In class 1 are included the best arable lands, in class 2 those of intermediate or average value, and in class 3 the least desirable land for which it is proposed to provide a water supply. The recognition of different classes of irrigable land provides the basis, as discussed subsequently, for an allocation of construction charges against them in accordance with their capacity to provide repayment.

The status of the four surveys as of July 1, 1940, is presented below.

	Acreage to July 1, 1940	Percent completed
Retracement	2,420,329	98.0
Topography	1,723,036	89.4
Land classification	1,423,056	75.4
Land appraisal	959,388	57.8

THE JOINT INVESTIGATIONS

Organization.—To cope with the many other problems of settlement and development in the Columbia Basin project, the Bureau of Reclamation, in September 1939, inaugurated a comprehensive series of studies designated as the joint investigations. They are under the direction of Professor H. H. Barrows, chairman, department of geography, University of Chicago, who had earlier been appointed as planning consultant to the Bureau of Reclamation, and Mr. William E. Warne, director of information.

Twenty-eight separable though related problems were recognized. Following their preliminary discussion with interested agencies and individuals, the problems were definitely established for investigation in the plan of joint investigations (copy attached, exhibit A).

To insure that all available experiences and knowledge were brought to bear upon the problems, Federal, State, and local agencies believed to be in a position to contribute were invited to participate in the joint investigations. These included several bureaus of the United States Department of Agriculture, the National Resources Planning Board, the Corps of Engineers, the National Park Service, and other Federal agencies; the State Department of Conservation and Development, the State Department of Highways, the University of Washington, the State college of Washington, and numerous other State agencies; the railroads that traverse the project area, county commissioners, the directors of the irrigation districts, chambers of commerce and many others. The response was universally enthusiastic. More than 40 agencies are now participating on a cooperative basis.

For each of the 28 problems there was established a committee of investigators and advisers under the direction of an investigation leader. Somewhat more than 100 individuals have membership on these committees. To facilitate the work, Dr. E. N. Torbert was appointed field coordinator to represent Professor Barrows and Mr. Warne in the project area. Monthly progress reports are issued from his office and made available to all participants. For the purpose of coordinating activities of the Department of Agriculture in the joint investigations, Mr. Marion Clawson has been designated as the field representative of that Department.

A board of review will be appointed later by the Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, to study the reports on different investigations as they are submitted, to appraise plans of settlement and development based on the reports, and to recommend appropriate action programs for carrying out accepted proposals.

Progress on the investigations has been satisfactory; some have been completed, or are nearing completion; the dependence upon antecedent findings, as yet incomplete, has delayed substantial progress on others. The nature of the twenty-eight problems and the more significant findings, especially as they relate to the migrant problem, are discussed below.

Problem No. 1.—On other northwestern irrigation projects where basic conditions are similar to those which will be encountered on the earlier units of the Columbia Basin project, what types of farm economy (including crops and crop programs) have been successful? Most successful? Unsuccessful, if any?

This investigation is nearing completion. Farm economies have been studied on the Yakima, Franklin County, and Moses Lake projects in Washington; the Umatilla, Vale, and Owyhee projects in Oregon; and the Boise and Minidoka projects in Idaho. The findings on each of the projects have been or are being released for the use of investigators of other problems and the preparation of a final report is in progress.

Conditions comparable to those prevailing in different parts of the Columbia Basin project have been found in the projects studied. The transfer of experience from the established farming districts will greatly facilitate the selection of appropriate types of farm economy for the Columbia Basin. In general, the types of farming found successful are those involving a livestock-crop economy in which at least half of the farm is devoted to hay and other crops making for the maintenance of soil productivity. Adjustments in other crops and in stock are made in conformance with local conditions. Interviews made with more than 100 farmers will permit the inclusion of findings concerning successful means of bringing in new land, other farm practices, characteristics of the successful farmer, and many other items of direct use in plans for the Columbia Basin project.

With reference to migrants, displaced from the Dust Bowl, who have in recent years found opportunities on new lands of the Vale and Owyhee projects, it has been found that those with certain qualifications quickly adjust themselves to the requirements of irrigation farming and rapidly advance their economic position. Omitting financial qualifications, which are considered subsequently, it is found that although previous farming experience is a valuable tool, basic characteristics making for the success of the new farmers are a business sense, a genuine liking for and capacity to do hard, physical work, and a willingness to learn.

Problem No. 2.—What types of farm economy are best suited to the project area (particularly its northernmost and southernmost parts) in view of the soils, climate, topography, competitive and complementary relationships with other irrigated and nonirrigated areas of the Pacific Northwest, foreseeable market conditions and opportunities, transportation facilities (existent and prospective), freight rates, the possibility of effective integration of some phases of farming with village or neighborhood industries of promise, and other relevant factors?

The study of this basically important question has been broken into several parts, each of which has been made the responsibility of a subcommittee. Briefly, the study involves: (1) The determination of crops and stock physically adapted to the project area; (2) the selection of those physically permissible crops and stock for which adequate market outlets are in prospect; (3) review of permissible crops and stock from the standpoint of their desirable use and combination in the interest of continued soil productivity; and (4) the combination of the selected crops in satisfactory types of farming for the project lands. Work on items (1) and (3) is actively under way and, under item (2), a comprehensive survey of potential market outlets is being formulated by marketing experts of the Department of Agriculture.

Problem No. 3.—What practicable and equitable means, if any, may be used to insure proper land use, as determined? This inquiry should include, but not be restricted to, a study of the suitability and efficacy of cooperative marketing organizations, soil-conservation districts, and county zoning.

This inquiry includes the consideration of all existing devices, possible modifications of them, and desirable new means for effecting the kinds of land use found desirable by other investigating committees. Urban as well as rural land use is encompassed by the interest of the inquiry. The means being considered have been grouped under the following heads:

1. Education.
2. Land and water use regulations imposed by the Government in order to protect its investment.
3. Credit policies of Federal agencies.
4. Homestead or sales. contract provisions on land which is now or later may be in Government ownership.
5. Self-imposed restraints such as zoning, and the regulations of soil-conservation districts.

Problem No. 4.—What are the normal water requirements for the crop and land-use programs recommended by the investigators of problem No. 2 for different parts of the project area?

In the course of the investigation of problem No. 1, data has been collected on water requirements and water use which will aid in the solution of problem No. 4. Further work awaits conclusions by the investigators of problem No. 2.

Problem No. 5.—What is the most practicable way of preventing excessive use of water?

Excessive use of water should be avoided, of course, primarily because of its adverse effect upon soil productivity. Furthermore, the cost of water over and above normal requirements is an unnecessary expense.

Preliminary recommendations by the investigators have been made. They include charges for water which, through substantial savings, will encourage the use of less water than is found to be needed by the average farmer. Although the amount of water required under differing physical conditions will vary considerably, it is proposed that the rates be so adjusted that the costs to farmers in different localities for varying, but needed amounts will be the same. To discourage the use of excess water, it is recommended that a rate scale graduated sharply upward be applied for units of water delivered over and above the amount found to be requisite.

Problem No. 6.—What is the optimum size of farm units for the type or types of farm economy recommended by the investigators of problem No. 2? Should there be more elasticity in fixing the maximum size of farm units, particularly those consisting chiefly of "class 3 land," than present law permits? If so, what changes are desirable? What practicable measures could be adopted for the retention of units of optimum size, once they are established?

In accordance with Federal reclamation policy, the optimum size of farm is that which, under competent management, is capable of providing an adequate living for a family and of retiring costs for the construction of irrigation works to serve it. As noted earlier, provisions of the antispeculation act limit holdings to be irrigated in the Columbia Basin project to 40 acres per individual, 80 acres for man and wife. The investigation of problem No. 6, however, is undertaken objectively and without accepting these provisions as necessarily limiting considerations. Much information on optimum size of farm unit has been obtained in the study of experience in other irrigated areas of the Northwest made in connection with problem No. 1. Further work on problem No. 6 awaits conclusions from the study of problem No. 2.

Problem No. 7.—Is there need for provision of special "labor units" of small size (permissible to a lower limit of 10 acres under existing law) to accommodate seasonal laborers on areas to be settled relatively soon? If so, what proportion of the area of the earlier project units should be allocated to them? Where should they be located? How much land should individual plots include?

Although originally concerned only with small units to accommodate an agricultural, seasonal laboring class, the field of this inquiry has been extended to include all groups who might profitably join a part-time, subsistence agriculture with other activities which yield a cash income. In addition to seasonal farm laborers, these groups include tradesmen, mechanics, craftsmen, and industrial workers employed in towns and villages of the project area, retired pensioners, and the like. In view of preliminary conclusions that a general type of farming, requiring few seasonal laborers, seems desirable, consideration of provisions for the other groups assumes major importance. The need for such provisions has been established and efforts are now being directed toward determination of the desirable size, number, and location of small, part-time units.

The investigators look toward a substantial contribution to the migrant problem in the provisions which they anticipate. The small units being considered will provide space for a home and opportunity to produce family foodstuffs. They will serve those who by inclination or training prefer to obtain their principal income from sources other than farming. It has been demonstrated that the migrants present a general cross-section of occupations and skills, and opportunities for the nonfarm elements will be presented by the means under consideration in this inquiry.

The number of opportunities to be created cannot be answered at present. Inasmuch as the units contemplated cannot be expected to support a family adequately, the number which can be successfully established and occupied is dependent upon the number of supplementary, cash producing jobs to be anticipated. Field studies in irrigated areas and the review of all available experience are being brought to bear upon the questions involved.

Problem No. 8.—To delimit the sections within which it is desirable that farms be laid out in adjustment to topography and to topographically controlled features.

In rolling lands of the kind which prevail in the eastern part of the project area and which occur in other portions, it is desirable for irrigating, tilling, and other farm operations to have the farm laid out in adjustment to the topography and to the canals and drains which are topographically controlled. The farm units customary in the area, with boundaries adjusted to township and range lines, will, if retained in rolling lands, result in needless cost and inconvenience to the farm operator. Preliminary maps have been prepared which indicate those portions of the project area where adjustment of farm boundaries to topography is desirable, and the investigators are now refining their preliminary judgments.

Problem No. 9.—What feasible means could be adopted or created (*a*) to help insure an adequate standard of living, and (*b*) to minimize the financial commitments of needy settlers in providing suitable and essential improvements?

In connection with the first part of this problem, and with other, related problems, the resolution of what constitutes an "adequate standard of living" is being undertaken by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. This involves, first, the determination of the minimum level of living consistent with continued good health. Secondly, it is proposed to survey the current levels of living among representative groups from which settlers in the Columbia Basin project may be expected, and further to determine the reasonable, additional wants of these groups in order to establish what, for them, constitutes a desired standard of living. These two yardsticks, the minimum requisite level of living and the desired standard of living, will serve to appraise the adequacy of average results to be expected from settlement plans for the Columbia Basin project.

Quite apart from determination of an adequate standard of living, it is recognized in the second part of the problem, that each saving made in obtaining suitable and essential improvements may permit a proportional increase in the living achieved. Especially is this important in the earlier, more critical years of development, when commitments for improvements are unavoidably heavy.

Accordingly, improvements found essential have been segregated and means of minimizing the initial investment in them are under study. Essential improvements being investigated include land leveling, farm ditches, houses, stock, wells, and implements. Means to minimize investments in them which are being investigated include heavy leveling on a large scale; acquisition and use of heavy machinery by cooperative organizations; the design, materials, and methods of construction for inexpensive houses; facilities for purchase of building materials at low unit cost; provisions to pipe water under pressure from a single well to a number of closely spaced farmsteads; and procurement at cost from the Clarke-McNary nursery at Pullman of trees and shrubs for the homesteads.

Problem No. 10.—What advantages, economic and social, and what disadvantages, if any, in farm lay-out and farm work might result from the concentration of settlers in small communities or nuclear hamlets? Should experiments be made on some of the earlier project units with such farm community centers?

The program being undertaken in this investigation has the following major subdivisions:

1. A comparative study of the social and economic advantages and disadvantages of compact group settlement, modified group settlement, and dispersed farmstead settlement.
2. Investigation of the cultural and historical bases of various settlement types with special reference to the economic and political needs and backgrounds out of which the various patterns of settlement arose. In the United States this entails analysis of the Utah farm villages, the New England towns, the line type of settlements of Louisiana, the recently established farm communities of the Farm Security Administration, and the scattered settlement pattern so generally found in American agriculture.
3. Studies in selected areas to trace the development, growth, and change in various types of settlement, to determine, among other things, what changes are brought about by increased urban development and urban values, what services or functions tend to disappear from farm villages, what functions remain intact and what are their sociological implications.

Problem No. 11.—What modifications, if any, should be made in present plans for the allocation of the cost of Grand Coulee Dam and of the primary irrigation works? Should power projects downstream, Columbia River navigation, flood control, general social benefits, and the like be assigned an equitable share of the cost of the dam?

Notable downstream benefits will be created through the control of the Columbia River by the Grand Coulee Dam and the storage reservoir behind it. They will double the firm power capacities of hydroelectric plants between the dam and the mouth of the Snake River, and increase by 50 percent the firm power capacities of plants further down. Release of waters during the winter season of low flow, when not required for irrigation, can increase by 2 feet the minimum depth of the lower, navigable Columbia.

Storage and the use of water for irrigation will reduce flood crests, which occur in summer. These benefits are being evaluated with a view toward assigning to them an equitable share of the cost of the dam.

Problem No. 12.—How many equitable payments toward the cost of the primary irrigation works best be secured, directly or indirectly, from nonrural settlers (villagers, etc.) in the project area?

For some years the proposition that nonagricultural settlers should make such payments has been affirmed by the Bureau of Reclamation and by other Federal agencies and recently it has been carried into effect in connection with the Colorado-Big Thompson project in Colorado. Legal investigations are under way to determine means by which such payments can be obtained in the State of Washington. Such payments, of course, would lessen the repayment requirements of agricultural settlers.

Problem No. 13.—Is it desirable and practicable to assign different repayment charges against lands of classes 1, 2, and 3 (as these terms are used in the land-classification survey of the project area)? If so, what is the best method?

It has been decided both desirable and practicable to assign different repayment charges against lands of different classes, and studies leading to the determination of those charges are in progress. The average charge per acre required to repay the construction costs allocated to irrigation is estimated at from $80 to $85., Before varying percentages of that average charge can be equitably assigned to different land classes, there must be determined the total acreage of each of the classes and its comparative productivity. Pending completion of the land classification survey, which will provide the acreages, the relative productivity of five classes of land (class 1, two subdivisions of class 2, and two subdivisions of class 3) are being determined.

Problem No. 14.—How may financial aid best be extended in conservative amounts to needy settlers beyond that which may accrue to them along the lines involved in problems numbered 10, 11, 12, and 13?

The needs of migrants who will settle in the Columbia Basin obviously are recognized in this investigation. In accordance with general policies, the objectives are to determine the ways of extending financial aid, and, in conjunction with other inquiries, the amounts of financial aid which will encourage, and not discourage the play of individual initiative and permit the settler to establish and maintain himself successfully. The experiences of needy settlers of recent years who have been aided by the Farm Security Administration, the experience of those who have received other types of aid, and of those who have received no aid are being studied in their relation to these objectives.

Among devices for extending aid which are under consideration, the lease of developed units to inexperienced settlers on a trial basis is considered of special promise. The plan would necessitate Federal ownership and development of some lands. The use of such units, for which annual charges might well be adjusted in accordance with farm and family income, would not only provide the requisite aid to needy settlers, but also permit them to demonstrate their liking for and success in irrigation farming. Opportunities for purchase of units could subsequently be provided to qualified farmers. The relative desirabilities in some instances of a long-term lease in contrast to sale are also receiving attention.

Other devices being studied involve aid in specific phases of farm development. The items for some or all of which assistance may be required are: (1) Land purchase, (2) land development, (3) housing and other building improvements, (4) farm equipment and livestock, and (5) operating expense. The use of flexible-payment real-estate contracts involving annual obligations adjusted to incomes is being considered in connection with the first item. As an aid in land development, it has been suggested that such work might be carried on as a part of the irrigation construction program and the costs added to the construction charges against the. land, for repayment over the same 40-year period. Aid which might be provided by the United States Housing Authority, the Federal Housing administration, and other agencies is receiving attention under the third item. Financial aid in the purchase of farm equipment and livestock and in operating expenses is a part of current activities of the Farm Security Administration, and the experience in such aid is being reviewed from the standpoint of its utility to problems in the Columbia Basin project.

Problem No. 15.—What methods exist or could be developed for establishing the requisite control of privately owned lands? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each method? What method, all relevant factors considered, would be best? What policy or policies should be adopted with respect to the administration or disposal of lands brought under effective control?

Effective control of project lands has been regarded from the outset of the investigations as an indispensable prerequisite to the successful development and settlement of the project. Upon the establishment of effective control depend the ability to apply tried methods of settler selection which will afford protection both for the settlers and for the project, the ability to subdivide lands into farm units adjusted to topography, and the ability to carry out other improvements or to establish land uses which may be found desirable in the interests of the settler and the project. Especially significant to this discussion, of course, is the fact that effective control of project lands would greatly facilitate the provision of the various types of aid previously discussed to competent and worthy migrants.

Control of approximately 90 percent of the project area is at present in the hands of individual, private land owners. Of the remainder about half is owned by corporations and half by Federal, State, and county governments. Inasmuch as such a large part of the project area is privately owned, the inquiry under problem No. 15 is of great importance.

A preliminary report has been prepared and submitted by the investigators. Comments on the preliminary report are being received prior to the preparation of final recommendations. A copy of the preliminary report, together with comments of Professor Barrows upon it, as submitted by Commissioner Page to all participants in the joint investigations, is submitted herewith as exhibit B. Because of its significance to this discussion of settlement and development problems, however, a brief review of the report is given below.

The preliminary report first presents existing methods for establishing control of privately owned lands. With respect to existing methods it is concluded that they are not adequate for the organization of the orderly marketing and development program for lands which is needed.

The best method, it is concluded, involves the acquisition of title to lands by the Federal Government. Special advantages to be derived from the acquisition of lands by the Federal Government are cited, including the ability to provide aid to those competent and worthy farmers who have been forced off the Dust Bowl lands.

For the application of the best method, it is concluded "that a public corporate marketing and development agency should be organized with Federal ownership and control and State and local consultation in order effectively to perform the unique service required where a project of such unprecedented size is to be developed." If the corporate form of agency is not favored by Congress. the committee is of the opinion that powers should be granted to the Secretary of the Interior that are equivalent to the procedure suggested for the corporate agency.

The board of directors of the agency, it is suggested, should consist of "nine persons, three of whom shall be the chairmen of the boards of trustees of the three reclamation districts within the project, the fourth to be the Washington State director of conservation and development, and the remaining five to be selected from time to time by the Secretary of the Interior or the commissioner of reclamation.

It is recommended that "the State and the United States authorize conveyance to the agency of all county and federally owned lands, aggregating approximately 128,000 acres, and such State lands as it is possible under the State constitution to convey to it, all at their appraised value, to be paid for from time to time by the agency as the lands are sold." It is further recommended that a cash capital of approximately $1,000,000 be furnished by the United States to be used by the agency to purchase the lands of owners at appraised value. Such lands should be acquired in amounts sufficient to keep 2 or 3 years ahead of actual settlement in the areas about to be developed. "A marketing price differential, estimated at 10 percent, between acquisition cost and sale price should be included in the market price of lands to be sold by the agency, to cover actual selling costs of the agency."

In the matter of local taxation, it is suggested that any Federal legislation authorizing the acquisition of lands for settlement purposes should provide that pending the sale of such lands by the Government to settlers, the Government or other agency shall have the authority to lease such lands and that 25 percent of the rentals received shall be paid to the counties in which such lands are situated in lieu of land taxes, with a further provision that the county credit 10 percent thereof to the county current expense fund and 15 percent thereof to the local grade and high-school district in which any of the rented lands lie.

Problem No. 16.—How may the requisite control of State lands, county lands, and railroad lands best be secured?

Means are being considered which will bring the effective control of State, county, and railroad lands into harmony with the recommendations for control of privately owned lands (problem No. 15).

Problem No. 17.—To estimate, in the light of all relevant factors, the annual rate at which lands should be brought in during the first few years (say 6) after water becomes available.

The number of needy immigrants that can be accommodated on the project lands within the first few years after water becomes available depends, in part, upon conclusions reached in this inquiry. The urgency for accommodating the maximum possible number is clearly recognized and is being given full consideration. In the interests of those who settle the lands, and in the interests of the project, however, other factors involved in the desirable rate of development must necessarily be carefully weighed.

Six factors have been isolated for consideration:

1. Rate at which appropriations can be secured from Congress.
2. Effect of increased production of agricultural products on markets and consequently on other producing areas in the Northwest as well as prices received for crops produced.
3. Rate at which desirable settlers can be secured and the number that can readily be handled annually.
4. Effect on local financial structure for development of roads, schools, and other public services.
5. Need for land on which to place migrant families.
6. Minimum and maximum size of irrigation blocks from an economical standpoint of construction and settlement.

All of these factors are being given careful study. Some of them exert a pull in the direction of rapid development, others in the direction of retarded development. Of perhaps major force on opposing sides are the need for land on which to place migrant families—making for rapid development—and the possible adverse effect of rapid development upon the farm economy of the Northwest. The latter is of concern not only with respect to established farming areas. If agricultural production in the Northwest were increased so rapidly as to affect seriously the price structure, the settlers on the new lands responsible for the increase would suffer no less than settlers in adjacent, older areas, and perhaps would suffer more, inasmuch as the reserves needed during a period of exceptionally low prices would probably not be held by recently established farmers. Additional information will be brought to bear upon the question as a result of the market study noted previously, which will include consideration of the volume of produce which available markets may be expected to absorb. Preliminary conclusions point to an area of from 50,000 to 70,000 acres as the maximum which it would be desirable to bring in annually during the first few years of development.

Problem No. 18.—To determine the optimum number of new villages for the project area and their most advantageous placement; to design for them an appropriate number of suitable types of expansible patterns, with due regard to various land uses (commercial, industrial, recreational, institutional, and so forth), to reasonable minimum requirements for buildings, to building lines, the arrangement and width of streets, and the like; and to plan, insofar as practicable, essential public facilities, such as lighting systems, water works, and sewerage systems.

In some parts of the project area small villages now exist which serve a scattered dry-farm and ranch population. Many of these are well placed to grow and to serve tributary areas which will be settled by irrigation farmers. Other large parts of the area have virtually no inhabitants and no service centers. In addition to work of the type outlined in the problem statement which is planned for the uninhabited portions of the area, assistance is being given to representatives of existing villages who are concerned with the orderly, economical, and attractive development of their communities.

Problem No. 19.—To plan desirable additions to and modifications of the road net in adjustment to the irrigation system, village sites and patterns, farm hamlets (farmstead clusters), and other features, and to prospective transportational needs.

Initial, well advanced studies of the additional arterial highways needed, the general locations of which are largely determined by traffic requirements originating beyond the borders of the project area, are to be followed by studies of related, secondary, and tertiary systems for the project area as requisite information is developed in other investigations.

Problem No. 20.—To plan desirable additions to the railroad facilities of the project area, particularly in the form of branch lines and new shipping points, in mutual adjustment with such related items as new villages, prospective industries, the probable transportational needs of the future farm population, and the road net to be planned.

The main lines of three railroads cross the project area. They are from north to south: the Great Northern, the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific, and the Northern Pacific. A branch line of the Union Pacific enters the southeastern part of the project area and the line of the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle Railway skirts the area on the east. These, together with branch lines of the Milwaukee and Northern Pacific, will adequately serve large portions of the area to be irrigated.

The current and prospective importance of truck transport is receiving careful consideration in connection with the study of additional branch line railroads. Each of the roads in the project area is investigating its experience with branch lines and truck competition in irrigated areas which it now serves with a view to determining the need of and prospects for additional branch lines in portions of the project area more remote from present rail facilities.

Problem No. 21.—What is the significance to the project area of the Columbia River as a commercial route, if improved for navigation as proposed?

Possible savings in the cost of shipments to and from the project lands, the location of terminals on portions of the river now navigable for shallow draft boats, possible extensions of navigation, and the relation of existing and prospective terminals to railroads and highways are among the items under consideration.

Problem No. 22.—What are the essential facts with respect to the occurrence, movements, quantities, and qualities of underground waters throughout the project area? In dealing with this problem a contour map showing the depth to water at points of record is needed, and also estimates of the effect of irrigation upon the water table and of permissible drafts on the supply in different sections.

Federal funds, matched with funds provided by the State department of conservation and development, are being used for the survey which is conducted by the United States Geological Survey. Reconnaissance studies of the depth of the water table, which in some areas may prove a determining consideration in the grouping of farmsteads about a common well, are to be followed by detailed studies requiring a number of years.

Problem No. 23.—To plan the facilities (transmission lines, distribution systems, etc.) needed to bring electric energy most advantageously to the various parts of the project area as progressively opened and settled.

A preliminary report has been submitted which carries the following recommendations:

Transmission lines: It is recommended that the Government build and operate all new transmission lines and terminal substations needed for conveying power from Government power plants to the project area. Power should be delivered directly to Government pumping plants and offered for sale to others at the substations.

Distribution systems: It is recommended that the Government encourage the formation of public electric distribution districts in the project area, preferably a single district for the entire area, or at most, one for each of the three major irrigation districts. Considerable advantage might result in extending the scope of the irrigation district's authority to permit them to act as electric distribution agencies, or still better, as contracting agencies for a unified electric distribution system for the entire project area.

Customer's equipment: Careful planning of customer's wiring and appliances, and aids in financing them are of vital importance in effectively promoting the use of electricity on the project lands. The Rural Electrification Administration has collected data upon which Budget recommendations could be based. It is suggested that the investigators under problem No. 9 confer with the Administration in determining suitable electric equipment for farms of various classes and consider methods of financing them.

Problem No. 24.—What are the opportunities for village and neighborhood industries in the parts of the project area likely to be settled relatively soon? What steps should be taken to promote the development of industries of promise?

Principal attention in this inquiry centers in agricultural processing industries. In close collaboration with the committees concerned with desirable types of farming, investigations are being made of appropriate types, sizes, and locations for creameries, sugar-beet factories, packing plants, canneries, freezing plants, wineries, and other processing industries which might profitably be developed in the project area. In addition, a study is to be made looking toward the establishment of efficient marketing facilities.

Problem No. 25.—To locate and plan the lay-out and improvement of rural parks and recreational grounds within the project area.

Outstanding opportunities for recreational development are presented by a broken chain of lakes and streams which extends through the north central part of the project area. Similar opportunities are found along the Columbia and Snake Rivers, which fringe the narrower southern part of the project area. Studies directed toward the establishment of State parks at appropriate sites are in progress. Other recreational developments are being planned at pumping plants, the headworks of principal laterals, and other suitable sites, in connection with construction of the irrigation system.

Problem No. 26.—To formulate plans to promote the recreational use of the reservoir above Grand Coulee Dam and its shorelands, not in isolation but in effective interrelationship with the other diversified recreational assets of the inland empire and of contiguous areas, from all significant local, regional, and national points of view.

Between interesting and diversified shorelands, the reservoir will extend 150 miles to the Canadian River. Pleasure boats, via the river and the Arrow Lakes, will be able to go an equal distance beyond into the Canadian Rockies.

Under the leadership of the National Park Service, plans are well advanced for appropriate water-use facilities, public and private shoreland uses, and adequate access to areas of interest.

Problem No. 27.—To plan the location (first for the northern and the southernmost parts of the area), and, insofar as practicable, the improvement of sites for rural schools, churches, community halls, market centers, athletic fields (Cf. problems No. 18 and No. 25), and the like.

The investigation is proceeding in close collaboration with that of problems numbered 18 and 25 and other related to it. Studies are being made which look toward the maximum use of schools as community focal points.

Problem No. 28.—To develop, in the light of all relevant factors, the most advantageous pattern of local governmental units to meet prospective public needs.

The development of an irrigated area immediately creates needs for public facilities, especially schools and roads, the provision of which commonly lies beyond the means of local governments. Not until after a 4- or 5-year development period is the new settler in a position to contribute materially to the provision of such services. The attendant problems have been acute in some governmental units which possessed a substantial tax base prior to new irrigation development. The lack of substantial tax base by counties, schools districts, and road districts in the project area necessitates careful programming and financing of public improvements in such ways as to insure their establishment when and where needed and to eliminate or minimize the possibility of an excessive tax burden. These problems, the existing pattern of local governments, the functions of local governments, the prospective need for additional governmental functions, and other related matters are receiving the attention of the investigating committee.

REQUIREMENTS FOR EARLY IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT

The rate of construction which will permit the earliest practicable delivery of water to irrigable lands coincides with that most desirable from social and economic standpoints of the construction job itself. The construction of dams to create the balancing reservoir in the Grand Coulee, and the construction of the main canals with their numerous tunnels and siphons leading to the irrigable lands, 60 miles south of Grand Coulee Dam, are major undertakings. They require the use of experienced labor and heavy equipment. The skilled labor now completing work on the dam can be effectively employed in the heavy canal construction and the contractor's costs and prices, while equipment and skilled labor are still in the area, will be lower if construction progress is maintained than will be the case after men drift away and equipment is removed during a period of curtailed construction.

A construction program designed to hold employment at the highest practicable level and to permit the lowest construction costs has been planned. Under it water would be available for the first block of irrigable land in the spring of 1944 and it would permit the development of from 50,000 to 70,000 acres annually. The estimated costs of the program are approximately $25,000,000 in the fiscal year 1941; $20,000,000 in the fiscal years 1942–45, inclusive; $15,000,000 in 1946; $13,000,000 in 1947; and progressively smaller amounts in subsequent years. Maintenance of the program is contingent upon appropriations of $7,500,000 in addition to funds already appropriated for the fiscal year 1941, and of the full amounts of the estimates in succeeding fiscal years.

TESTIMONY OF DR. E. N. TORBERT, FIELD COORDINATOR, COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT, EPHRATA, WASH.

SIZE OF FARM UNITS

Mr. Osmers. Now, Dr. Torbert, I wonder if you would care to give us some of your thoughts on the size of these farms, the family-size farm and the large-scale farm. Which in your opinion is the ideal size?

Mr. Torbert. Well, of course, I speak with reference to the Columbia Basin project.

Mr. Osmers. Yes.

Mr. Torbert. Moreover, I speak with reference specifically to a series of investigations to which Mr. Duffy has referred, the joint investigations, which have been established to conduct a study of this and a number of other questions. As a matter of fact, the investigations include the whole range of settlement and development problems for the basin area. Consequently, in view of the fact that an investigation has been set up but has not progressed very far, I can't say much with reference to specific size of farm, whether 40 or 60 or 80 acres, and so on.

With reference to the general point which you raise, however, it is of course one of the major features of Federal reclamation policy to establish family-size farms, and it is with that primary objective in mind that we are working at present in the Columbia Basin area.

Mr. Osmers. On the family-size farm basis?

Mr. Torbert. On the family-size farm.

Mr. Osmers. In other words, that would be away from the group farm or the large-scale farm?

Mr. Torbert. That is correct. Though I hasten to add that large farms are definitely being considered by the groups investigating those points, and I of course can't predict what they will find. But they may well find that an experiment with a large-scale farm is desirable.

Mr. Osmers. Have you gentlemen in your studies or in your work investigated the situation in the so-called cut-over region in northern Michigan and Wisconsin?

Mr. TORBERT. No. That has not entered into our studies.

Mr. OSMERS. They have made some very interesting studies of that area. We heard about it in Chicago, and I certainly would advise that if you have that kind of cut-over territory that you get in touch with the appropriate authorities on that. They have made some very interesting studies.

Now, the Columbia Basin project will not have any water available until 1944; is that right?

Mr. TORBERT. That is correct. If we can maintain the construction program which we now plan, water will be available in the spring of 1944.

Mr. OSMERS. 1944. Now, what is happening with the problems of unemployment and migration while waiting for 1944? How is it being handled?

Mr. TORBERT. Well, of course, with reference to the Columbia Basin project there has been no attempt and there has been no opportunity to provide opportunities other than through employment at the dam. In view of the fact that it is impossible to get water on the land prior to that date, there are no opportunities available—farm opportunities on irrigated land.

EFFECT OF ANTISPECULATION ACT ON COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT

Mr. OSMERS. Now, referring back again to the Antispeculation Act that I discussed with Mr. Duffy, would you care to discuss the effect of that on current land transactions in the Columbia Basin area?

Mr. TORBERT. The Antispeculation Act is not in effect as yet. It has been passed by the Congress and ratified by the State legislature, but prior to the signing of a contract by the water users with the Bureau of Reclamation, the provisions of that act are not actually in effect. However, the very existence of the act and its provisions seem to have been working, as far as we can judge, to limit land speculation in agricultural areas. That is to say, there are some—if you are not familiar with the provisions of the act, I might itemize a few of the more significant ones.

The CHAIRMAN. Could we not get those and have them inserted in the record?

Mr. TORBERT. Yes. I can supply you with a statement.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes. All right, if you want to do that.

Now, will this Antispeculation Act curb or control speculators in land and in township sites after the original transaction?

Mr. TORBERT. Well, the Antispeculation Act does not apply to land now within towns. It applies only to irrigable agricultural land.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. It will not curb those dealing in——

Mr. TORBERT (interposing): In town sites.

Mr. OSMERS (continuing). Town sites at all?

Mr. TORBERT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Clawson, your statement will be put into the record at this point.

(The statement submitted by Mr. Clawson is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF MARION CLAWSON, PRINCIPAL FIELD REPRESENTATIVE, BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

MIGRANT SETTLEMENT ON RECLAMATION PROJECTS—OPPORTUNITIES, PROBLEMS, AND POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVEMENT

SUMMARY

Settlement on Federal Reclamation projects has been one type of situation into which interstate migrants have come in the past decade. The circumstances surrounding such location by migrants on one Federal reclamation project have been described in some detail by other representatives of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. On the whole, settlement on a reclamation project represents one of the best opportunities open to the migrant with limited capital resources and with agricultural background and experience. Reclamation projects offer such migrants an opportunity to convert labor into income and into wealth.

This opportunity has serious limitations, however, and the destitute or near destitute migrant settler on a reclamation project is faced with many hardships. Settlement on reclamation projects is a form of modern pioneering and, like pioneering of earlier periods, hardship is unavoidable. At best the settler requires some capital in order to improve his farm and to provide a living for his family until the farm is in a productive state. The amount of this capital varies considerably depending upon the circumstances of the area, but exceeds $3,000 under practically all conditions. The interstate migrant who settles on reclamation projects is generally faced with a new type of agriculture and with new problems to be solved. He requires special technical guidance and assistance in order to make the most effective use of the opportunity offered to him.

Although there are Federal and State agencies which can and do assist interstate migrants who locate upon reclamation projects, none of these agencies has the authority or funds to provide adequate assistance to the migrant. These agencies are willing to assist migrants not only by means of their regular program but also by means of any special programs which they have the authority to initiate, but they are not equipped to perform all the services needed by the migrant. Moreover, the migrant is forced to make contacts with a large number of agencies and this is always a bewildering and unsatisfactory experience for him.

Irrigation water is delivered by the Bureau of Reclamation to each tract of land. The settler must then undertake the distribution of this water onto the various parts of his land. In order to secure raw land he must ordinarily purchase it from a private owner or real-estate dealer. The price of the raw land is governed to a major extent by the Antispeculation Act (act of May 27, 1937, 50 Stat. 208), which applies to Federal reclamation projects. Landowners are naturally anxious to sell their property for the best price and on the best terms available. They generally want cash or at the least a short-term contract for their land. The destitute, or near destitute, migrant is unable to pay cash for the raw land and he cannot expect to repay its cost on a short-term contract as his farm income will inevitably be low during the first years of settlement.

Capital is required to clear and develop the land, to construct the necessary farm buildings, including a modest but suitable farm home and domestic water supply, to purchase machinery and livestock, and to pay the family living costs during the period in which the farm is being brought into production. Comparatively few interstate migrants who have come into the Western States possess the necessary capital to develop their raw land into productive farms. In their efforts to borrow the necessary capital they have tried numerous agencies, private persons, and corporations.

The Bureau of Reclamation has no authority to make loans of this or any other type to individual settlers and has no funds available for this purpose even if it had the requisite authority.

The Farm Credit Administration, including the Federal land banks, production credit associations, and the banks for cooperatives, are authorized and do make loans on farm property and to farmers or farm groups. Such loans must be made to established farms and are made on the basis of the farm as a going concern. In order to reduce the risk the Farm Credit Administration requires that the borrower possess a substantial equity in his business.

The Farm Security Administration is authorized to make loans to rehabilitate low-income farmers. It has no authority to lend money, to buy land, or to make permanent improvements except under the tenant purchase program, which is very limited in extent in any particular area. The loan required to establish a settler on Federal Reclamation Project is large compared with the amount usually necessary to rehabilitate a low-income farmer on an established farm. Although the Farm Security Administration has been of very material assistance in some recently established reclamation projects it has had to stretch its authority in order to make such loans as it did make and in any event its activities in these areas have been wholly inadequate to meet the needs of the settlers.

Commercial concerns and private individuals generally have not been interested in extending credit to settlers because they feel that the risk is high. Migrants ordinarily have but a small equity, and the assets created by the loan are not liquid or easily realized upon. Interest and principal frequently cannot be paid during the first years of settlement. All in all the migrant with low capital resources has had the most difficult time in obtaining the credit necessary to develop his farm.

The migrant who settles upon Federal reclamation projects requires a large amount of technical guidance and assistance. While the Agricultural Extension Service of the State colleges and the Department of Agriculture provide service of this type to establish farmers, it resources have been wholly inadequate to meet the needs of settlers during the first few years on the farm. Other agencies of the Department such as the Soil Conservation Service, Farm Security Administration, and the Farm Credit Administration can and do provide assistance of special types but this has been inadequate in amount and restricted in coverage so that the settler has not received all of the assistance which he required. The Bureau of Reclamation has been able to provide some assistance to settlers but only to a limited extent and incidental to their major program.

Settlement experience on Federal reclamation projects, particularly settlement by migrants with extremely limited capital resources, has indicated clearly a need for a new organization of agencies or institutions involved in such settlement. Some means must be devised whereby settlers can be provided with the necessary services and assistance in the most efficient manner and yet the experience accumulated in past settlement be retained. There would seem to be two major alternatives for accomplishing this end:

(1) The creation of a publicly financed corporation with the necessary legal authority and funds to buy and subdivide land, extend credit, and give technical guidance and assistance. This corporation would perform all the necessary functions for assistance of settlers and would do so under one centralized management. It should be managed by a board of directors representing the Federal, State, and local groups primarily interested in the development of a new reclamation area. The primary activities of this corporation would be carried on prior to settlement and during the first years of settlement in an area. After settlement was complete, the functions performed by the corporation would gradually revert to established agencies, since the need for special assistance would no longer exist.

(2) The formation of cooperative agreements between existing Federal and State agencies whereby each would agree to perform certain services for the settler. This would require supplementary legislation and would probably necessitate some type of coordinator to assure its best operation. Such an arrangement is subject to serious limitations and could not be expected to function as efficiently in terms of costs of operations or in terms of services rendered as could a corporation previously described. The cooperative agreement form of action is far superior to the present relatively uncorrelated programs of different agencies. Arrangements along one of these two lines will probably be worked out prior to the date of settlement in the Columbia Basin project. Congressional action will be required in order to make either of these types of settler service fully effective.

INTERSTATE MIGRATION TO THE FAR WEST

Representatives of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics previously appearing before this committee have presented a general picture of interstate migration to the far West during the decade 1930–39. They have described the source of this migration, its volume, timing, the age and occupational groups involved, and similar data relating to the migrants as a group. They have also described the situation of one group of migrants who settled upon a Federal reclamation project. Information was presented as to the level of living of these settlers, their income and increased net worth, the hardships which were encountered, and similar items. Still further information has been presented on the opportunities for settlement of migrants in agriculture. These opportunities are chiefly upon new land whether this be land reclaimed by irrigation, or cut-over timberland, or land to be reclaimed by drainage. On the whole there are considerable possibilities for settlement of migrants and others upon new land in the far western States.

The Bureau of Reclamation has presented or will present information to this committee which will show the extent of the areas to which water will be supplied during the next decade. It should be pointed out in this connection that reclamation of raw land by means of provision of irrigation water is an accepted policy by Congress and by both major political parties of the United States.

The material which follows is based upon the material presented earlier regarding migration and settlement opportunities. No effort is made to repeat any of this information since it will be available to the committee from these sources.

RECLAMATION PROJECTS A GOOD OPPORTUNITY FOR MIGRANTS

Federal reclamation projects offer one of the best available opportunities to the migrant with limited capital resources and an agricultural background. He is afforded an opportunity to turn his labor and that of his family into income and into capital assets or wealth. Settlement on a Federal reclamation project is a form of modern pioneering and as such it involves some hardships just as pioneering in an earlier period involved hardships. The modern pioneer is faced with many problems and situations which did not confront the older pioneers, although at the same time he avoids many serious situations which once existed. Farming today is faced with a monetary economy. The farmer must have money to buy necessary materials and goods and he must sell his produce for money. While he can produce a considerable part of his own food supply, it is impossible for him to secure those things which are commonly accepted as part of a desirable standard of living unless he is able to secure a considerable cash income from some source.

A settler on a Federal reclamation project must have considerable capital to develop his raw land into a productive farm. In this respect his situation differs from that of the original pioneers who were able to develop their raw land into farms with little or no capital. Money must be available to furnish the settler and his family with a living until production is available from the farm. Money is required to buy lumber and other building materials, farm machinery, and farm livestock. The exact amount of money required depends upon the size and type of the farm which will be developed, upon the living conditions of the farm family, and upon the income which may be secured from outside work. It seems evident that, in most of the reclamation projects now being developed, $3,000 to $5,000 is the minimum with which the settler can expect to get established and the farm developed into a productive enterprise.

Settlers on reclamation projects require a considerable amount of technical guidance and assistance which was generally not so necessary to the earlier pioneers. Most migrants who settle on reclamation projects are confronted with a new type of agriculture. Even when they have been familiar with the type of farming which will ultimately be developed on their land, there are serious special problems involved in the clearing and development of raw land. During the settlement period the pattern for future activity on a particular tract of land is being set for a long period in the future. It is extremely important, therefore, that settlers proceed on a proper basis during the development period. At best the migrant is faced with difficult problems of personal and social adjustment in his new location. These problems are particularly serious when settlement is on raw land. The new environment, the new associations, and the new way of life necessitate many adjustments. This is a problem which faced pioneers in the earlier period.

INSTITUTIONAL PATTERN NOT WELL ADAPTED TO NEEDS OF MIGRANTS

The present pattern of agencies and institutions which might be expected to assist the migrant in getting settled on reclamation projects is not well adapted to serve the needs of these settlers. There are a large number of agencies in the Department of Agriculture and in other Federal departments and State governments which can be and are of some assistance to the migrant in getting settled upon a reclamation project. For the most part, however, these agencies each have certain specialized functions or tasks which they must perform over a large area. For the most part, too, these agencies have been designed to deal with particular types of problems in established areas. Judging by experience in the last decade on new reclamation projects, these agencies are willing to assist migrant settlers not only by means of their regular program but by means of any special programs which they are able to devise within their basic legislative authority. In the comparisons which follow there is no inference of lack of willingness to perform the necessary services for migrant settlers but only evidence that most agencies now in the field are not adapted to perform those special services required by migrant settlers. Moreover, the fact that there are numerous agencies adds to the complexities of the situation which confront the migrant settler. He is forced to contact numerous agencies in an effort to get assistance, and the chances are considerable that after he has done so he will still not have the assistance which he requires. A brief consideration of the services required by the migrant settler and the possible agencies which might provide those services follows.

Land.—Raw land which the migrant settler will ultimately develop into a productive farm must ordinarily be purchased from present individual land owners or through a real-estate dealer. On some projects there are a few opportunities for homesteading of federally owned land. The prices at which raw land can be sold in the Columbia Basin project are governed to a major extent by the Antispeculation Act (Act of May 27, 1937, 50 Stat. 208). Owners of land are naturally anxious to sell their property for the best price available and on the best terms which can be secured. Although the price at which they can sell land is fixed, they want to sell this land for cash or at least on a short-term sales contract. The migrant settler with limited capital resources will probably be unable to pay cash for the raw land. If he enters into a short-term contract he will probably find it difficult or impossible to meet the annual payments on this land since his farm will not be in full production for a period of perhaps 5 years. He therefore runs a risk of losing the capital he has. Credit should be available to permit the settler to purchase land on a long-term basis on a program similar to the payments for the construction of the irrigation system.

Irrigation water.—Irrigation water is furnished to the raw land by the Bureau of Reclamation. This is a specialized function of this agency which operates only in certain clearly defined areas. This function has been performed very efficiently by the Bureau of Reclamation. It operates on a wholesale basis in the sense that it delivers water to the highest point on each tract of land; usually to one point on each 40-acre tract. It is the settler's problem to distribute this water from this point to the various parts of his land. He must construct the retail or farm-irrigation system. In some areas this requires considerable skill and capital. The Bureau of Reclamation also collects money from the farmer for the operations and maintenance of the irrigation system and for repayment of construction costs of the irrigation system. It is in a position of putting a first claim on the farm income and all subsequent financing must recognize its prior claims for the operation, maintenance, and construction of the irrigation system.

Capital.—A settler must have capital to clear his land, to construct buildings on it, to purchase necessary farm machinery, and to acquire livestock. The amount of money needed for these purposes varies considerably as was indicated earlier. Comparatively few migrants will possess the necessary capital for these purposes. If they do not possess the capital themselves they must borrow it from some source or else the farm will be developed very slowly and income and living levels will suffer considerably for a long period of years. There are several agencies or persons who extend credit and who might conceivably furnish credit to settlers for farm development.

A review of these agencies and of their authority, however, leads to the conclusion that none of them have the necessary authority or funds to extend the type of credit which is needed.

The Bureau of Reclamation has no authority to extend credit to settlers. Its function is to construct and operate irrigation works, and to investigate the feasibility of such projects. Not only does the Bureau of Reclamation not have authorization or funds for direct loans to settlers but the extension of such authorization and the appropriation of necessary funds would involve an entirely new range of activities for this agency.

The Farm Credit Administration, including the Federal Land Bank, Production Credit Association, and the Banks for Cooperatives, has the authority and funds to extend credit to farms and farm organizations. Such credit is restricted by law, however, to loans on established farms or established marketing associations and credit must be extended only on the basis of a going concern. In order to safeguard its loans, the Farm Credit Administration requires a considerable equity on the part of the borower. The Farm Credit Administration is in a position to extend both long- and short-term credit at moderate interest rates when the necessary conditions regarding loans can be met. After settlers have developed their farms into full production and after they have acquired a substantial equity in them, the Farm Credit Administration will be a valuable source of credit. It seems impossible for the Farm Credit Administration to extend credit to settlers on reclamation projects, however, until these conditions have been made.

The Farm Security Administration makes loans to low-income farmers to rehabilitate them to a self-supporting basis. Ordinarily this rehabilitation is a shorter term proposition than is the development of raw land. Moreover, the amount of money required for a settler to develop raw land into a farm is so large that it would ordinarily rehabilitate several established low-income farmers. More serious than either of these facts, however, is the fact that the Farm Security Administration has no authority to lend money to buy land and make permanent improvements except under the tenant-purchase program. This latter is a special program the extent of which is definitely limited in each particular area. It is doubtful if the purposes of the tenant-purchase program could be served by extension of credit to migrant settlers for development of raw land, and even if they could be thus served, the extent of this program in an area such as the Columbia Basin project would be so limited in comparison with the needs of settlers for credit as to be of extremely limited usefulness. The Farm Security Administration has assisted materially in settlement of such reclamation projects as the Vale and Owyhee but in so doing it stretched its authority for making loans to the very limit and the resultant loans were wholly inadequate to meet the needs of the migrant settlers.

Commercial concerns and private individuals might be expected to extend credit to migrant or other settlers on Federal reclamation projects. On the whole, private capital has been uninterested in Federal reclamation projects, or has been available only on such terms as to be very poorly suited to the needs of migrant settlers. The risk involved in extending credit to a settler who has but little capital of his own is indeed high. The assets to be created by the loan are not liquid or easily realized upon. The amount and value of these assets depend very largely upon the personal ability and ambition of the settler to translate his labor into productive resources. Loans of this sort are almost character loans. The average private individual or private concern is in no position to investigate the character of a migrant settler who has no record and few friends in his new location. If a loan were to be extended, interest and principal payments probably could not be paid during the first few years of settlement. Credit of this type is therefore somewhat risky and with slow and rather uncertain returns. It is not surprising to find that very little credit has been available from private persons or commercial concerns and that credit which has been available has been very poorly suited to the needs of the migrant settler.

Technical service and guidance.—All settlers on raw land require a large amount of technical assistance in order to develop this land at the least cost and in the most effective manner. Migrants who are facing a new environment and new types of farming require additional special assistance. Oftentimes it is possible to develop the best farm-irrigation system or the best farm-cropping system with as little cost and little labor as it is to develop a poorer system. A given amount of technical assistance extended during the formative period of settlement is likely to be several times as valuable as the same amount of technical assistance extended in later years. If the farmstead is properly located and properly designed, if the fields are well laid out, and if the cropping system is properly adapted to the conditions for the particular tract of land, the necessary investment of capital and labor will be held to the minimum and, more important, the costs of operation will be materially less and the farm income materially greater over a period of years.

There are several agencies who provide technical services and guidance of the type required by migrant settlers on Federal reclamation projects but these agencies have special functions or are inadequately financed or both so that none of them are in a position to give settlers all of the assistance of the type which they need.

The extension service of the agricultural colleges and the Department of Agriculture, including county agents and the various technical specialists, provide information and technical assistance to farmers in their respective areas of operation. The quality of this work has generally been excellent, but the extension service is very inadequately financed to provide the type of assistance required during the settlement period. In most counties there is a county agent with possibly an assistant who has to serve all of the farmers in the county on all of the problems affecting them. His work with settlers would necessarily be limited to group services such as the distribution of literature or the holding of meetings. It would be impossible for him to extend direct assistance to individual settlers. Specialists such as the crop, livestock, or irrigation specialists ordinarily have to provide services in their special fields to farmers throughout the entire State in which they work. These specialists could provide some group assistance to settlers but could give virtually no individual assistance.

The soil-conservation service provides a special service; namely, that of farm planning for purposes of conservation of soil and other natural resources. This work has generally been concentrated in soil-conservation districts and specially desiganted demonstration areas. The soil-conservation service has the necessary kinds of technicians to do an excellent job of a particular kind. It is not certain that they would have the manpower to perform this serevice for all settlers in an area as large as the Columbia Basin. Valuable as is the type of service extended by the Soil Conservation Service, it is specialized and would not fill all the needs of the average settler.

The Farm Security Administration and the Farm Credit Administration have done some informal work regarding the use of credit. In general, this work has been limited to their borrowers and even so has been rather limited in extent. This type of informational work may be very helpful but the scale on which it has been done in the past would be inadequate to meet the needs of settlers in an area such as the Columbia Basin, even for this narrow range of subject matter, and in any case does not purport to provide complete technical guidance to the settler.

The Bureau of Reclamation has provided technical guidance and advice to settlers only on an incidental basis. This is not a recognized major function of the Bureau of Reclamation, and they have not the necessary funds to engage in this type of work. In some instances they have had a few special agents to assist settlers in developing their land. The extent of this assistance has been extremely limited, however, and in many cases has dealt primarily with the development of a farm irrigation system. The Bureau of Reclamation is in a unique position in extending technical guidance and assistance to settlers, since ordinarily the first point of contact of a settler with any Federal agency is with the Bureau of Reclamation when he makes arrangements for the delivery of irrigation water.

Participation in conservation programs.—Participation in conservation programs such as those of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration are more difficult for the settler on raw land than for the established farmer. A major part of these programs are built upon some type of historical base or record of past operations and production. There can obviously be no base for a piece of raw land. In the case of some programs this simply makes it impossible for the settler to secure the advantages of the particular conservation program. In the case of sugar beets this may make it impossible for the settler to produce beets at all. Most of these conservation programs have been designed to meet the problems existing in established farming areas. In numerous ways they are ill-adapted to the needs of a new area. Settlers on Federal reclamation projects must find some means of complying with the provisions of these programs if they are to secure maximum farm incomes.

Marketing.—The marketing organization which arises in a new reclamation area is often very inadequate. As settlement takes place and as the amount of farm production increases, the marketing organization "just grows", like Topsy. There is likely to be a large amount of overlapping in some parts with serious gaps in other parts. The units comprising the entire marketing system are likely to be too small to operate efficiently. The cost of getting products from the farm to the consumer is likely to be too great. Cooperative marketing of farm products is particularly difficult for settlers on new reclamation projects. This is because they lack the necessary community and group relations which are found in older areas and which are basic to most successful cooperative marketing organizations. The settler on raw land is likely to be so engrossed in his own problems of farm development that he has little time or energy for group action on marketing. There are numerous Federal and State agencies which provide technical assistance in the development of marketing organizations in an area. A considerably greater program of some kind is required if the marketing organization in an area is to be reasonably effective. In the United States as a whole somewhat less than half of the consumers' dollar spent for food products reaches the farmer. If the efficiency of the marketing system can be increased the greater return secured by the farmer may be the deciding factor in the ultimate success or failure of a reclamation project.

INSTITUTIONAL PATTERN UNSATISFACTORY OUTSIDE OF AGRICULTURE

Although the purpose of this material is primarily to deal with the situation in Federal reclamation projects it might be worth while in passing to note that the agency and institutional pattern as it affects interstate migrants is generally unsatisfactory in areas other than Federal reclamation projects. Such activities as public health, relief, employment services, and so forth, can materially assist the interstate migrant in getting located, in earning a livelihood, and in securing an adequate level of living. Each of these programs is only a partial one however. The migrant is forced to make numerous contacts and to work out for himself the necessary coordination between these various partial programs. He lacks funds and knowledge to do this and as a result secures considerably less benefit from these programs than it should be possible to secure. The consequences of these numerous programs are less evident in established areas than is the case in a reclamation project where all of the settlers are new and where a large portion of them are interstate migrants. It seems possible that these programs which affect migrants could be integrated better than has been done in the past.

A NEW ORGANIZATION OF AGENCIES OR INSTITUTIONS IS NEEDED

A new organization of the existing agencies and institutions or the creation of new agencies or institutions is need if migrants are to be given the most effective and adequate service in getting located, in earning a living, and in securing an adequate level of living in their new location. At this date it cannot be stated with certainty as to the form this new arrangement or organization should take in order to secure the greatest efficiency. It seems evident that something new is needed but at the same time it is desirable to utilize accumulated experience of existing agencies as far as possible. There would seem to be two major alternatives of action which would provide the settler, particularly the migrant settler, with the assistance which he so urgently needs. These alternatives are described below:

Public corporation.—One alternative would be the creation of a publicly financed corporation with legal authority and funds to buy and subdivide land, to extend credit, and to give technical guidance and assistance to settlers. Such a corporation would perform all the necessary functions of settler guidance and assistance under one centralized management. The corporation could be managed by a board of directors representing the various Federal, State, and local interests most directly concerned in Federal reclamation development. The directors could select a manager who would direct the entire program of this corporation. This would insure coordination of all of the programs affecting settlers. The corporation could enter into cooperative agreements with existing agencies and could perform some activities jointly. For instance, it could employ specialists to provide technical assistance to settlers in building construction, or in farm irrigation system lay-out, or in crop production. These specialists could be employed jointly with the State agricultural college extension service.

This corporation should have a limited life and be concerned primarily with the problems which arise prior to and during the first five years of settlement on a particular tract of land. The corporation would simply be a means of coordinating and consolidating the scattered activities of numerous existing agencies plus the addition of necessary services not now available to settlers. It would be a device for joint agency action during a particular period and to meet problems of a particular situation. It could be made a highly flexible instrument for carrying out a joint program. When the greatest needs of this particular situation had been met the corporation could gradually withdraw from a particular area and could return its functions to the various specialized agencies.

Cooperative agreements among existing agencies.—An alternative means of guiding and assisting settlement on Federal reclamation projects is the creation of cooperative agreements among existing Federal and State agencies. In these agreements each agency would state the functions which it could perform and the relations between agencies could be set forth rather concretely. In order that this type of cooperative agreement should be effective it would probably be necessary to have some type of coordinator who would be responsible for smooth operation of the cooperative agreement.

In order to provide the necessary services to settlers some supplemental legislation would be required in order to provide some of the existing agencies with authority to perform necessary services not now provided for. The most outstanding of these is authority to extend credit for land purchase and land development. Considerable additional appropriations to some agencies would be required. The use of a cooperative agreement between existing agencies to perform functions which lie partially in the field of a number of them is a clumsy arrangement and is subject to serious limitations:

(1) It is permissive and optional so that any one organization, sometimes even one person, could block the performance of the entire group. This is really government by the smallest minority and on terms acceptable to every individual or agency concerned. Action is likely to be relatively ineffective, particularly upon any controversial issues.

(2) There is a great deal of waste motion in clearing specific action between agencies. It is not unlikely that the overhead would be doubled for a particular range and amount of activity and even then the ultimate effectiveness of the program would be considerably reduced. The settler is inevitably bewildered by a large number of points of contact with numerous agencies.

(3) Such an arrangement is subject to the fiscal limitations of the weakest agency. It is far harder to synchronize the need for money and appropriations by fiscal years for several agencies than for one agency, particularly if the one agency is a corporation with a definite period of life and if it could shift funds from one function to another as needed.

(4) Such a cooperative agreement between agencies is almost certain to encounter certain limitations of bottlenecks because of the piecemeal and unrelated legislation which created these numerous agencies. Some of these bottlenecks of legal authority will be concerned with very minor details which nevertheless have strategic importance.

In spite of all these limitations the cooperative agreement form of action between existing agencies is far superior to the present relatively uncorrelated programs of the numerous agencies which now deal with settlers on Federal reclamation projects. It is probably true in fields other than reclamation and other than agriculture that it would be feasible and desirable to create a cooperative council for integrated action to aid migrants.

TESTIMONY OF MARION CLAWSON, PRINCIPAL FIELD REPRESENTATIVE, BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, SPOKANE, WASH.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Clawson, what do you think specifically can be worked out between State and Federal Governments in the settlement of a reclamation area?

Mr. CLAWSON. Well, first is control of speculation. There has been a great deal done by this Antispeculation Act which Mr. Torbert has just referred to, which is both a Federal and a State act. I think that a good deal should be done in extension of credit for land development, as Mr. Duffy has indicated. The Farm Security Administration is not in a position to extend land development credit, and, to the best of my knowledge, no other Federal or State agency is in that position. There are a number of Federal agencies extending credit to agriculture, but it is to establish farms in established areas and not for land development. And I think that a great deal of settler selection and settler guidance, that is, informational work could and should be done by State and Federal agencies in cooperation, or as far as the technical guidance informational work it would mean more of an extension of existing work rather than new lines of work. In other words, existing agencies are scarcely equipped to handle the entire burden that is placed on them in the settlement of a new area.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. PUBLICLY FINANCED CORPORATION FOR LAND SETTLEMENT

Mr. OSMERS. Now, in your statement I believe you suggest the creation of a publicly financed corporation to assist in land settlement?

Mr. CLAWSON. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, what of these problems that have been enumerated by your testimony and by Mr. Duffy and by Mr. Torbert would be settled by such a publicly financed corporation?

Mr. CLAWSON. Well, assuming, of course, that the corporation was granted the necessary authority and funds, I think that all of these problems could be dealt with by such a corporation. They could, of course, also be dealt with by extensions of authority and funds to existing agencies, but by and large the existing agencies, such as the Farm Security Administration and others, were originally created and have largely dealt with certain problems and have been planned for established areas, and you would have a problem of coordination of their activities. And it seems to some of us that a public corporation on which these agencies were all represented would be the most feasible administrative means of coordination.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, do you believe that there would be any real economy in having the Bureau of Reclamation lay out the farm for the settler, based on their technical understanding of the land, and also putting the irrigation ditches in, which the farmer now installs himself?

Mr. **Clawson**. Well, I think there would be a great deal of economy in their laying it out. More than that—at least in the Columbia Basin and many other projects—they would avoid a great deal of waste and soil erosion, which is very likely to take place, especially if many of these settlers are unfamiliar with irrigation.

Now, I don't know that it would require that it be done by the Bureau, but it could be done under their guidance by the settler or under the guidance of some other group of technical workers. In other words, the settler might do it himself, but under expert guidance. It requires a degree of technical skill that most of them will not have.

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, I would like to ask you a general question that any of you might answer:

Do you believe as a result of the studies that you have made so far that in resettlement and reclamation that we have a possible solution to the migrant problem?

Mr. **Clawson**. I do not. Not speaking for the others, I think we certainly do not. I think that we cannot find a place for all of the migrants of agricultural origins, let alone the entire migrant problem. And I don't know that Dr. Torbert mentioned it, but the development of this area will take place over a 20-year period, in which case there may be as many migrants come in——

Mr. **Osmers** (interposing). And will be absorbed?

Mr. **Clawson**. Yes; or more.

Mr. **Osmers**. In fact, that is likely if it turns into a fairly attractive project?

Mr. **Clawson**. Yes. And after all, this project isn't solely for migrants. There are local people that are going to settle on there.

Mr. **Osmers**. Quite naturally. Mr. Duffy, would you care to give any thoughts on that question?

Mr. **Duffy**. Well, I concur very fully with Mr. Clawson. I do not believe that it is the answer to the entire problem of the migrants.

Mr. **Osmers**. I don't mean the entire problem because there isn't any one thing that is going to solve it all. But do you think that we could take a considerable number of these Dust Bowl farmers, for example, under Government supervision, take them and move them into reclaimed areas and irrigated areas?

Mr. **Duffy**. I do believe that is true.

Mr. **Osmers**. It would not settle the whole migrant problem. It probably never will be settled in our lifetime. People will continue to move around.

Mr. **Duffy**. We could make a substantial contribution to answering the question or answering the problem.

Mr. **Osmers**. How about you, Dr. Torbert?

Mr. **Torbert**. I feel the same way, that it would make a substantial contribution to the solution of the problem, but that it obviously cannot solve the whole problem.

2. GOVERNMENT SPONSORSHIP OF RESETTLEMENT

Mr. **Osmers**. Would you say that it is true that the Federal Government, rather than any other governmental agency or form of government, will have to assume the sponsorship of that entire movement from the point of origin right on through to the resettlement and probably the financing of the families?

Mr. **Clawson.** Very definitely, with, however, local participation. That was, incidentally, one of the things behind this corporation suggestion that I made, that local people and your earlier settlers might help to guide the later settlers, and that sort of thing, so that you would have certain decentralization and avoidance of bureaucracy.

Mr. **Osmers.** There are important phases of this problem which I am only going to mention for the sake of the record, that must be considered, and that is the territory of origin is left with a real tax situation on their hands if half the population moves away. While it is true that the cost of governmental services may be reduced by the removal of the people, they won't have to educate their children or protect them with police and fire departments, and so on but they do leave the governmental debt of the area right there. So that would have to be considered in any such move, too? [Assent.]

That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

The **Chairman.** Well, I want to say to you gentlemen that we feel that Oregon certainly has given us a very fine contribution at this hearing, and undoubtedly in our report your statements will find a high place, and we are very grateful to you for coming down here, and your statements will be inserted in full in the record. We thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE HATFIELD, CORNELIUS, OREG.

The **Chairman.** Clarence Hatfield.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Your name is Clarence Hatfield?

Mr. **Hatfield.** Clarence Hatfield.

Mr. **Sparkman.** And you are from where?

Mr. **Hatfield.** From Kansas; northern Kansas.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Well, where is your home now?

Mr. **Hatfield.** Oh, you mean up here? Cornelius, Oreg.

Mr. **Sparkman.** How long have you lived in Oregon?

Mr. **Hatfield.** I have been there 3 years.

Mr. **Sparkman.** And you came from Kansas?

Mr. **Hatfield.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Sparkman.** What part of Kansas?

Mr. **Hatfield.** Northeastern Kansas.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Are you married?

Mr. **Hatfield.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Do you have any children?

Mr. **Hatfield.** Two.

Mr. **Sparkman.** How old are they?

Mr. **Hatfield.** Eight and ten.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Boys or girls?

Mr. **Hatfield.** One boy and one girl.

Mr. **Sparkman.** The section of Oregon you live in, is that cut-over section?

Mr. **Hatfield.** Mostly.

Mr. Sparkman. That cut-over section is being settled mostly, is it not, by purchasing small tracts?

Mr. Hatfield. Well, it is right in that particular place where I am at.

Mr. Sparkman. About how much to the person, to the family?

Mr. Hatfield. Oh, I would say from 5 acres to 35.

Mr. Sparkman. From 5 to 35?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Were you a farmer back in Kansas?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. All your life?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Did you ever own a farm?

Mr. Hatfield. No.

Mr. Sparkman. Rented from someone else?

Mr. Hatfield. Rented all the time.

Mr. Sparkman. You never made any effort to buy a farm?

Mr. Hatfield. Well, not in Kansas; no.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, I meant in Kansas. Do you own some land up in Oregon?

Mr. Hatfield. I have got a little 5-acre patch there now.

Mr. Sparkman. Timberland or cut-over land?

Mr. Hatfield. Cut-over land; yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Cut-over land. Why did you leave Kansas?

Mr. Hatfield. Well, that's kind of a hard question to answer in a way, and in another way it isn't. There is nobody really coaxed me to leave, or anything, and it wasn't exactly on account of the drought, but it was partly. I just got kind of discouraged about the grasshoppers more than anything else.

Mr. Sparkman. Did you have some crop failures?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes; I had crop failures.

Mr. Sparkman. Caused principally by grasshoppers?

Mr. Hatfield. Grasshoppers, and there was some drought, too.

Mr. Sparkman. Were you out of debt?

Mr. Hatfield. No. I was in debt a little when I made up my mind to sell out and leave.

Mr. Sparkman. You paid out?

Mr. Hatfield. Paid out.

Mr. Sparkman. Sold your things when you started away?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Did you have anything left over?

Mr. Hatfield. I had approximately $100 in cash besides some, oh, household stuff and a car, and one thing and another.

Mr. Sparkman. So you left Kansas free of debt and with about $100 in your pocket and a car to transport your family, and a few things?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. How did you happen to come to Oregon?

Mr. Hatfield. Well, I had a nephew here at the time. He didn't coax me to come, or anything, but I had—kind of had the desire that my father had and I wanted to travel west; so I come this way.

Mr. Sparkman. Where did your father come from?

Mr. Hatfield. Illinois.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He migrated from Illinois to Kansas; so you wanted to go a little further than he did?

Mr. HATFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is your boy going to do when he grows up?

Mr. HATFIELD. If he goes any further, I am afraid he will have to jump in the ocean.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you grow in Kansas, principally?

Mr. HATFIELD. Well, wheat, oats, and corn, principally.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How big a farm did you operate?

Mr. HATFIELD. Well, that ought to run on an average from 80 to 200 acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you do when you came to Oregon first?

Mr. HATFIELD. Well, I went to work on kind of a farm, you would say, but it was more carpenter work when I first got it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Doing carpenter work on a farm?

Mr. HATFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you stay at that work?

Mr. HATFIELD. Well, I was there approximately 3 months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And then what did you do?

Mr. HATFIELD. Well, I went into the timber then for a little while.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean working in timber?

Mr. HATFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long?

Mr. HATFIELD. Oh, I was there until the next spring working in the timber.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then what did you do?

Mr. HATFIELD. Well, I still was in the timber, but I moved on the place that I am now living on.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is the place that you own?

Mr. HATFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Five acres, I believe you said?

Mr. HATFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much did you pay for that?

Mr. HATFIELD. I gave $160 for the 5 acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you pay it all down or buy it on installment?

Mr. HATFIELD. Well, I bought it and paid some down on it and then there was really no contract at all. I just pay it as I can.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you finished paying it out or do you still owe something on it?

Mr. HATFIELD. No. I still owe some on it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you build a house on it, or was there already one on it?

Mr. HATFIELD. There was no building on it at all.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You put one up yourself?

Mr. HATFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you clear the land?

Mr. HATFIELD. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How do you make a living? You don't work that land. Do you rent other land?

Mr. HATFIELD. Well, I am really not farming for myself at all at the present time and haven't been since I have been here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you still working on the timber?

Mr. Hatfield. No; working on a farm.

Mr. Sparkman. As a day-to-day hand, farm laborer?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes, day labor.

Mr. Sparkman. But living on your own place?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Do you have a garden?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Or a cow?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Chickens?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Do your children go to school?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. What grade are they in?

Mr. Hatfield. The third and fifth.

Mr. Sparkman. Let's see. Which is older, the boy or the girl?

Mr. Hatfield. The girl.

Mr. Sparkman. The girl is the older, 10 years old and the boy is 8?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. What do you think your place is worth now? Has it increased in value since you have been on it?

Mr. Hatfield. Well, in a way, yes. I have got a standing offer of more than what I paid for it if I want to sell it.

Mr. Sparkman. You have done some improving on it?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Do you expect to stay there?

Mr. Hatfield. Temporarily.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, do you have an ambition to buy a bigger farm?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. And to operate it yourself?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes. It was a kind of speculation on this small place. I wanted to improve it a little more and get a little money together, and then I want to take over bigger tracts of cut-over land for grazing land.

Mr. Sparkman. You improved your lot, you feel, by going to Oregon from Kansas?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. And you still see hope in the future and you hope to continue to improve your lot until you are independent and operating on your own?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Have you ever received public assistance of any kind?

Mr. Hatfield. No.

Mr. Sparkman. You have kept yourself going?

Mr. Hatfield. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. And you believe that you will continue to do so?

Mr. Hatfield. Well, unless I get sick, or something like that.

Mr. Sparkman. Has your health been good, and that of your family?

Mr. HATFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, I think you will get ahead, too. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. AND MRS. JOHN W. KATES

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. and Mrs. Kates will please come forward. Mr. Kates, will you give your name, please?

Mr. KATES. John W. Kates.

The CHAIRMAN. K-a-t-e-s?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And how old are you?

Mr. KATES. Sixty-three years old.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mrs. Kates, would you mind telling us your age?

Mrs. KATES. Fifty-nine.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live now?

Mr. KATES. In Westley, Calif. I live in a Government camp there.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We will arrive at that camp after we start out from Missouri, Mr. Kates.

Have you any children?

Mr. KATES. Two at home.

The CHAIRMAN. How many children have you had altogether?

Mr. KATES. Ten. We have raised 10.

The CHAIRMAN. You have raised 10?

Mr. KATES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I have 5, and that's a pretty big load. I don't know what I would do with 10.

Mr. KATES. When I raised them, they was easier to raise than one would be now.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; in those times. Well, you originally came from Missouri; did you not?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir; born and raised in Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. On a farm?

Mr. KATES. On a farm.

The CHAIRMAN. And why did you leave Missouri?

Mr. KATES. Well, the drought and depression. I lost my farm.

The CHAIRMAN. On account of drought?

Mr. KATES. On account of drought and depression. Stock went down to nothing; corn went down to 15 cents a bushel in 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you would never have left there if you could have made a go of it in Missouri and held your ranch?

Mr. KATES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know, a lot of people say that they should stay home, but there comes a time when you can't stay home.

Mr. KATES. I was disappointed when I got out here.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. But, anyway, you didn't want to leave the farm in Missouri; did you?

Mr. KATES. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. But you wouldn't starve sitting down; you thought you would move?

Mr. KATES. I couldn't afford to stay there.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go from Missouri?

Mr. KATES. Went to Kansas.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you farm there?

Mr. KATES. No, sir. I fed cattle one winter there, and then I worked on a ranch 9 months. I was there pretty near 2½ years in Kansas. I left there in 1928.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go from there?

Mr. KATES. Went to South Dakota; went out there for the harvest, and the grasshoppers had got at the harvest when I got there. Went over to Wyoming and picked some raspberries over there and made some hay, and went on into Idaho.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you travel?

Mr. KATES. Traveled in a car; model A pick-up.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of car?

Mr. KATES. Model A pick-up.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she pick up pretty well?

Mr. KATES. Yes. It run pretty well until I wore it out.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take the family all with you?

Mr. KATES. Well, we was all together.

The CHAIRMAN. Never quit?

Mr. KATES. No.

Mrs. KATES. Not the 10 of them.

Mr. KATES. Just the two of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Just the two?

Mr. KATES. We wouldn't hardly had room for the 10.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do with the other eight?

Mr. KATES. They are married and out doing for themselves. Part of them is in Missouri and part in Wyoming——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). When you left Missouri did you have any money in cash?

Mr. KATES. I didn't have but very little. I might have had $25, $30, $40.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any money when you left Kansas?

Mr. KATES. Well, we had about that much when we left Kansas, didn't we?

Mrs. KATES. No. We had about a hundred dollars.

Mr. KATES. Yes; about a hundred dollars when we left Kansas.

The CHAIRMAN. And after the grasshoppers got through with you in South Dakota, did you have any money left?

Mr. KATES. Well, I had a little. Went on into Wyoming and picked some raspberries, made some hay there, accumulated a little more money, you know, and went on into Idaho. That's the first pea job I was ever on.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long in Idaho?

Mr. KATES. The first time I was there I was there 3 months.

Mrs. KATES. From August until November.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I see. What did you do there?

Mr. KATES. We picked peas and picked spuds and topped beets.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you mean by "we"? Yourself and your wife?

Mr. KATES. Me and the boys.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you live there?

Mr. KATES. We lived at Blackfoot, Idaho, part of the time and part of the time at Victor, Idaho.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what kind of house did you have?

Mr. KATES. We lived in a tent.

The CHAIRMAN. In a tent?

Mr. KATES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you carry a tent with you all the time?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir; all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. That was your home?

Mr. KATES. I haven't got it now. I am living in a cabin down there on the Government camp.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, when did you leave Idaho, then?

Mr. KATES. Left along about Thanksgiving.

The CHAIRMAN. What year?

Mr. KATES. 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go then?

Mr. KATES. Went to Arizona; arrived there the day before Christmas.

The CHAIRMAN. You took in nearly every State you came to, did you not?

Mr. KATES. A fellow has got to do some taking in if he gets anywhere out here.

The CHAIRMAN. Or he will get taken in?

Mr. KATES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When you got to Arizona, what did you do?

Mr. KATES. Picked cotton.

The CHAIRMAN. Who; you and the boys?

Mr. KATES. Well, the woman picked some. We all had to work there to get anything to eat.

The CHAIRMAN. What would your combined family earnings amount to from picking cotton?

Mr. KATES. Well, we didn't make very much there; just barely enough to eat on.

The CHAIRMAN. Still lived in a camp?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay there?

Mr. KATES. About a month.

The CHAIRMAN. Then where did you go?

Mr. KATES. Went to Calipatria, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any money when you left Arizona?

Mr. KATES. I borrowed $10 to get away on.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you travel?

Mr. KATES. What?

The CHAIRMAN. How did you travel; in the same automobile?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The same pick-up?

Mr. KATES. The same automobile.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do when you arrived in California?

Mr. KATES. I had smallpox for the first 2 weeks I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. That was worse than the grasshoppers, wasn't it?

Mr. KATES. I'll say it was. I would rather contend with the grasshoppers than have smallpox.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did the boys get work after they got there?

Mr. KATES. Yes. I done some work in Calipatria before I left.

Mrs. KATES. We were quarantined 2 weeks, and the boys couldn't work, nor we couldn't either.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you live on during those 2 weeks?

Mrs. KATES. We got one bill of groceries.

The CHAIRMAN. You got what?

Mrs. KATES. One bill of groceries.

The CHAIRMAN. You weren't living on the fat of the land, were you?

Mr. KATES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How old were the boys then?

Mrs. KATES. About 17 and—let's see. They are 19 and 23 now.

The CHAIRMAN. They are 19 and 23 now?

Mrs. KATES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in 1938, wasn't it?

Mrs. KATES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Well, how long did you stay there?

Mr. KATES. No. That was in 1939. We went to Arizona in 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. KATES. Let's get this right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. How long did you remain there at Calipatria?

Mrs. KATES. Until April.

The CHAIRMAN. April 1939?

Mrs. KATES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go then?

Mr. KATES. Went to Santa Maria.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do at Santa Maria?

Mr. KATES. Picked peas.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you pick peas?

Mr. KATES. Oh, we was there about 5 weeks, I guess. We lived in a tent there, too.

The CHAIRMAN. The same tent you started out with?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It must be a good tent. Where did you go from Santa Maria?

Mr. KATES. Clarksburg.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do?

Mr. KATES. Picked peas.

The CHAIRMAN. You and the boys?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir. The woman picked some.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not make very much money, I take it, at picking peas?

Mr. KATES. No. We didn't accumulate it very fast.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go from there?

Mr. KATES. We went to Melba, Idaho.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do there?

Mr. KATES. Picked peas. Well, I run a pea camp there, and the boys picked. The woman didn't pick none then.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay there, Mr. Kates?

Mr. KATES. We was there 6 weeks; wasn't we?

Mrs. KATES. No. I don't think quite; 4 or 5 weeks, I guess.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go from there?

Mrs. KATES. Fruitvale.

The CHAIRMAN. California?

Mr. KATES. California—no; Idaho.

The CHAIRMAN. Idaho?

Mr. KATES. We was going north.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do there?

Mr. KATES. Picked peas.

The CHAIRMAN. And from Fruitvale?

Mrs. KATES. McCall, Idaho.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay at McCall?

Mrs. KATES. Three or four weeks.

Mr. KATES. I imagine we were there 4 weeks; something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. In this constant moving and traveling there wasn't enough to live on?

Mr. KATES. That's about all we could do. We couldn't stop anywhere. There wasn't enough to do to stop for. I have been trying to stop ever since I have been out here, and we never have found no stopping place.

The CHAIRMAN. No stop signs?

Mr. KATES. No; no red lights.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, how long did you remain there?

Mr. KATES. I expect we was there a month, 6 weeks; and then we went from there to Driggs, Idaho. That's over on the east side, right over the Wyoming line.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do there?

Mr. KATES. Picked peas.

The CHAIRMAN. You must be a pea picker expert?

Mr. KATES. No; I ain't no pea picker. I already quit.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go from there?

Mr. KATES. I went from there to Santa Ana.

Mrs. KATES. No; Blackfoot, and working potatoes and beets.

Mr. KATES. We did stop there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you help there, Mrs. Kates?

Mrs. KATES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And then where did you go from there?

Mr. KATES. Santa Ana, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do there?

Mr. KATES. Picked peas.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you there?

Mr. KATES. We were there about 4 months.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that; last summer?

Mrs. KATES. November until March 4.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the boys still with you?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are those two boys now?

Mr. KATES. They are down in the cotton fields now.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then where did you go?

Mr. KATES. To Westley, where we are right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Westley, Mr. Kates?

Mr. KATES. It's about 80 miles south of here.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have been there since when?

Mr. KATES. Since the 6th of March.

The CHAIRMAN. This year?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in a camp there?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Farm Security camp?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many at that camp?

Mr. KATES. I expect there is about 190 people there now.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you like it there?

Mr. KATES. Very well. There is quite a few of them drifted off in the cotton country there, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. But how do you like it there?

Mr. KATES. Well, I like it pretty well. I am making it better than I have since I have been on the road.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it cost you at that camp?

Mr. KATES. It costs 10 cents a day.

Mrs. KATES. And 1 hour's work a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does that money go?

Mr. KATES. That money goes into a camp fund——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Did you ever work at El Solyo?

Mr. KATES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this 10 cents a day you pay—did I interrupt you, Mr. Kates?

Mr. KATES. No. I was just figuring on telling you what we done with that money. That goes into a camp fund and stays in the camp for recreation. We buy baseballs, and things with it, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now——

Mr. KATES (interposing). Have ice-cream suppers or social parties; anything you want in the camp, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this 10 cents a day, that means for the head of the family; you pay the 10 cents a day?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are a hundred families there, that would be $10, and that goes into the pot; is that right?

Mr. KATES. That's right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then who handles the spending of that $10?

Mr. KATES. Well, the manager is treasurer of it, the manager of the camp.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you get this manager from? Who is the manager? Do you elect the manager?

Mr. KATES. Oh, no. The Government hires the manager.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh. But I understood that in some of the migrant camps—we have had testimony, Mr. Kates—that you elected your own man. Probably that is not true of Westley. But anyway, you hand the $10 to the manager of the camp?

Mr. KATES. He is treasurer of the money that goes into the camp.

Mrs. KATES. Well, he collects it, doesn't he?

Mr. KATES. Yes. He is the collector.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. But who decides how this $10 should be spent?

Mr. KATES. Well, we have got a councilman.

The CHAIRMAN. That's the man I was talking about.

Mr. KATES. There's a councilman in each unit; and we have a chairman, too, you know. I am chairman of the camp now, myself.

Mrs. KATES. Of the council.

Mr. KATES. Of the council.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you hold an election? You do hold elections, do you?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir; about once every 2 months we have a general election.

Mr. OSMERS. That's worse than Congress, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any opposition?

Mr. KATES. For being chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Did anybody run against you?

Mr. KATES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to get any information or dope we can.

Mrs. KATES. Each unit elects their own councilman.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you call it, Mrs. Kates? Do you call it a unit?

Mrs. KATES. We have 5 units. There's about 13 cabins, you see. It's laid off in a circle, 13 cabins, in number one unit, and so many in the next. I believe we have 54 cabins, and each unit decides on their own——

Mr. KATES (interposing). Councilman.

Mrs. KATES (continuing). Councilman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you vote for the old man?

Mrs. KATES. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Who has the say about how this money should be spent?

Mrs. KATES. The councilman.

Mr. KATES. The councilman. I have to sign the checks. If I don't think the money ought to be spent that way, I don't have to sign the check, and the check is no good without my name on it.

The CHAIRMAN. You watch that pretty close; do you?

Mr. KATES. You bet I do.

The CHAIRMAN. That's the boy! How long are you permitted to stay in these camps?

Mr. KATES. One year.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a pretty good little house there?

Mr. KATES. Yes; a right good little house; tin house.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are permitted to go out and get work wherever you can get it?

Mr. KATES. Oh, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And this 10 cents a day is the whole amount that you are out?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir; and 1 hour a week.

The CHAIRMAN. And after farming and traveling all over the States, through the different States you have mentioned, you are satisfied that that is the very best thing you can do or can get at this time; isn't it?

Mr. KATES. Yes, sir. That's the best thing I can do right now.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are waiting for something to turn up?

Mr. KATES. I am waiting for opportunity. That's what I am waiting for.

The CHAIRMAN. And when it knocks, you think you will be able to hear it all right?

Mr. KATES. I believe I would.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think that you folks deserve a lot of credit, and I think you have added very good testimony here to our record, and I thank you both very much for coming here.

(Witnesses excused.)

TESTIMONY OF IVEN H. FINDLEY, ONTARIO, OREG.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the next witness, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Iven H. Findley. Mr. Findley, where are you living today?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am living in eastern Oregon.

Mr. OSMERS. In what town?

Mr. FINDLEY. Well, I get my mail at Ontario.

Mr. OSMERS. Ontario. Are you in a Farm Security farm there?

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, would you tell the committee a little bit about your life, as briefly as possible, up until the time that you landed in Ontario, Oreg., and tell it in your own words? I think that would be better than to ask you a long series of questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Well, sir, to begin with, Mr. Chairman, I am a homesteader by nature. My grandmother homesteaded a place in Woods County, Okla., in 1903. We all lived together, that is, my father and her made their homes together. When she proved that homestead up my father moved to Woodward County, Okla., and he had taken up a homestead there and proved that up. Then us boys got old enough to file——

Mr. OSMERS (interposing). May I interrupt you? How large were these homesteads; 320 acres?

Mr. FINDLEY. One hundred and sixty at that time. The 320-acre law hadn't been passed.

Mr. OSMERS. What did you raise on these homesteads; cattle? Your grandmother and your father?

Mr. FINDLEY. We raised corn and broomcorn in that country and a few milk cows. On my father's homestead we raised milo maise and cane and kafircorn and broomcorn, some cattle. And us boys moved west into Colorado. I filed in 1915. However, I was married then when I moved into Colorado and had two sons at the time I moved out there.

I filed on a 320-acre piece in 1915, and I stayed on that homestead for 22 years, one place.

Mr. OSMERS. That was in Colorado?

Mr. Findley. Colorado. Raised and educated my family there.

Mr. Osmers. How many were in your family, Mr. Findley?

Mr. Findley. Six. Then the last 4 years I operated 320 acres that I owned, and about 1,300 acres besides. My biggest farm there was 1,500 acres. The last 4 years that I was there I had—I averaged a thousand acres of wheat a year and never cut a head. I was getting seed loans from the Government to plant this wheat, and when there was no hopes to live any longer or pay the Government back, or anything, I decided to leave. So I had a sale in the spring of '37. I sold my livestock, my farming machinery that I had, except my tractor, blacksmith tools.

Mr. Osmers. Did you say "except my tractor"?

Mr. Findley. Yes, sir; except my tractor, blacksmith tools. We loaded them on the trucks and trailers and moved them to Oregon.

Mr. Osmers. How did you happen to pick out Oregon?

Mr. Findley. In 1928 me and my father went into northern Idaho, and coming back through Idaho we came down through the Payette, Idaho, country and the Boise country.

At that time the land was so high that I couldn't get a hold of anything. Then when I heard from my friend that had moved to Spokane, Wash., telling me about the opening of the Owyhee project and advised me to write to the secretary, Mr. Frank Morgan, at Nyassa, that I would like that country; so I wrote to Mr. Morgan and he sent me a folder to have on the country, descriptions. Me and my son made a trip out there in the spring of '37—in the middle of January before I billed my sale. We had neighbors that was out there and it looked as though they were going to do well, and we had nothing to go back to. So we was obliged to settle there and got a seed loan from the Government.

Mr. Osmers. Tell me, Mr. Findley, about the results of the sale that you had. How much did you have left over after you paid your debts?

Mr. Findley. I had about $700 left after all my indebtedness was paid, except the mortgage on my farm.

Mr. Osmers. How did you dispose of that matter, the mortgage?

Mr. Findley. Since I moved to Oregon the mortgage company that held the mortgage on the farm agreed to cancel the mortgage if we would sign a deed over to them.

Mr. Osmers. I see.

Mr. Findley. So we signed the deed over to them and got our mortgage papers back so that there would be no chance for a judgment against us because the land didn't pay out on the sale.

Mr. Osmers. That was in Colorado, wasn't it?

Mr. Findley. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. So your affairs there are now balanced even?

Mr. Findley. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. They have the farm, your mortgage is canceled, and you have paid your debts?

Mr. Findley. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. And you had about $700 when you came to Owyhee?

Mr. Findley. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. I see. Now, would you tell the committee, or describe to the committee, a little bit about your situation at Owyhee?

Mr. **Findley.** Well, I spent nearly $200 of that keeping the family that summer, looking for a location that suited me after I got on to Owyhee. The land was too rough to suit me. After I found that I couldn't find land level enough to suit me——

Mr. **Osmers** (interposing). What type of land do they have at this project?

Mr. **Findley.** It's benchland.

Mr. **Osmers.** Bench?

Mr. **Findley.** Benchland.

Mr. **Osmers.** You will have to describe that for me, Mr. Findley.

Mr. **Findley.** Well, the lower Snake River Valley has been irrigated for years where they could pump the water to.

Mr. **Osmers.** Yes?

Mr. **Findley.** When they—when the Reclamation put in the dam at Owyhee, that furnished water for the benchland, that is, the first bench back from the river which runs from 100 to 300 feet higher than the river bed.

Mr. **Osmers.** I understand the term now, thank you.

Mr. **Findley.** And that land, of course, all has a slope toward the Snake River. When in doubt about the slope of any of that land, why, look toward Snake River and that's the way it follows. And, of course, I made arrangements with the Farm Security office that if I bought a farm up there that they would furnish me so much money to start up on. So me and my son together bought 160 acres, with 93 acres arable. The average of that benchland up there costs about $10 an acre. However, $15 is the highest price that the Government allowed them to sell it at, and $1 was the least amount. Approximately, it costs you about $800 for 80 acres. The Farm Security agreed that if I would get a deed to this place by paying one-third down and the balance in 5 years, and if I would give good enough reference from where I came from, they would make me a loan to commence on this farm. So I bought the land, moved on it on the 7th day of September 1937, applied for my loan. It was granted in January. My son and I together was allowed a loan of $2,277. We thought that would be reasonable to go on, but which we find since then is entirely too small.

Mr. **Osmers.** $2,277?

Mr. **Findley.** To the two families.

Mr. **Osmers.** Oh, your son has a family, too?

Mr. **Findley.** Yes, sir. We found that there was much more work than we thought there would be to put this new land in cultivation—while I had but very little experience in irrigation—and it takes longer to get returns from this new land than we expected. And in our agreement with the Farm Security we can't anyway near meet it as soon as we thought we could.

Mr. **Osmers.** What shape was the land in when you moved on it?

Mr. **Findley.** Absolutely raw; just like nature left it, except——

Mr. **Osmers** (interposing). Any trees on it?

Mr. **Findley.** No, sir. Sagebrush about waist high, a big job of clearing, leveling. The Government had made wiers. That's what you take the water out of the highland ditch at the high points on this place, and it's up to the farmer to make his own ditch, scatter it out over his land as he sees fit. And that land after the sage has been cleaned off of it and leveled so you can get water over it, oh, half decently, and set the clover and alfalfa, it is considered worth at least $50 an acre.

Mr. **Osmers**. The land is considered such?

Mr. **Findley**. When it is set into clover and alfalfa.

Mr. **Osmers**. It is then considered $50 an acre?

Mr. **Findley**. It is worth $50 an acre. They do not know what the construction of this land will be. It is estimated somewheres around $170 or $180 an acre, that the construction will cost. Water was sold to the farmers until 1940 at 35 cents a foot. There was no construction charge. The contract of 1940 to '50 was to be $2.50 an acre on construction charge, and then 35 cents on maintenance per foot. But due to the project filling so fast and being so much work more than people thought when they went onto the project to get it to paying back, they have asked for 3 years more time on construction charges.

Mr. **Osmers**. What sort of shape are you in on your individual farm now? Are you down to clover? Are you growing clover now: alfalfa?

Mr. **Findley**. Yes, sir. I have since we went onto this farm. Then the Reclamation offered my son a filing of 53 acres, which was a mile and a half from there. We were used to handling big acreages of land, and we thought the thing for him to do was to take that filing. So he filed on this other unit of land, making a total of 143 acres. There is three of us to operate this, and it's too much, entirely too much for our financial circumstances.

Mr. **Osmers**. You feel that you have bitten off more than you can handle?

Mr. **Findley**. Under financial circumstances it wouldn't be if we had financed to operate our tractor like we should and buy more stock.

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, when you are all set up here and running on the two farms, your son's and your own, where do you expect to derive your cash income to make your payments and to live on?

Mr. **Findley**. From clover seed, alfalfa seed, butterfat, and hogs.

Mr. **Osmers**. I see. Now, I am just going to ask you one more question, Mr. Findley.

Do you feel that in view of all of your past experience that you are on the right track now?

Mr. **Findley**. I certainly do, if we have leniency enough.

Mr. **Osmers**. Some credit, you mean?

Mr. **Findley**. Yes, sir. I very much would like to show you a piece in the paper. We had a misfortune there this spring. The big canal that delivers the water from Owyhee Dam to nearly 100,000 acres of land had a mountain slide on the 23d day of May, and we were out of water for 28 days, ruining our grain crop completely.

I wish you would read the report in the paper that the committee has just put in the paper [handing document to the committee].

Mr. **Osmers**. Yes.

Mr. **Findley**. Showing the conditions of our project.

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, in reading this article it is my understanding that your group would like to have the Government compensate you for the crop losses that were occasioned because of this circumstance beyond your control?

Mr. **Findley**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers**. Is that right?

Mr. **Findley**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers**. Well, I believe that the Government should certainly give serious consideration to that.

Mr. **Findley**. Yes.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is all I have of Mr. Findley.

The **Chairman**. Thank you very much, Mr. Findley. Do you want to leave this article here with us?

Mr. **Findley**. You see, we are petitioning up here——

Mr. **Osmers** (interposing). Petitioning Congress. I am sure Congressman Pierce will bring that to the attention of the proper authorities.

The **Chairman**. We will speak to him about that when we get back there.

Mr. **Findley**. May I ask one question? When I get home—us farmers have an organization there and a meeting once a month, and we do not know, and under the present conditions, whether this matter will be paid for for another year or where our seed will come from. We are pretty well provided for for a living, with plenty to eat and with hay for our cattle, but we do not know where our seed is coming from for payment for this water. They will have this meeting. They will probably have in the neighborhood of 150. They will be very anxious to know of me when I get back whether this committee would give us any encouragement or not.

The **Chairman**. Well, you see, this committee has only the power of investigation on the migrant problem, that is, people going from State to State, and we get the facts and then we make our recommendations to Congress on that sole investigation of destitute migrant citizens; don't you see?

Mr. **Findley**. I see.

The **Chairman**. So your inquiry to us is way beyond our jurisdiction.

Mr. **Findley**. I see.

The **Chairman**. But we will be very happy to take it up with your Congressman, Ex-Governor Pierce, whom we both know very well. And we as the committee will certainly be glad to help out in any way we can.

Mr. **Findley**. Thank you.

The **Chairman**. But as far as taking back word to them that we make recommendations about that, we have no jurisdiction. That is correct; isn't it?

Mr. **Osmers**. That is absolutely correct.

(Witness excused.)

(The following communication was received subsequent to the hearing and was accepted for the record:)

ONTARIO, OREG.,
February 12, 1941.

HON. JOHN H. TOLAN,
Special Committee Investigating the Interstate
Migration of Destitute Citizens.

DEAR SIR: Since I have read the proof of my testimony given at the hearing in San Francisco last fall I would like to add to that proof. Since then the Government has made available $200,000 to loan on land in Malheur County to settlers. I think this is about the best thing that has ever happened to this country, unless it was the Farm Security Administration loans. But the Farm Security Administration loans were not enough to let the new settlers build houses, barns, sheds, fences, or level their lands. It would save lots of hardship and time if these loans were available at the time a new project was first opened; then a person would know what he could build and what he needed to build at the time. By the time he has been on the farm for 2 or 3 years he has built a few make-shifts here and there to get by with but are not much of an asset to the farm and when he is able to build these must be torn down, as they are just better than nothing.

And I will say that on this project 9 out of 10 families are milking cows out in the rain and the cows and all other stock have to bed down out in the mud and rain knee-deep, and has been that way here since last September.

The most of us farmers have lost enough hay by rotting (in the wet weather) that if we could have had money to build a hay barn it would have saved enough hay to half pay for a barn this year. I never lived in a place where the people needed improvements as bad as they need them here. I understand there were far more applications for this money ($200,000) than there was money to go around. I believe the people receiving these loans will be very grateful to Congress for making this money available. I also think the Farm Security Administration loans should be for $2,000 to each farmer with 80 acres of farm and should have been on a 20-year plan, borrower to have paid interest and $100 on principal per year. This would have been easier for all, but to sign papers to pay this back before you could possibly make it from your farm leaves us at the mercy of the Farm Security Administration officials whether they will extend your paper or not. A farmer here should not have had to pay back 1 cent on these new farms, for the first few years is a large job without trying to make any money. So with the real-estate loan and the Farm Security Administration you are really doing a wonderful thing for this country and for the poor people that have had to leave their homes in the Middle West on account of drought and wind, as I did.

I also believe the Government's business (the Farm Security Administration and real-estate loan) is in excellent hands, both for the Government and newcomers on this project.

I will say in closing that if on these new projects the Government could provide schools and roads it would help lots, as that is something out of the hands of the newcomer until he is well established on his farm and a taxpayer (that counts); as it is now, it is up to the counties to provide schools and roads, which proves to be a great hardship on the old taxpayer. There are no improved roads leading from the farms to the main highway. I am hardly in favor of the ready-made farms which I understand are being provided in some sections. They would be fixed very nice, I have no doubt, but it seems to me if the Government furnishes the money and lets the settlers do their own building on their own farms the farmer will learn to like it much better than if handed to him all ready to go with no effort on his part but to sign on dotted lines. If he builds it with his own hands it becomes a part of him.

I thank you.

Yours truly,

IVEN H. FINDLEY.

The CHAIRMAN. Call Mr. De Long.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILLIAM W. DE LONG

Mr. William W. De Long was called as a witness and testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is William De Long?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are you living now?

Mr. DE LONG. Willow Creek, Oreg.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. De Long, I don't want to curtail your time in any way, but the committee is leaving for a tour of the valley for 2 days, and we have another hearing at Los Angeles. So if you will be as brief as you possibly can and yet tell your story, I will appreciate it very much.

Now, where were you born?

Mr. DE LONG. I was born in Nebraska, southeastern Nebraska.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you?

Mr. DE LONG. Thirty-five.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you married?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes, sir; I have three boys; one 9, one 7, and one 4.

The CHAIRMAN. You were raised on the farm in Nebraska?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And your parents before you?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes; they farmed, too.

The CHAIRMAN. What about your grandparents?

Mr. DE LONG. I guess they were all farmers, as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. And, of course, you worked there on the farm with your parents; isn't that right?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Until you were what age?

Mr. DE LONG. Well, there was seven of us boys home, and I didn't work at home very much of the time. Most of the time I was working out.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes; how many were there in your family?

Mr. DE LONG. Seven boys and one girl; eight children.

The CHAIRMAN. And you worked out; did you?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes; I worked out.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you move to your own ranch subsequent to—when you left home? Did you move on your own ranch? Did you buy a ranch?

Mr. DE LONG. No; I started farming back there when I was still home before I was married, and the next year I got married and moved onto a place and rented it.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you there?

Mr. DE LONG. Well, I think I lived on that place 2 years, the first place. I farmed back there 7 years and made 5 moves.

The CHAIRMAN. Seven years and made five moves?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. DE LONG. Well, the places were—they all had a lot of pasture on them and it wouldn't pasture a goat, and you had to pay $5 an acre for some of that pasture, and I was trying to find a place that would go a little better as pasture and not so much high cash rent.

And the landlords were getting hard to get along with, and the grasshoppers. And the landlords thought somebody else could do a little better.

The CHAIRMAN. When we were in Lincoln, Nebr., about 10 days ago witnesses testified there that it is 7 years they have had drought in that country.

Mr. DE LONG. Well, really worse than that. The drought really started in 1930. It's just about going on the tenth year. Never had enough rainfall in 1 year to make a crop of wheat and corn both. If we had enough for the wheat, why, the corn would burn up. It was dry in the spring and the wheat would be no good, maybe we would have a little corn.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no chance of irrigation, of course, there?

Mr. DE LONG. Well, I think there would be. They might have to pump quite a bit of the water. They have a project out west there at Holdrege. Do you know where Holdrege is?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DE LONG. They have a project there. I think they dammed up the river there and pumped water up on the tableland.

The CHAIRMAN. The water level is pretty low, isn't it?

Mr. DE LONG. I think about 70 feet there.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We have heard considerable testimony on that, and it is really quite——

Mr. DE LONG (interposing). One fellow told me that he had his corn right down on the bottom protected by timber, and the hot wind came along when they had the water on it and tassel-burned it. It took the tops off; didn't pollenize.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, when did you move from Nebraska?

Mr. DE LONG. 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the children born then?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you move to?

Mr. DE LONG. Well, we came out to Nampa, Idaho. We knew some folks there, and we stopped there a while and looked that country over and worked there a while and bought a few cows.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any money when you left Nebraska?

Mr. DE LONG. Well, I had a little over $250 and a car and trailer and a few household belongings.

The CHAIRMAN. And you went to Idaho; did you say?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes, over by Nampa; stayed there until the 10th of December. I heard of this new project over here at Vale out there on Willow Creek.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in Oregon?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes; Willow Creek, Oreg. And I went over there and looked that over.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the place that this preceding witness talked about?

Mr. DE LONG. What did you say?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the same valley that this preceding witness talked about?

Mr. De Long. Well, it's practically the same valley. The valley runs down. I am up above him. You see, he is down below Vale and I am up above. He is down in the Owyhee project and—but I looked that country over and it looked to me that a fellow without any money would have a better chance over there than he would have in Idaho because they wanted quite a bit of cash rent for a farm. So I moved into a ditch rider's house. They had moved out by the 10th of December, and I moved in there. The Reclamation told me that I could live in there until I could find something else. And I lived there until the 14th of February, and in the meantime I had seen an ad in the paper that a fellow wanted to rent a farm, had a house on it, and he would furnish the equipment, but the person that rented should have enough capital to furnish the power to pull the equipment.

So I went over and seen him and he said he would have to write back to Nebraska and get some references because he had got a stinging on the guy that farmed it before. So I went ahead and traded my car off for a team of horses.

The Chairman. Did you make a good deal?

Mr. De Long. Not very good. Horses were pretty high in the spring of '38, or, the winter of '38 and '37. And when he got these references back he was satisfied. He thought I could take care of the place all right. So I moved over there. There wasn't any barn on it or any fence, only a little fence. We fenced off about 7 acres of alfalfa that he had seeded before I came over there, and I had six cows and a couple of heifers and no hay over there, and I went down to the bank and tried to borrow some money to buy some hay for those cows. The hay was cheap, $6 a ton, but that banker down there said he wouldn't loan any money to a farmer to buy hay for dairy cattle; that he couldn't get any money.

The Chairman. Did you offer any security?

Mr. De Long. I offered the two cows, six heifers, and four brood sows. And he wouldn't loan me $50. So I sold some of the heifers and got my hay to feed the rest of them until spring, and then I brung them up in the sagebrush that summer and pastured until the alfalfa growed up, and I got about $150 cream checks out of the cows that summer, and that is all we had to live on.

The Chairman. You did finally get the $50 off of him; didn't you?

Mr. De Long. I did, finally, after I sold the heifer. I bought some more hay.

The Chairman. You made a better talk the second time?

Mr. De Long. No. I just didn't go back in there. My wife went in there and got it. She went in and told him, and he didn't believe me as much as her.

The Chairman. She was a better talker?

Mr. De Long. I guess she was.

The Chairman. How are you getting along now?

Mr. De Long. Well, we have plenty to eat, anyway.

The Chairman. Say, you did pretty good starting out from Nebraska with $250 and a wife and three children and then buying a ranch. That's pretty good.

Mr. De Long. Well, it didn't take so much money. I bought it on contract. I only had to pay $250 down.

The CHAIRMAN. In the meantime, you had to live?

Mr. DE LONG. I had to work for it, though.

The CHAIRMAN. You look like you are a big, husky man. But how do the prospects look for you?

Mr. DE LONG. It looks like a person could make a good living there if he could get hold of good cows. The hay isn't worth anything, $5 a ton for hay. But the trouble with that country is the fellows has got too big a farm. Most of them came from the drought areas, and they think they can farm 80 or 90 acres of that area. They can't do it. I think a person shouldn't handle more than 40 acres. I heard these witnesses say they thought 80 acres, but one man can't take care of 80 acres and make a living on it.

The CHAIRMAN. How are the children? Do they go to school?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes. The two older boys go.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they been well? Had any sickness?

Mr. DE LONG. Had a little sickness, smallpox, or chickenpox and measles is what it was, I guess. And one of the boys had an attack of pneumonia once.

The CHAIRMAN. How are you living; in a pretty good house there now?

Mr. DE LONG. Well, we have about as good a house as anybody in the country around there. Most of the houses are a single wall house; just a frame building. Some of them have tar paper on the outside and we have a single roof on ours and it has a double wall.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of that $50, Mr. De Long, did you make any other loan?

Mr. DE LONG. I think in the fall of '39 I went down to the bank and borrowed $90 from them again for about 60 days.

The CHAIRMAN. You thought that $100 sounded too big?

Mr. DE LONG. I thought a hundred would be too much.

The CHAIRMAN. That was good judgment.

Mr. DE LONG. I wouldn't have got it if I had asked for a hundred.

The CHAIRMAN. No, never in the world. Have you ever made a loan with the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. DE LONG. No, no. I never tried to make a loan with them because usually when I want any money I want it right now. It takes about 6 months to get it there.

The CHAIRMAN. We don't work very fast in Washington.

Mr. DE LONG. No, I guess not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything you have to say further, Mr. De Long?

Mr. DE LONG. Well, just that I think there is plenty of room for development in that country for more new settlers, but they would have to have enough money to establish themselves or be established through Federal aid, or something. It is pretty hard to make it on that new ground without any capital.

The CHAIRMAN. Especially people who come there without a dollar?

Mr. DE LONG. Yes sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. De Long.

(Witness excused).

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Pike.

TESTIMONY OF ROY M. PIKE, EL SOLYO RANCH, CALIF.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Pike, you have been pretty patient here, and while you are not on the schedule of witnesses and we have had a pretty full day and really went through the noon hour, I understand you desire to make a brief statement?

Mr. PIKE. I will make it very brief.

The CHAIRMAN. We don't want to deny anybody the right to testify.

Mr. PIKE. I tried to get on as a witness earlier, made application; but apparently there was no room. I want to say that I am from Stanislaus County. My name is Roy M. Pike. I established the El Solyo Ranch down there in 1919 and 1920. It is 4,500 acres of irrigated, intensively farmed land, a thousand acres of orchard, fruit for drying, shipping, and canning, 600 acres of vineyard, grapes—I am going to take 5 minutes. I will watch it.

Grapes for raisins and wine, 700 acres of vegetables, lettuce, and so on, a thousand acres of beans are produced there. We run a dairy of 120 cows, milking daily and shipping the milk to Oakland. We run ten to twelve thousand turkeys a year. We run the packing houses for perishable fruits and vegetables, and also for dehydrating and shipping dried fruits. We market our own merchandise through brokers in the East and Middle West and Europe.

About 60 families live on the ranch.

We employ never less than 250 people a day and up to six and seven hundred people. We have had great experience with so-called migratory labor that you are talking about so much. We find that many of them are fine people. We think 50 percent of them are as good as any labor ever available to us in California, 20 or 25 percent of them better than the ordinary run, and probably 20 or 25 percent intractables, which is about the average of any industrial or agricultural labor that you find.

Mr. and Mrs. Kates, who testified here that they were from Westley, live at a Federal camp only 6 miles from El Solyo Ranch, and we had to do with the establishment of that camp some 6 years ago, because we knew that our particular area needed better facilities for migratory workers.

The Kates boys have worked with us; excellent workers they are.

I want to go on record here, particularly because of the things that have been said about big farms. So many misstatements have been made, statements that have no relation to the facts of what big farming in California is and what it is achieving or not achieving.

I was one of the poor, nutty optimists in 1919 and 1920 who figured that because mass production in industry in America had evolved a method to produce industrial products at lower cost per unit than many small factories could do, that the same principle would hold good in agriculture. And I followed that with all the money I will ever have. I ultimately got an associate to come into this situation.

That is not true. In no place in California has there ever been evidence—and I speak particularly of our specialty crops, and perhaps, before I say that, I should go on record that California produces over 200 varieties of carload shipment of crops, of fruits and grapes and nuts and vegetables and grains. Very few of your Eastern or Southern States produce more than 8 or 12 crops, different varieties; a few of them up to 20. So California, in its big ranching, so-called, has never given one evidence of where a big rancher has been able to produce a ton of grapes, or a ton of peaches, or a ton of apricots, or a ton of prunes, or a gallonage of milk at a lower unit cost than the small farmer operating 20, 40, or 100 acres. As a matter of fact, when these unhappy years of the last decade, with very low prices for agricultural products, occurred, the larger farmer could not economize as well as the small farmer, because the small farmer has family labor that he doesn't have to pay. We have to pay for all of our labor. California also, over this period, has paid the highest wages of any State in the Union.

I was interested to talk to Mrs. Kates when she left. She said her boy had just left El Solyo, where he was getting $2.40 a day, 30 cents an hour. He had gone down to Bakersfield because on piece work he could make more, all of which is true.

My record—I was desirous of being given the opportunity to make that statement, that big farming by no manner or means is absorbing the small farmer. The reverse is true. The big farms in California are no longer being organized. There is not one that has been started since 1928. But there was an optimistic group from 1916 to 1926, of which I was one, who thought they could make it work.

Ogden Armour came out from Chicago, died in the early 1930's, lost his entire fortune of 15 millions through the Sutter Basin project near Sacramento. The Boston Land Co. south of Fresno put in 10,000 acres of orchard and vineyard when I put in El Solyo. They tore it up about 4 years ago at a loss of 10 millions.

The California Packing Corporation, one of the finest organizations for operations in the State, has a 3,500- or 4,000-acre peach orchard just east of Merced, a hundred miles south of us, or less. I will warrant since 1925 I could have bought these peaches lower than they produced them for.

I would like to file some factual data.

The CHAIRMAN. Our record will not be closed until November some time. You can mail that to Washington to the committee. I know it will be very valuable and that it will supplement your statement.

Mr. PIKE. Thank you for the opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Did a Mr. Howden want to be heard?

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD HOWDEN, CALIFORNIA HOUSING ASSOCIATION

Mr. HOWDEN. I am with the California Housing Association.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Howden, you heard the statement I made to Mr. Pike. You are not on the list of witnesses, and we have been going since 9:30 this morning.

Have you a written statement?

Mr. HOWDEN. I am going to prepare a more thorough-going summary of some of the material.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we do this: Suppose we grant you the privilege of filing a written statement to become a part of the record of this committee, this congressional committee, and you can get that to us within the next month? That will be all right, because our record won't be closed until then.

(The statement referred to was received later and is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY EDWARD HOWDEN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE CALIFORNIA HOUSING ASSOCIATION

CALIFORNIA'S HOUSING NEEDS

During the past year a number of separate studies have been completed and estimates registered in various sections of California, which now afford us for the first time a fair all-over view of the housing conditions of California's low-income families and a knowledge of what, if anything, is being done to remedy these conditions. These alarming conditions, which have long constituted an emergency need in both the urban and rural areas of the State, have become even more acute as a result of influxes of low-income workers from other States. It is thus most appropriate that this committee should enter into its record a summary account of the housing needs of California and give serious consideration to recommendations concerning measures which the Federal Government and other authorities should take to meet these needs.

Miss Catherine Bauer and Mr. Carey McWilliams have already presented to the committee excellent analytic and descriptive accounts of the housing of the working people in this State, and of the various means of improving these conditions. I am in hearty accord with the testimony of these experts, and I do not propose to go over the same material which they have already handled more than adequately. There remain, however, one or two bodies of information which have not been entered into the records of the committee, and which I wish to bring forward at this time. These are (1) the findings of the recently completed real property surveys in the main cities of the State, and the status of the housing program in each of these cities; (2) reports as to housing conditions in small towns and rural communities submitted to our office by city and county health officers throughout the State.

1. THE MAIN CITIES

San Francisco.—Applying only the most glaring criteria for substandardness, San Francisco has more than 45,000 substandard dwelling units. If we also count converted hotel structures in this group, there are an additional 27,000 cramped and unhealthful dwelling units. Thus at least one-fifth of all the living quarters in San Francisco are below minimum standards of health and decency. The San Francisco Housing Authority, operating in cooperation with the United States Housing Authority, has already completed 1 low-rent housing project, which accommodates more than 100 low-income families. Two more projects are under construction at the moment, and Federal funds for 8 additional projects have been earmarked. The San Francisco Housing Association—founded by Miss Alice Griffith after the great fire of 1906 to work for good housing in the rebuilding of the city—has begun to serve a very significant educational role in support of the low-rent housing program here.

Oakland.—Has about 5,000 inadequate dwelling units which are occupied and renting at less than $20 per month. If quarters which rent at from $20 to $25 or $30 per month were included, the figure for substandard dwellings would be even larger. The housing authority of the city of Oakland has one multiple-unit low-rent housing project under construction, and more in the offing. (The president of the Apartment House Owners Association of Alameda County is now serving as chairman of the Oakland Housing Authority. He has issued a statement to the effect that the United States Housing Authority program in no way competes with legitimate apartment-house interests.)

Los Angeles (*City*).—Only the original city has been surveyed so far; this includes more than half of the living quarters of the entire city, and some 128,000 families. Of these, 40,000 (more than one-third) are living in substandard dwellings. The local housing authority is proceeding with an active program of slum-clearance and low-rent housing with the aid of United States Housing Authority. Net construction costs on one 60-year, earthquake-proof project are down to $2,100 per dwelling (4 or 5 rooms). The Citizens' Housing Council of Los Angeles assists actively in the explanation and extension of this program.

Los Angeles (*County*).—A partially complete survey, which has covered more than 200,000 persons to date, reveals almost 14,000 substandard single-family homes among these. The county housing authority is just finishing 1 large project near Long Beach, and has undertaken at least 2 further projects for low-income families. (Mr. McWilliams has advanced data concerning the gravity of the shack town development in Los Angeles County.)

Fresno.—A limited survey—conducted by a committee appointed by the mayor—covering 11,000 people and 2,900 dwellings, revealed 1,600 of these dwellings as substandard. In the surveyed section, there are 517 families with incomes of $75 per month or less. A local housing authority was legally constituted in August of this year to take advantage of a $738,000 earmarking by United States Housing Authority for a program of low-rent housing and slum-clearance. The city health officer has stated that he will condemn several hundred unlawful and dangerous dwellings as soon as there is made available new or better housing to which the present occupants can turn for shelter. The Fresno Housing Council, comprised of a representative group of prominent citizens, has undertaken to support and speed the work of the Housing Authority. (The formation of this council is a most significant development. The role of citizens' councils in achieving good housing will be discussed briefly in the concluding part of this statement.)

Sacramento.—Twenty percent of the population of the State capital are living under substandard conditions, and its suburbs display some of the worst shack-town growths to be found any place in the State. The Housing Authorities of the city and of the county of Sacramento are moving ahead vigorously with a program which may well become a model for the solution of the very difficult suburban shack-town problem which faces most California communities. In Sacramento, too, as in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Fresno, a local citizens' housing council has served a most important function in the development of the program.

San Diego.—Almost 3,000 substandard dwellings. According to information compiled in the offices of the department of public health, new building over the past 3 years has just about kept abreast of the population increase; but this leaves "a need for proper housing for 2,893 families". This situation is now further distressed by the housing needs of increased personnel in the defense activities of the Navy in San Diego. The Navy may undertake to provide directly the needed defense housing. However, there is as yet no local housing authority, and the severe housing needs of low-income families remain.

These are the available figures on the main cities and metropolitan areas, the principal areas in which formal surveys have been carried on. However, we have on hand an abundance of additional data on still other cities, on typical small towns, and on important sections of the vast agricultural areas of the State.

Much of this material has already been given to the committee by Mr. McWilliams.[1] I wish to turn now to the estimates and descriptive accounts of housing shortages submitted to this association by local health officers all over the State. Their statements mount up to a most compelling and challenging testimonial of human needs.

2. CITIES AND TOWNS OUTSIDE THE MAIN METROPOLITAN AREAS

In July of this year we asked the following questions of health officers throughout the State:

"1. What is the approximate present shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwelling units in your city/county?

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[1] Including housing studies of Tulare County, Sacramento, Russell City, Monterey County, Modesto, Kern County.

"(*a*) What percentage of this shortage represents the 'ordinary,' long-accumulating, peacetime needs?

"(*b*) The shortages (if any) which are occasioned by national-defense activities?

"2. Indications and anticipations as to future shortages due either to:

"(*a*) A falling-off in private building, or

"(*b*) An influx of population which is (1) permanent, (2) emergency, (3) seasonal."

Of some 70 replies to this questionnaire to date, 53 cities and counties have reported significant shortages in decent and safe housing. Cities reporting such shortages ranged from San Diego, with a population of 202,000, to Firebaugh and Etna, with populations, respectively, of 750 and 550; rural counties so reporting ranged from San Bernardino and Kern, populations 161,700 and 133,500, down to Inyo, with its 7,500 residents.

The remaining 17 replies are distributed as follows: Five stated a lack of housing data, but were from rural counties in which other sources have provided accounts of needs; five were from cities and counties which are exclusively occupied by middle- and upper-income families, or are vacation towns;[2] and only seven cities and counties could report unequivocally that they found no housing needs. When the city of Long Beach is eliminated from this group (the Carmelitos housing project of the Los Angeles County Housing Authority will probably take care of present needs in Long Beach), the aggregate population of the remaining towns is negligible.

Thus it is seen that of the localities responding to the questionnaire—excluding the 10 which either lacked data or are well known as high-class residential sections—almost 90 percent indicated significant shortages. And of these 53 localities, only 8 reported actual or prospective private building activities which might give promise of meeting the need.

Beyond this point it would not do to deal with this data statistically, for many of the replies are of necessity estimates, based on criteria which are unavoidably subject to a certain margin of variation. However, it must be emphasized that any technical statistical difficulties which these findings may present because of their partially subjective nature are offset by the essentially conservative basis of the entire survey: its reliance upon the voluntary response of local officials, few of whom would be inclined under any circumstances to paint an unfavorable picture of conditions in their own home towns. In fact, remembering this, most of the letters received have seemed unusually straightforward and to the point.

In any case, the results of this survey are valuable chiefly in (a) the official local corroboration of findings of students and experts in various agencies concerned with housing; (b) the extension by local officials of our knowledge of bad housing conditions; and, (c) since these are representative California communities, what the survey reveals about the need for housing and planning in these communities. For the rest, let us look over a few typical letters from the files of the association:

The smallest town from which there is a reply—and the shortest reply of the lot—the health officer of Etna, population of 550, states: "There is and has been for some time a shortage of housing facilities in Etna, but owing to the low rates of rent there are no houses being built for rent and few have the funds to build for themselves."

Next is Dr. S. A. Larson, of Firebaugh, which is a town of 750 inhabitants located about 40 miles west of Fresno. He states flatly that: "There is nothing really for sale nor for rent." He goes on: "The surrounding country, however, is a very rich agricultural district and a very promising future lies ahead. People constantly come in desiring to locate here, but because of the above-stated reasons go on farther. Most of the residents live in poorly constructed shacks and old houses which are really fire hazards. If someone ventures and builds a new house, there are half a dozen renters applying for it and the first one usually gives a lease for a year or more so nobody else could crowd him out. Surely the housing here is a great need." Dr. Larson concludes with an invitation for an investigation of the housing situation in Firebaugh and the earnest hope that something may be done to remedy the condition.

Then there is the city of Perris, population 1,000. The city health officer and the city clerk agree that the approximate present shortage of decent safe, and sanitary dwelling units is 21 percent. Thus the city of Perris harbors as serious a housing problem, proportionately speaking, as San Francisco.

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[2] Piedmont, Palo Alto, Carmel; San Mateo County; Downieville.

In Fairfield and Suisun, 1,500 inhabitants each, we have our first instance of a shortage arising in connection with national-defense activities. The county health officer advises us that there are no available houses or apartments for rental or purchase. This situation is a direct result of the marked increase of employment on Mare Island in the past few months. This means, of course, that agricultural workers in the Vaca Valley will have greater difficulties, for the duration of the emergency, in obtaining housing facilities.

The health officer of Bishop, a town of 1,500, located in Inyo County, estimates a housing shortage of about 50 dwellings. He estimates further that the figures given for Bishop itself could be duplicated for the rest of Inyo County. The total pouplation of Inyo County is 7,500.

In addition to the "ordinary" 25-unit shortage of decent and sanitary dwelling units in little San Jacinto, which amounts to 25 units, the local health officer anticipates that a prospective air pilots' training field nearby will create a need for 25 units.

The report of Benicia's health officer is worth quoting in full, since it provides a most apt and complete characterization of a typical housing situation. He writes: "At the present time there is a definite shortage of houses in the way of safe, sanitary buildings of fairly low rental value in the city of Benicia. It is extremely difficult to rent livable quarters of any class, but this applies particularly to those of the low or medium wage class. This ordinary peacetime shortage is now aggravated by the influx of new emergency workers due to the defense program at Mare Island and Benicia Arsenal."

The city of Vacaville, population 1,900, is in the same general region, north of the Carquinez Straits, as Fairfield, Suisun, and Benicia. From Mr. C. E. Alley, who is both health officer and chief of police, we received a very authoritative report. At the best, there is a shortage of 80 to 100 needed dwellings in Vacaville, according to Mr. Alley. This information was compiled with the assistance of the president of the chamber of commerce, the president of the merchants' association, real-estate dealers, and members of the city council, all of whom regarded this as a quite conservative estimate. I quote from his letter, in part: "In the last 10 years there have been very few homes built in Vacaville, and there are a considerable number of buildings used for residences that should be destroyed or condemned. * * * There are no homes vacant at the present time in the four campgrounds within the city limits; every available building is rented. Incidentally, the campgrounds are very inferior. * * * It is the concensus of opinion that Vacaville is very much in need of a home-building program."

Across in Marin County there is a shortage of small rentable houses. The San Rafael Chamber of Commerce has reported that it is receiving inquiries for houses to rent from Mare Island workers. The health officer of Sausalito reports an ordinary shortage of about 50 houses, and a shortage of about 100 dwellings occasioned apparently by defense activities in the country.

Jumping across to Contra Costa County, where there are several major industries engaged in defense production, a survey conducted by the Contra Costa County Development Association reveals a shortage of more than 100 dwellings needed for families of wage earners now regularly employed by manufacturers. At least 2,000 employees of factories in the county reside outside of the county, in addition to which, in the words of the health officer, "there is a large influx of migratory agricultural labor in the eastern part of the county during the picking seasons. Only temporary accommodations are available in most cases."[1]

In Alameda County, another major county bordering upon San Francisco Bay, we have the following statements relative to unincorporated areas: "We find, however, that in some of the older communities of the county there are areas in which housing is particularly bad. The buildings themselves are old and quite dilapidated, water supplies are often by individual wells which have long since become contaminated due to saturation of the surrounding premises with sewage and waste from the homes. There are many open and badly constructed cesspools and many septic tanks which were inadequate when installed and which are now in a bad state of repair and not functioning properly." The health officer believes, nevertheless, that housing conditions in the rural portion of the county are improving. (Attention should be called at this point to the Russell City and Decoto housing surveys, which have been entered into the record of the committee by Mr. Carey McWilliams.)

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[1] In January 1941 the board of supervisors of this county set up a county housing authority which has already initiated a program in cooperation with the United States Housing Authority.

Turning again to smaller towns in rural areas, Hanford, Woodland, and Marysville merit some attention. The health officer of Hanford reports an actual and anticipated housing need of about 150 units. The health officer of Marysville, a town of 7,500 in Yuba County, reports a shortage of satisfactory dwelling units to the extent of about 10 percent. This does not include the seasonal shortage in housing which confronts migratory fruit pickers from July to September each year. Woodland's health officer estimates that perhaps 100 low-cost units of sufficient size to house a family of five or six would solve their housing problem. He states that this shortage has long been present and is the result of poor economic conditions found among certain classes of people in the community. He adds in conclusion: "There is a certain seasonal shortage because of the sugar factory located near here. There is also a yearly problem of migratory workers who live largely in camps."

When our attention is called to the depressed condition of working-class families, both within and around agricultural communities such as Woodland, the relation between the housing problem of the migratory worker and that of the more permanent resident of the community does not seem very obscure. We know, too, that the most marked trend of all during the past 2 or 3 years has been that of the increasingly permanent occupancy by agricultural workers of shacks in and around the valley towns.

Monterey County is confronted with a housing situation which represents a cross section of the three main kinds of housing needs—urban, rural, defense. The Monterey Herald, on July 21 of this year, reported an acute shortage in housing; and this just at the beginning of expanded defense activity on the part of the Army. However, five of the six incorporated cities in the county and many unincorporated areas have long experienced shortages of decent housing among the families of workers. Not only the little Oklahoma areas which are described in Mr. McWilliams' testimony, but also certain sections of cities such as Salinas, Monterey, King City, and Soledad are occupied in large part by agricultuural workers.

Dr. Bissell, in his report of November 28, 1939, states that Old Salinas, which consists mostly of tenement structures several stories in height, now almost completely occupied by Orientals, Filipinos, and Mexicans, should be razed and rehoused.

East Monterey, one of the worst suburban developments in the county, has already been described by Mr. McWilliams. Of Soledad, Dr. Bissell has the following to say: "Much advantage can be gained from organized rehousing of this area. Because of the high element of agricultural workers, many of them are Mexicans and Dust Bowl refugees representing low-income families, it is believed that soundly built low-cost individual structures, rentable at reasonable cost, are most necessary. Entire blocks could be cleared and rehoused to great advantage."

Dr. Bissell does not hesitate to recommend a vigorous program of slum-clearance and rehousing: "Problems of housing in the incorporated areas must be faced directly and solved on a larger scale. More liberal interpretation and enforcement of the State housing act is essential." And he concludes: "A time will come when new housing construction can no longer, in a practical manner, retreat beyond the shadows of the old buildings. When this is realized a new viewpoint on housing will demand, for the sake of economy and public health, that all houses be constructed and maintained in a sound and livable condition."

Moving on down the coast, we find the county health officer in San Luis Obispo estimating a minimum of 200 unsuitable dwellings within his county and suggesting that an actual survey might reveal double this number. The city of San Luis Obispo itself contains at the present time at least 100 substandard houses; and in the rural sections there are also many dwellings which are only shacks.

Even wealthy Santa Barbara has its housing problem. The mayor's housing committee not long ago found 422 houses "unfit for habitation and beyond repair." The city health officer points out that two-thirds of all tuberculosis cases reported were from that area in the city which contained 82 percent of the city's unfit houses; and that a study of delinquency records showed a similar association. The mayor's committee recommended the establishment of a housing authority to utilize United States Housing Authority funds for a housing project. However, the city council of Santa Barbara has not yet seen fit to act to solve its housing problem.

It begins to appear that wherever we turn in the State—whether to the humblest rural community, the largest city, the swankiest city, the suburbs of the busy valley town—the unfolding account is all of one piece. The deterioration of the houses in which our people of low income must live; the failure or inability of private enterprise, oriented to speculative gain, to provide even minimum standard dwellings for these people; the fact that Mr. McWilliams' division is understaffed in face of the task of enforcing the State Housing Act, and the limitations of the act itself; on the other hand the human impossibility of enforcing slum clearance without providing new shelter for families cleared out in the process—all of these factors underly this accumulating body of evidence to the effect that shortages of decent and safe housing constitute a pervasive social-economic evil from which few if any communities or rural areas in this State are free.

But let us round out the already familiar story, swinging quickly to the southern part of the State then returning and touching finally a few northern communities from which we have good information. I shall simply list the locality and cite briefly the main evidence available:

Pasadena.—Health officer: "Approximately 50 houses were badly in need of rejuvenation or demolition. * * * Occupied by individuals in the low-income brackets * * * there is at least a housing shortage to this extent."

Imperial County.—A survey covering the slum sections of all incorporated cities in the county—almost 3,000 houses—revealed 2,659 or almost 90 percent of the dwellings as unfit for human habitation. The county health officer estimates a 10 to 15 percent general shortage in satisfactory dwellings over the entire county, and states that "a slum-clearance program instituted under conditions satisfactory to our local communities would be desirable and beneficial to the public health."

El Centro.—Population, 10,000. In 1935 a survey covering 529 dwellings revealed 451, or 85 percent as unfit for human habitation. Today, the secretary of the chamber of commerce writes: "* * * the need is sufficiently great here to warrant the appointment of a housing authority, which has been done." He adds—and this is a particularly interesting statement—"El Centro has grown 19 percent in the last 10 years and the new homes have not kept pace with this development. In addition, we have a 6-months' winter and spring season of heavy influx of transients, both tourists and vegetable workers, and at that season of the year the shortage is particularly acute, not only in low-cost dwellings, but amongst the families of even higher incomes."

San Bernardino County.—Health officer: "Roughly I should think there is a 10-percent shortage in quantity and quality * * * many houses among the Mexicans and the lower income group that fall below desired standards."

Upland.—A local housing authority is now in operation, and will probably build between 50 and 100 dwellings for low-income families, whose members work in the vineyards, the orchards, and the packing houses of this district.

County of Sacramento.—Housing authority: Substandard housing as found in the county is as follows: "Hooverville areas, shack-town settlements, suburban subdivisions for low-income families, auto courts, four-cornered shacks, farm and other isolated dwellings, small towns. * * * The shacks are crowded together and constitute such a fire hazard that if a fire should start on a windy day, the entire settlement would probably burn with much loss of life. Last fall two small children burned to death in a galvanized iron and scrap lumber shack. There are as many as 2,500 low-income families living in indecent, unsafe, and insanitary dwellings."[3]

Stanislaus County.—Health officer: "* * * there are a goodly number of people living in small old houses and our welfare department has considerable trouble in finding enough suitable houses for people on county aid."

Richmond.—Chamber of Commerce: "Richmond is confronted by what might be termed a 'critical shortage' of housing facilities * * *."

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[3] See above for comment on the activity of the recently formed Sacramento Housing Authority.

Emeryville.—Health officer: "There is a district nearer the water front, where * * * most of the houses are owned by one man, and are of a very poor construction. Rents here are disproportionately high * * * There are other shacks here that are unfit for human occupation, but are just enough cheaper than other rented places to be available to families with children * * * The old shacks lack provision for heating, and are almost impossible to keep clean (worn flooring, broken windows, and plaster, etc.)."

Lastly two areas in the northern part of the State:

Eureka.—County health officer: "In conversing with building contractors and the city building inspector, they all tell me there is a need for new and better homes, that is, we have many old houses that are hardly fit to live in. * * *

Plumas County.—Public health officer: "The approximate present shortage of decent dwellings throughout the county is estimated as between 30 and 40 percent. In Greenville the housing shortage nears 40 percent; in Quincy there is a need for 30 percent increase in dwellings; and in Portola the demand for adequate housing is even greater than either of the two other towns * * * The present shortage * * * is caused by the influx of population [4] which is divided between both permanent residents and seasonal workers * * *. Newcomers to this area cannot find housing facilities."

Coming, then, to the end of this testimonial account of housing needs—which are obviously human needs—I take it that no one will question the proposition that housing in California is a grave problem which is, at the least, State-wide in extent. When section after section of the State—small town, big city, agricultural, industrial—reports significant shortages in decent housing, the old pattern of needs which we have known for so long to apply to the slum areas of our great metropolitan areas now begins to take on a new and extended application. The concept of the rural slum, for one thing, begins to force itself upon us; the actuality of the shack town is so close at hand, and tomorrow's prospect is so unmistakable and miserable—unless we will act, now.

And it is true that the migrant worker, the Dust Bowl immigrant from his own land, has added to the severity of the situation we face, perhaps not so much in terms of any new elements which he has brought into the situation as in the ways in which he has been used and buffeted by interests and forces long characteristic of this State. The idea of "blame" is, of course, irrelevant to the problem. Questions of distribution of responsibility in meeting the obvious demands of the situation are more appropriate. In the conclusions and recommendations which follow, an attempt is made to deal in terms of responsibilities—not only those resting upon Federal, State, and local agencies, but those which must be assumed by nonpartisan groups of citizens as a part of the total effort to render this State a more humane and economic place in which to live and work.

CONCLUSIONS

California's major metropolitan areas have acknowledged the existence of large numbers of substandard dwellings within their boundaries and have initiated, against varying degrees of opposition, programs of slum clearance and low-rent housing with the aid of the United States Housing Authority.

Recently organized citizens' housing councils and associations have begun to assume considerable importance in regard to the progress of these programs; in fact, are often responsible for the initiation of a given program. These local councils, affiliated with the California Housing Association, are receiving the increasingly enthusiastic participation and support of prominent citizens of many political points of view, diverse occupations and interests, and varying degrees of "expertise"—responsible citizens who find that they can work together for common ends within the housing movement regardless of various differences in opinion and belief. Moreover, these councils and associations are beginning to extend their attention to the entire realm of planning—physical, social, economic. The typical housing and planning association—not only as a local or a State-wide organization of citizens and experts, but also as a regional association—seems destined to play an increasingly significant role in the development and execution of an effective housing and planning program in the period just ahead.

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[4] Population: 1930, 7,390; 1940, 11,525.

Outside the metropolitan centers, both in the towns and rural areas, California is experiencing a mushroom growth of unincorporated shacktowns and "Hoovervilles" which will in a very few years confront the State with an almost unsurmountable rural slum problem. One major trend in the living and work pattern of agricultural workers—that toward permanent settlement rather than continual shifting up and down the State—is most strikingly evidenced by the growth of these shacktown subdivisions on the outskirts of all the valley towns; poor land sold at small monthly payments, resulting in makeshift construction of completely unplanned communities, lacking often in even the most elementary facilities for decent living.

Ironically enough, the people whose earnest efforts to provide themselves with their own homes are producing these alarming shacktown slums all over the State are apparently the most courageous and enterprising of the migrant workers—those least inclined (if, indeed, there are any significant numbers so inclined) to lean on the State for their existence and security.

Even within the city limits of at least 75 percent of our ordinary rural communities in California there are less dramatic but equally serious, long-accumulating shortages of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for the lower third income group of our people. The evidence here adds new corroboration to the familiar proposition that the private building industry has not and cannot build houses at a profit which can be made available to low-income families at rents they can afford to pay.

The meaning of these housing shortages in terms of costs to taxpayers of maintaining the slum section of their respective communities, in terms of the health and morale of our working people, and in terms of centers of crime and juvenile delinquency is an old story in other parts of the country, and is only reasserted by the reports which we have summarized.

The State division of immigration and housing, although under the best leadership in its history, is grossly undermanned and lacking in funds. This division should be expanded in personnel and authority.

The Farm Security Administration is doing excellent work in all phases of its program, and not the least in its housing. It should cooperate with the United States Housing Authority, which is the Federal agency which today can probably be best adapted to meet the needs of the masses of low-income rural workers who are striving desperately to settle down to more or less permanent residence in many sections of the State. The United States Housing Authority program can be brought to bear upon the needs we have outlined through the local initiative of city and county citizens and officials in setting up housing authorities which can borrow Federal funds for the construction of low-rent dwellings; or through the establishment of a State housing authority which could use such funds in a direct approach to rural housing needs.

Thus the outstanding Federal responsibility is the provision of funds; the State's immediate responsibility is to set up an active State housing authority; and the city or county responsibility is either to cooperate fully with such a State housing authority (a bill, A. B. 57, to establish such an authority has already passed the State assembly by a wide margin, and is now before the State senate), or to act immediately to establish their own local housing authorities which can participate in the United States Housing Authority program.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I. *Federal action.*—(1) Immediate appropriation of new funds for the United States Housing Authority. At least $500,000,000, not earmarked for any purposes other than the provision of low-rent housing for low-income families. Just at the time when local authorities have begun to awaken to the possibilities in this program for meeting the needs of workers in rural areas, the coffers of United States Housing Authority are almost empty of any funds other than those earmarked for specifically defense housing.

(2) Continuance of the full program of the Farm Security Administration, with particular emphasis upon the farm-labor homes on the one hand, and the mobile camps on the other.

II. *Regional action.*—(1) The formation of a Western Housing and Planning Council, which could serve as a clearing house of information and an instrument of expression on these matters for all interested citizens; and which could, in general, concern itself with the large task of working out the new techniques and approaches which will have to be called forth before housing and planning problems of the western States can be solved. The support of any such citizens' council by all persons or foundations concerned for the welfare of agricultural workers, as well as by those generally interested in housing and planning.

III. *State action.*—(1) Passage by the State senate of a bill which would provide for the establishment of a State housing authority which could act directly to relieve the housing needs of workers in rural areas. If the problem of migratory workers is a State-wide problem, then surely an agency of State-wide jurisdiction should be operative to deal with the urgent housing needs of these workers.

(2) Increased appropriation to the Division of Immigration and Housing.

(3) Extensive study of the State Housing Act, with a view to amending it in order to bring its building regulations up to date and so that it shall apply to unincorporated as well as incorporated areas of the State.

IV. *Local action.*—(1) The establishment of city and/or county housing authorities in all those areas where housing shortages have been glaringly evident for at least several years; and the active participation by these authorities in the program of the United States Housing Authority. (With, probably, minor adjustments having been made to render the United States Housing Authority more flexible in its application to rural areas; perhaps to include provisions whereby rural workers could build their own homes in well-planned garden communities, and proceed to buy rather than rent these homes: "greenbelt towns" for very low-income families.)

(2) The organization of citizens' housing councils in the respective localities, including outstanding local citizens and experts of many points of view, who can come together in support of measures designed to meet the housing needs we have described. These councils to be nonofficial, independent organizations working to support and further the programs of United States Housing Authority, Farm Security Administration, and any others—public and private—which give promise of providing decent housing for low-income families.

(3) The enactment of modern city and county zoning regulations and building codes, and the adequate enforcement of all such regulations.

(4) The activizing of county planning boards all over the State.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD HOWDEN—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Now, for 2 or 3 minutes do you have a few points you would like to discuss?

Mr. HOWDEN. That's about all I want to do now, and I appreciate the privilege of submitting the material later.

The CHAIRMAN. The whole thing will go into the record and be read by us.

Mr. HOWDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything in particular, without being statistical, or anything, of that kind that you want to say now?

Mr. HOWDEN. Yes; I just wanted to indicate some information which we have gathered in this association. I should say, by way of identifying the association, it is a nonofficial, nonprofit, nonpolitical organization, modeled very much after the Citizens Housing Council of New York, which you may be familiar with.

A cross section of points of view are represented on the board, and so on. I wanted mainly to supplement and to reassert some of the information which was presented to you this morning by Carey McWilliams and Catherine Bauer, and especially to reassert this recommendation:

RECOMMENDS APPROPRIATION FOR U. S. HOUSING AUTHORITY

That the United States Housing Authority, in our opinion, is the one agency which today is being overlooked, the one agency which today could do most in addition to the excellent work of the Farm Security toward alleviating these housing conditions of the migrant agricultural workers which this committee has been considering.

There has been no new appropriation, as you know, for the United States Housing Authority.

The **Chairman.** We are very familiar with that.

Mr. **Howden.** Yes; it is particularly unfortunate that this is the case in relation to California because just at this point we can safely say that many county authorities, housing authorities, are in the process of formation. In several counties, Stanislaus County, for example, and in the rural communities, there is great activity in behalf of housing at this time. In other cities there are the possibilities of housing authorities being established at the present time with many citizens and all kinds of groups behind them—and yet no money forthcoming.

The **Chairman.** We are very familiar with that because, you see, we had hearings in the House of Representatives on that, a report made, and I am very much in favor of it.

Where do you live, Mr. Howden?

Mr. **Howden.** I am a resident of Berkeley.

The **Chairman.** Now, if you will do that, Mr. Howden, we will give you that opportunity, to set forth that material. We have had one appearance on behalf of your association, don't you see; so that would be very valuable, and if you will do that for us, we will deeply appreciate it. Thank you for coming over here.

Mr. **Howden.** Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

The **Chairman.** Senator, I want to have it noted in the record that you were here today. Gentlemen, this is Senator J. I. Wagy, State Senator, Thirty-fourth District, California Legislature, Bakersfield, Calif. Here is a very intelligent observer, and we are glad to have you here, Senator.

Senator **J. I. Wagy.** Thank you.

The **Chairman.** Dr. Rowell, I believe you have some exhibits to introduce at this time.

Dr. **Rowell.** I wish first to introduce a summary containing a motion and a number of resolutions by the California Conference of Social Work, in relation to this problem.

(The statement is as follows:)

SUMMARY PREPARED BY THE CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The California conference of social work appointed a permanent committee on migratory workers and transients in August 1936, since the conference recognized an acute transient and migratory labor problem for which improvement of conditions there should be interest and leadership assumed by the California conference of social work. This committee on migratory workers and transients has functioned actively from then until the present time, September 1940.

The following are the resolutions adopted by the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, thirtieth, and thirty-first annual meetings of the California conference of social work.

Motion presented to annual meeting 1936:

"It is the sense of the members of the California conference of social work assembled in their annual business session that, pending the development of an adequate permanent interstate and intrastate program for the handling of transients, the present session of Congress should appropriate substantial funds for use in meeting the needs of this class of dependents; further, that the officers of this conference be authorized to forward to the proper authorities in Congress information as to this action."

Resolutions XIV through XXII presented to annual meeting 1937:

RESOLUTION XIV

Whereas efficient operation of the agricultural industry of California depends upon a mobile supply of labor; and

Whereas the efficiency of this labor supply is in turn dependent upon decent living conditions: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work recommends and urges the Resettlement Administration to continue the establishment of a chain of 10 to 20 demonstration camps for migratory agricultural laborers in California, where the essential conditions for health, education, and recreation can be provided; and be it further

Resolved, That the conference urges the Resettlement Administration to expedite the establishment of part-time farming projects whereby migratory laborers can be stabilized and their standard of living raised through better housing, a stake in the land, and cooperative activity.

RESOLUTION XV

Whereas the existing Federal social security law makes no provision for the needs of agricultural workers or for persons migrating across State lines; and

Whereas the Finance Committee of the United States Senate together with the Social Security Board have appointed an advisory committee to study necessary amendments to the Federal Social Security Act; be it therefore

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work petition this advisory committee to take into consideration the needs of agricultural and migrant workers in their recommendations for amendments to the Social Security Act.

RESOLUTION XVI

Whereas the problem of maintaining sanitary and other standards for agricultural labor camps demands the cooperation and vigilance of the State; be it therefore

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work petitions the State legislature to make adequate provision for the camp inspection work of the State Immigration and Housing Commission in order that the present intolerable conditions may be eliminated.

RESOLUTION XVII

Whereas the unsanitary conditions under which migratory agricultural laborers are compelled to live constitute a threat to the health of the citizens of California; be it therefore

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work offer its support in securing the cooperation of the California State Department of Public Health in continuing and expanding its public health work among the migratory agricultural workers, and in availing itself to the fullest extent possible of the Federal social security funds which have been appropriated for rural public health.

RESOLUTION XVIII

Whereas the problem of migratory labor is especially acute in California and,

Whereas any solution of the problem requires adequate knowledge of its causes and extent, and

Whereas the solution of the problem lies beyond the province and power of any particular State; be it therefore

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work petitions the members of the United States Congress to make available under Senate Joint Resolution 85 the funds necessary for the completion of the survey of the social and economic needs of migratory workers, which has been ordered by the United States Senate under Senate Resolution 298 of the Seventy-fourth Congress.

RESOLUTION XIX

Whereas miserable shacks and shelters on the fringes of our cities and towns are the only habitations available to a large proportion of the migratory agricultural workers; be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work recommends that the resources of the Federal Housing Administration be made available for decent permanent housing of migratory and other agricultural workers.

RESOLUTION XX

Whereas the State department of education has a peculiar responsibility for the education of children in families of migratory workers in California; and

Whereas the equipment and facilities for this work in some instances has been woefully inadequate to achieve the satisfactory educational standards required to preserve our democracy: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work petition the State legislature, the Governor, and the State department of education to make such budgeting extensions as to permit the establishment of proper educational conditions for the group.

RESOLUTION XXI

Whereas there is not now available Federal, State, or local funds for the aid of needy persons not having State residence; and

Whereas Congress has instructed the United States Department of Labor to make a study of the existing conditions among this group; and

Whereas in the interim from information gathered from the intake centers of both public and private relief agencies, applicants for aid from this group have been found to be in such acute need as to not only threaten their own future welfare but that of the community as well: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work petition the State legislature now in session to appropriate the sum of $1,000,000 to preserve and protect the public welfare by meeting the emergent needs, particularly of the minor boys and girls, the sick, and those afflicted with communicable diseases in this group, until such time as a decision is reached regarding the application of Federal funds for such purpose; be it further

Resolved, That this fund be administered by the State department of social welfare through a division created for this specific purpose.

RESOLUTION XXII

Whereas the entrance of increasing numbers of migrants into the State of California constitutes a threat to the earnings and living standards of the workers of this State, and

Whereas this threat can be mitigated by proper and planned distribution of such migrants to available employment, and

Whereas the State of California is not taking full advantage of the Federal funds available for the California State Employment Service under the Wagner-Peyser Act: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work petition the State legislature to appropriate sufficient funds for the California State Employment Service to secure for California the maximum Federal financial cooperation.

Resolutions XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII presented to annual meeting, 1938:

RESOLUTION XIV

Whereas the committee appointed by the California Conference of Social Work to study the problem of migrants and transients in California has reported to the board of directors of the conference, after prolonged and intensive study, approval of Voorhis bill, H. R. 9256: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work does hereby commend the report of said committee and go on record as urging the enactment of the Voorhis bill; that copy of this resolution be sent to the Congress of the United States, to congressional Representatives of California, to Mr. Voorhis, author of the bill, to the Social Security Board, and to the Governor of California.

Aleta Brownlee, Margaret T. Morewood, Louis Kuplan, Glen E. Carlson, Dorothy Freeman, Eva Hance, C. I. Schottland, Mathilde Alch, Gretchen Tuthill, Katherine FitzGerald, Katherine F. Berry, Sophie Hardy, Louise Drury, May McLoughlin, Alma Holzschuh.

RESOLUTION XV

Whereas the California Conference of Social Work, representing more than 3,000 professional social workers and lay leaders, has gone on record after study and deliberation approving H. R. 9256 (Voorhis) as absolutely essential to the alleviation of the dire distress of migratory and transient people: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we hereby respectfully petition the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives for immediate favorable action reporting out to the House H. R. 9256.

Aleta Brownlee, Mathilde Alch, Alma Holzschuh, Katherine FitzGerald, Dorothy Freeman, Sophie Hardy, Louise Drury, May McLoughlin, Gretchen Tuthill, Margaret Morewood, Louis Kuplan, Glen E. Carlson, Katherine F. Berry, Eva Hance, C. I. Schottland, Esther Hutson.

RESOLUTION XVI

Whereas the State and counties do not provide for necessary medical care for transients, and as it would be difficult to provide such care out of State and county tax funds: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work approve H. R. 8225 (Voorhis), which is a bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide medical care for transients; that copy of this resolution be sent to the Congress of the United States, to congressional Representatives of California, to Mr. Voorhis, author of the bill, to the Social Security Board, and to the Governor of California.

ALMA HOLZSCHUH,
EVANGELINE BAGLEY,
AGNES E. WILSON,
MAY MCLOUGHLIN,
ALETA BROWNLEE.

RESOLUTION XVII

(A) Whereas the California agricultural industry depends upon a supply of mobile labor; and

Whereas the efficiency of this labor depends in turn upon decent living conditions; and

Whereas the Farm Security Administration has been developing its program to establish sanitary camps of the type approved by resolution of this conference in 1937, where the conditions for health, education, and recreation can be provided: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the conference urge the Farm Security Administration to expand and expedite its program for laborers' camps; and be it further

Resolved, That the conference request the Farm Security Administration to develop with all possible speed its housing and farming projects whereby migratory laborers can be stabilized and their standard of living raised through better housing, a stake in the land, and cooperative activity.

(B) Whereas the Federal Social Security Act makes no provision for agricultural workers or for persons migrating across State lines: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the conference urge again, as in 1937, that the Social Security Board study and make recommendations for meeting the needs of these workers.

(C) Whereas the problem of maintaining sanitary standards for agricultural labor camps is being made more acute by the influx of transient workers to our harvest fields; and

Whereas vigilant and rigid inspection of these camps by State inspectors is essential to a solution of this problem: Be it therefore

Resolved, That this conference urge the State legislature to restore the State division of immigration and housing to its original efficiency, so that present intolerable conditions can be eliminated.

(D) Whereas it is of particular importance to California that study by the Department of Labor of the problem of workers migrating across State lines should be continued, as provided by Senate Joint Resolution No. 85, already passed by the Senate: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work petition the California Congressmen to work for its adoption in the House.

(E) Whereas the Secretary of Labor has submitted a report to the Senate on workers migrating across State lines; and

Whereas Senate Resolution No. 238 has been introduced by Senator Thomas of Utah to have this report printed: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work hereby records its belief that the report should be made available to the public by being printed.

(F) Whereas the migration of distressed families from State to State within the region west of the Missouri-Mississippi Rivers is assuming the proportions of a major problem; and

Whereas it is desirable that social workers within these States exchange views to the end that so far as possible measures to meet the problem be agreed upon and supported in common: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the Secretary of this conference be instructed to transmit to the leading organized social work groups within the States west of the Missouri-Mississippi Rivers the resolutions on transient workers passed by the conference, inviting their views and support; and, be it further

Resolved, That the correspondence received on this subject be referred to the conference committee on transients for suitable attention in accordance with the letter and spirit of the resolutions adopted by this conference.

ALETA BROWNLEE.
ALMA HOLZSCHUH.
MAY MCLOUGHLIN.
AGNES E. WILSON.
EVANGELINE BAGLEY.

RESOLUTION XVIII

Whereas in California there are many needy transients who are unable to obtain assistance from public and private agencies, and

Whereas the rejection of this group of citizens for aid is affecting the morale of the social agencies of California, and

Whereas because of California's great emphasis on agriculture and its favorable living conditions, the westward movement of people, unduly augmented by periodic exoduses from Dust Bowl States though it may be, may continue for some time to come, and

Whereas in our judgment the responsibility for the care of needy transients is a Federal responsibility, and

Whereas due to certain reasons Federal aid has not been made available in California for needy transients: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work go on record as opposed to the exclusion of transient and nonresident persons from the aid of public and private agencies for the sole reason of lack of residence; and be it further

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work send copies of this resolution to the Governor of California, the California Supervisors' Association, the State relief commission, the State department of social welfare, and the leading community chests and councils of social agencies in the State.

Resolutions 2, 3, 4, 6, 31 presented to annual meeting, 1939:

RESOLUTION XIX

Whereas there are thousands of destitute, wandering, homeless migratory agricultural laboring families and transients in the San Joaquin Valley and other parts of California, and

Whereas the Honorable H. Jerry Voorhis points out that the present situation is the result, first, of unemployment; second of the differences in relief standards in various States; third, of drought conditions, floods, and similar natural catastrophes; fourth, of the development of large-scale industrialized agriculture in the Nation; and fifth, of depressed conditions of farm tenants, and

Whereas large numbers of these families are ineligible for general assistance from the State of California and its political subdivisions due to their inability to satisfy residence requirements, and

Whereas the committee appointed by the California Conference of Social Work reports, after 2 years' study of this problem, that it believes that the Voorhis bill, H. R. 2975, would alleviate the deplorable conditions of these people: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work approve H. R. 2975; that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Congress of the United

States; to the congressional Representatives of California; to Mr. Voorhis, author of the bill; to the Social Security Board; and to the Governor of California.

Esther Hutson, P. S. Taylor, Alberta L. Baumberger, Rebecca Staman, Theresa Wilcox, Elsie Jensen, F. R. Soule, H. Dewey Anderson, Katherine Kilbourne, Florence R. Wyckoff, James B. Reese.

RESOLUTION XX

Whereas the great influx of nonresidents into California is overtaxing available local facilities for medical care, and

Whereas hundreds of nonresidents are at the present time being deprived of medical care: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work approve H. R. 2974 (Voorhis), which is a bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide grants to States for the purposes of assisting counties, health districts, and other political subdivisions in providing medical care to nonresident needy cases on the same basis as resident needy cases; that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Congress of the United States; to Mr. Voorhis, author of the bill; to the Social Security Board; and to the Governor of California.

ALBERTA L. BAUMBERGER,
JAMES B. REESE,
IRENE MAY LEEPER,
THERESA WILCOX,
F. R. SOULE.
FLORENCE FRIEDMAN.
FLORENCE R. WYCKOFF.

RESOLUTION XXI

Whereas general public assistance as now administered by States without Federal aid is rapidly reverting to Elizabethan poor-law standards, and

Whereas Work Projects Administration has been unable to provide work for thousands of needy individuals, and

Whereas the State of California is unable to relieve the problems of the destitute transient and migratory agricultural laborers in California: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work approve H. R. 5736 (Voorhis), which is a bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide grants to the States for general public assistance; that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Congress of the United States; to congressional Representatives of California; to Mr. Voorhis, author of the bill; to the Social Security Board; and to the Governor of California.

James B. Reese, Elsie Jensen, P. S. Taylor, H. Dewey Anderson, Florence R. Wyckoff, F. R. Soule, Alberta L. Baumberger, Esther Hutson, Rebecca Staman, Katherine Kilbourne, Theresa Wilcox, Florence Friedman.

RESOLUTION XXII

Whereas the camp program of the Farm Security Administration represents the most constructive effort thus far made in California to bring about better housing and living conditions for migratory workers, and

Whereas this program has taken an enormous load of responsibility from the county agencies, lightening the work of county sanitary inspectors, health officers, and welfare agencies at no cost to the counties, and

Whereas the great influx of migratory workers started before the Farm Security Administration camp program was well under way, thereby refuting the theory that these camps serve to attract to this State large numbers of migratory workers, and

Whereas the abandonment of the Farm Security Administration program at this time would result in great confusion, an added tax load to the residents of the various farm counties would aggravate the whole problem of migratory labor in this State and would deprive the residents of these camps of the decent living conditions now available in the camps: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Social Work go on record as (1) commending the Farm Security Administration for its accomplishments to date; (2) urging the continuation and extension of the program; (3) doing all in its power to bring the facts to the attention of the public; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution should be sent to the Farm Security Administration, 85 Second Street; to Assemblyman Elmer Lore; to the California congressional delegation; and to Gov. Culbert L. Olson.

RICHARD E. OWEN,
EDWARD M. SCHOTTLAND,
RHEA RADIN,
BUELL MABEN,
GERTRUDE CHERNIN,
ALBERTA L. BAUMBERGER,
MOLLY ROBINSON.

RESOLUTION XXIII

Whereas A. B. 1169, which provides for 30 camps for agricultural workers' families, patterned after the Federal Farm Security Administration camps being built in California, is now being considered by the State legislature; and

Whereas there is desperate need for at least this many camps being provided to alleviate the unsanitary living conditions under which agricultural workers are forced to live: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Conference of Special Work endorse A. B. 1169 and urge that it be enacted into law; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the assembly committee on social service and welfare, Governor Olson, Lieutenant Governor Patterson, and the press.

JEAN ROCKWELL,
DANIEL JOHNSTON,
DEWEY ANDERSON,
JANE CHRISTIANS,
HELEN E. CROSS.

Dr. ROWELL. I wish to introduce here a letter from the San Francisco Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers.

(The letter appears below.)

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS,
SAN FRANCISCO CHAPTER.

San Francisco, Calif., September 24, 1940.

The Honorable JOHN TOLAN,
Chairman, House of Representatives Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
585 Bush Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Attention: Mr. Edward J. Rowell.

DEAR SIR: The American Association of Social Workers, San Francisco chapter, is vitally interested in the hearings now being held throughout the country by the House Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, of which you are chairman.

The association welcomes the splendid effort being put forth by your committee to obtain facts and knowledge regarding this important national problem.

As professional social workers, we have been directly concerned with the nonresident and the migratory laborers. We are aware of the tragic plight in which this group has found themselves. We know of the unsanitary living conditions with which these people must contend, of the inadequate medical and educational facilities, of the uncertain low income, and of the restrictions placed upon the giving of assistance to the nonresident and migrant.

We can appreciate the tremendous size of your task in approaching an understanding of the problem of migration, and what its meaning is to the Nation and to a large segment of the American people. We recognize the need for understanding the basic causes of migration, and the relationship which agricultural, economic, and population problems have to this subject.

The chapter, in the past, has gone on record as favoring a program of Federal grants-in-aid to the States for public assistance and medical care to the nonresident. The need for leadership on the part of the Federal Government is, we believe, most evident. Also, in order to do away with the injustices and inequalities of the settlement laws in our 48 States, we see a definite need for a universal 1-year resident law. In this national program for the nonresident and migrant, adequate social services must be developed and maintained as an aid to this problem.

The chapter, recognizing that the migration problem is one of national scope, trusts that Congress will see the need for Federal legislation and national planning. We will be glad to cooperate with you.

Yours truly,

Mary L. Cady,
Chairman, San Francisco Chapter of American Association of Social Workers.

Dr. Rowell. I wish to introduce a letter from the State Department of Education of Oregon.

(The letter is as follows:)

State Department of Education,
Salem, September 10, 1940.

Mr. Edward J. Rowell,
Chief Field Investigator, Special Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, 585 Bush Street, San Francisco, Calif.

My Dear Mr. Rowell: In your letter of September 5 you request a statement dealing with the problem of migrants as they impinge on the administration of the public school system in Oregon.

Caring for migrant workers' children in the schools of the State has not been a problem up to the present time. Possibly the condition here is less of a problem because the crops are harvested mainly during the vacation period and the migrant workers leave the State or scatter so that a burden is not created for certain school districts. This condition has obtained up to the present. However, we may have difficulty when we must deal with certain permanent migratory workers' camps, one of which has been established near the city of Dayton in Yamhill County and another in the Malheur County area. By concentrating migrant workers in these camps an increased burden is placed upon the rural school districts in which the camps are located, provided the districts are willing to accept the responsibility. There are no State funds available for aiding in these situations and the rural district does not always have the taxable wealth to provide facilities or teachers without sharp increases in taxes. As you probably know, practically the whole burden for the operation of schools in this State is placed upon real property, approximately 75 percent being upon the individual school district, while the remainder comes from county-wide taxes which are given to the different districts on the basis of pupils of school age in the district and teachers employed. Children in the migratory workers' camps, however, are on Federal property and it, therefore, appears that they cannot be included on the school census. The camp property is no longer a school district when it comes under the control of the Federal Government. The camps are in much the same position as Federal forests, game refuges, and military reserves in this respect.

The problem has not become acute up to now but should the camp in Yamhill County be filled I do not know how teachers will be obtained, as I understand the local school district surrounding the camp disclaims responsibility as does the county also. It would appear that the Federal Government should assume the responsibility when migrants are concentrated in camps in order to properly care for the education of the children therein.

I would appreciate hearing from you further on this subject in order that we may be informed and give our cooperation in providing for these children the opportunity to attend a school.

Please let us know of any way that we can be of service.

Sincerely yours,

Rex Putnam,
Superintendent Public Instruction.
By Lester A. Wilcox,
Statistics, School Law, Americanization.

Dr. Rowell. I wish to introduce also a statement from the Kern County Labor Council.

(The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF THE KERN COUNTY LABOR COUNCIL, BAKERSFIELD, CALIF.

Members of the organized labor movement of Kern County have quite naturally been deeply interested in the problem and controversies which have arisen out of the coming into this State of a large number of dispossessed farmers and unemployed farm and small-town workers from the so-called Dust Bowl areas.

This council has at various times appointed committees to investigate certain aspects of this problem. Discussions of the rights and treatment of migratory workers have occurred upon its floor and it has from time to time expressed itself on certain controversies arising out of this situation.

It has been a fundamental part of the American tradition that workers should be free to seek to better their conditions by moving freely at their own will. Indeed, the phenomenal development of our country has rested upon this freedom of movement of the people. We should therefore regard any attempt to prevent the workers from moving freely from State to State as a departure from established American principles.

Moreover, we have viewed with apprehension the pronouncements of certain groups who have condemned these newcomers as a class apart from normal American life.

When the migrants from the Middle West have secured positions in the organized trades, the Unions affiliated with this council have welcomed them to the brotherhood of organized labor. When they have been unable to secure employment, we have observed with satisfaction that State and Federal relief agencies have attempted at least to provide for their subsistence.

California agriculture, particularly large-scale agriculture, is dependent upon a seasonal supply of labor. As California agriculture now operates, there must inevitably be large numbers of unemployed during the greater portion of the year. California agriculture cannot or will not pay an annual wage sufficient to maintain the American standard of living. It thus happens that even under the most favorable circumstances, the labor supply of California agriculture must be subsidized by some form of relief.

We believe that the adjustment of this relief problem between State and Federal agencies should be harmoniously worked out. We believe that neither the State nor the Federal Government should seek to escape its share of responsibility.

Organized labor regrets that in a country possessed of such great resources as the United States there should be a problem of unemployment or a need for relief. So long as unemployment exists, however, measures of relief must be adopted. Organized labor insists that this relief shall be as adequate as public means can afford; that it shall be administered in a spirit of fairness and tolerance and that its administration shall not be made the means of lowering the American standard of living, prevent the free movement of workers from one place to another, or degrading those who are its recipients.

With these principles in mind, we believe that the problems arising out of our agricultural labor situation can be solved.

The foregoing statement was adopted by the Kern County Labor Council on the 17th day of September, 1940, and a copy ordered forwarded to the congressional committee now investigating migratory labor conditions in California.

[SEAL]

KERN COUNTY LABOR COUNCIL,
W. A. STARR, *Secretary.*

Dr. ROWELL. I also wish to introduce a brief statement from Sigurd Johansen, assistant professor of sociology of the New Mexico State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, State College, N. Mex.

(The statement is as follows:)

INVESTIGATING THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS, BY SIGURD JOHANSEN, STATE COLLEGE, N. MEX.

It would appear that any thorough investigation of the interstate migration of destitute citizens in the United States should give consideration to at least three major points:

1. A major problem that should be given attention is the cause of the migration of destitute citizens. In other words, what are the particular causal factors which have been instrumental in putting these people in such a position that they have

been forced to migrate. These factors must be determined before it will be at all possible to stop the flow of destitute citizens in the event that such a movement is deemed undesirable. Once the economic causes for the movement of people out of given areas have been determined, it will be necessary to give consideration to adjustment that may possibly alter the existing unfavorable economic conditions. It does seem plausible that certain readjustments can be made in the areas from which destitute migrants come so that economic opportunities will be created which will tend to keep at least a portion of the migrants in such areas.

2. Another question of major concern in the study of interstate migration of destitute citizens is the conditions under which they live while moving from place to place. In the interest of the personal welfare of the migrants and of the localities where they may stop for a night or for a longer period of time, it is essential that some provisions be made in order that proper care may be insured. Without some such provisions, individual health may be impaired and the health and safety of the community through which these people pass may be affected in a manner that can lead to serious consequences. The conditions under which these people live while on the road is a serious problem which must be considered irrespective of their place of origin and the causes for their movement and irrespective of their place of destination.

3. Once the destitute citizens have begun migrating from State to State, and even though the conditions under which they live while migrating are satisfactory, another problem arises as to what will happen to these people once they have arrived at their destination. Then arises the question of proper living conditions, adequate work opportunities, and the future prospects of the migrants once the peak-work season is over. These factors must be considered. They are related to the whole problem of planned direction of migrants and seasonal workers in the United States. Unless some effort is made to see that no more workers are attracted to given areas employing seasonal labor than can be given work and taken care of properly during and after the peak of the work season, it seems unlikely that it will be possible to avoid the presence of large numbers of destitute citizens. These people will be living under conditions detrimental both to personal and public welfare. So long as an effort is made to attract interstate migrants in large numbers in order to insure immediate and cheap labor supply without regard to the subsequent provisions for the workers, the presence of destitute citizens in areas attracting these workers will continue to be a serious problem.

The above three factors are logically related. First, there is the matter of the reasons for interstate migration; secondly, there is the problem of living conditions while on the road; and finally, there is the question of the position in which the migrants find themselves upon arriving at their destination. All three of these factors must be given serious consideration and the related problems must be solved in any attempt to cope with the question of interstate migration of destitute citizens.

Dr. ROWELL. I also wish to introduce a summary containing certain recommendations by the California Tuberculosis Association of this city.

(The statement is as follows:)

SUMMARY PREPARED BY THE CALIFORNIA TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Interest in the problem of migrants and transients in the State of California was formally taken by the California Tuberculosis Association in 1936, since the health problem of these persons was related to the problem of public health and tuberculosis. In April 1936 representatives of tuberculosis associations in the southwestern States met at the Southwestern Conference on Tuberculous Transients in New Mexico to discuss the problem and to formulate a long-range planning for a permanent transient program.

At the present time the most complete information concerning the prevalence of tuberculosis with relation to the migrant and transient is contained in the report of the California State Department of Public Health titled "Survey of Tuberculosis Among Transients," July 31, 1940. The conclusions reached were:

(1) According to these figures, approximately 18.56 percent of all cases of tuberculosis reported by the San Joaquin Valley counties have less than 3 years' residence in the county reporting.

(2) From reports obtained, approximately 15.23 percent of all cases reported by the San Joaquin Valley counties are white transients having less than 3 years' residence in county reporting.

(3) Estimates from the Farm Security Administration report the total migratory and transient population of California to be approximately 69,260. Migrants between the ages of 18 and 22 of both sexes were estimated to be between 17,000 and 18,000 as of July 1, 1940.

There were four main convictions developed by the committee of the Southwestern Conference on Tuberculous Transients:

(1) First and foremost it was concluded that the problem of the migrant is almost unapproachable until, and if, uniform settlement laws are established for all States.

(2) Provision should be made for medical and hospital care for those migrants and transients found to have tuberculosis, or other diseases, which may be communicated to residents of the State. In the past the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association has made provision for medical care, but under this plan no hospitalization has been available. Hospitalization should be provided for every classification of migrant and transient in order properly to isolate those cases who may be infecting residents of the State. Such a plan for medical care should be approved by expert medical consultation.

(3) The social-security policy of furnishing grants-in-aid to counties for maintenance of full-time health units should be continued in order to develop and continue programs of tuberculosis case finding.

(4) There should be established a program of relief for migrants, details of which program should be sought from experts in this field.

Dr. Rowell. I wish to introduce a letter from the State superintendent of education of the State of Washington, Dr. S. F. Atwood.

(The letter appears below.)

Department of Education,
Olympia, September 25, 1940.

Mr. Edward J. Rowell,
Chief Field Investigator, Committee, House of Representatives,
585 Bush Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Rowell: I am sorry to have delayed answering your letter of September 5 for so long. The delay has been caused largely by the fact that I have been out of the office almost continuously for 2 weeks and my correspondence, as a result, has been neglected.

The State of Washington is prepared and is able to take care of the education of the children of migrants in the public-school system when cooperation is had from local school and county authorities. So far a problem has arisen in only one community, and there would not have been a problem had it not been for the hostility and activity of the county superintendent of schools who, instead of carrying out his sworn duty of keeping children in school, used his utmost endeavors to keep them out. This situation need not have arisen, because the State offered to provide both housing and teachers to care for the additional children who came into the district when their parents moved into the Farm Security Administration Camp.

As indicated above, there need not be any problem in this State in regard to the education of all children residing within its borders, whether recent arrivals or permanent residents. Unfortunately, local school officials do have the power to stir up trouble and interfere with the proper education of children.

Very truly yours,

S. F. Atwood.

Dr. Rowell. I also wish to introduce a letter from the Community Chest of San Francisco.

(The letter is as follows:)

Community Chest of San Francisco,
September 18, 1940.

Dr. Edward J. Rowell,
Chief Investigator, Tolan Committee on Migrants,
585 Bush Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Dr. Rowell: The San Francisco Community Chest, which is responsible for social planning as well as fund raising, has for some years been concerned with the situation of persons excluded from public relief because of varied legal residence requirements of different States. It recognized that so long as these different definitions of the length of residence required continue there will remain a group of Stateless people who have lost residence in one locality and have not, and in many cases cannot, gain it in a new locality. These individuals are deprived of public aid in time of need.

Early in 1936 this community chest, along with others on the Pacific coast, approved a group of recommendations regarding public relief which included the following statement regarding nonresidents: "The Federal Government should reassume financial responsibility for out-of-State transients through grants-in-aid to the States and the development of a coordinated program."

In 1938 when Congressman H. J. Voorhis introduced a bill to provide for aid to the States for the care of transients this community chest endorsed the principle of that legislation. On various occasions we have advised legislators of the plight of individuals who are left without a residence for relief in any community and have urged the passage of legislation to obviate this difficulty.

No information is available to us as to the hardships that may be imposed on all those persons turned away from public relief offices because they cannot meet the residence requirements. A few of the extremely needy families do get to private relief agencies and are given such care as the limited finances of these private organizations permit. The family welfare agencies in San Francisco which receive support from the community chest report that from April 1940, when State senate bill No. 81 redefined residence requirements for aid to the unemployed, until September 1, 1940, 30 urgent cases were aided by these private agencies when public aid was refused because of residence.

From June of 1939 when San Francisco County passed an ordinance defining emergency aid to nonresidents in section 2501 of the California Welfare and Institutions Code, until September 1, 1940, relief was extended to 169 cases which have no residence here nor in any other State for public aid.

Sincerely yours,

LEROY KITTS,
Executive Director.

Dr. ROWELL. I also wish to introduce a statement received from the Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, Portland, Oreg. This statement contains a number of charts and maps.

(The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION

MIGRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Keenly aware of the grave challenge presented to our Nation by recent widespread interregional migration of distressed families and especially concerned with the problems of developing new economic opportunity for thousands of such people in the Pacific Northwest, the regional planning commission is gratified that the Congress has authorized the Nation-wide investigation now being conducted by your committee. It is earnestly hoped that your studies will lead to some practicable plan of action whereby these distressed wanderers will be enabled to reestablish themselves in gainful occupations and to become members of stabilized communities.

The regional planning commission, hereby, presents for your consideration its own views, which grow out of consideration of investigations of various agencies concerned and continuing regional studies, conferences, and consultations extending back to 1935.[1]

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[1] Regional Planning, pt. I—Pacific Northwest, National Resources Committee, 1936.
Recent Migration Into the Pacific Northwest, Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, 1938.
Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Conference, Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission and Northwest Regional Counsel, 1939.
Migration and the Development of Economic Opportunity in the Pacific Northwest, Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, 1939.
Men and Resources, Northwest Regional Council, 1940.

SUMMARY OF THE COMMISSION'S VIEWS

Estimates made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in cooperation with the Farm Security Administration[2] and checked against preliminary data from the 1940 census show that Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and the western part of Montana have received in the past decade, a net increment of between 200,000 and 250,000 persons. The gross inward movement has been estimated at over 400,000 persons.

At the present time there is a definite lull in the movement of distressed people from the Great Plains to the Pacific Northwest. This is fortunate, but it should not be considered a reason for any relaxation of effort to solve problems which are still acute. The westward movement is obviously a continuing one, and intensive waves may again be felt on recurrence of conditions similar to those experienced during several years of the past decade. The need still remains—both in Great Plains and Pacific slope areas—for new and improved public policies and programs which will aid in the development of latent resources and in laying groundwork for an expansion and stabilization of economic opportunity in the several regions of the West.

The regional planning commission realizes that the recent migration to the Pacific Northwest is not the result of one emergency produced by prolonged drouth conditions in the Great Plains. It is rather the consequence of a complex of conditions—principally of the long-term, generally westward, flow of people in the conscious and unconscious effort to adjust themselves to the national environment and resources and of movements to escape maladjustments due to misuse or destruction of sustaining resources in various regions. Measures and programs for the immediate alleviation of human distress are urgently needed—but beyond that, there must be a continuing program to broaden and improve economic opportunity within this region and also within the regions from which the people have come.

The current national-defense program is a factor of growing importance in the migration problem. It should not be considered as canceling out the problem in any sense. It offers both new opportunity and new danger in the migration situation. Its activities wisely located and planned, may enhance economic opportunity for both stranded and migratory population groups. On the other hand, it may now be the impelling factor in new migrations of workers and their families and may later result in the creation of other foot-loose and stranded groups.

Considerable effort and large expenditures, chiefly by Federal agencies, have already been made in the Northwest States to help alleviate the conditions of the migrants—both to conserve human resources and to provide for continuous programs through which sturdy, determined American families can establish new homes, gain productive farms, and secure their independence. These efforts should be carried through to fruition.

However, attention must be called to the fact that the numbers of migrant families in the westward migrations of the 1930's are much greater than the number of farm sites which can be made available on all planned reclamation projects. Even if all the available productive land could be resettled in a short time, the opportunities would be much less in number than the number of migrant families in need. Therefore, at least two other possible lines of action must be resorted to: (1) A reclaiming of productive lands for resettlement in the States of origin of the migrants in order to rehabilitate farm families in their own States whenever possible and to reduce further migration, and (2) the development of job opportunities that are not dependent on land, both in the Pacific Northwest and in States of origin of migrants.

It is most essential to think in terms of work opportunities outside of farming for the approximately 60 percent of the total number of migrant breadwinners that are not farmers. Potential sources of employment lie in the entire fields of new development of productive and service industries.

Suggested lines of action with respect to the conservation of human resources, to land development and agriculture, to industrial development are included in the later sections of this statement. There is, as indicated, great need that advancement in these basic fields be consistently fostered—not only for the direct effects but for those in other fields closely related to or dependent upon them. While special attention should be given to key land and industrial development, economic opportunity in service fields should never be out of view.

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[2] W. W. Troxel and W. P. O'Day: Migration Into the States of the Pacific Northwest, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1940.

The location of defense industry should be designed—to the maximum extent consistent with urgent military needs—to provide improved and more stable distribution of industry and of population, to strengthen the regional and national economies, to minimize fruitless migrations, and to lessen post-emergency dislocations.

Finally, it is necessary to improve ways and means—in public policy and in administrative machinery—to plan, to develop, to adjust to changing needs, to harmonize, to coordinate, and to make effective public programs having to do with the development and stabilization of economic opportunity and with resource management in general.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS; RECOMMENDED PROGRAMS TO ALLEVIATE DISTRESS AND AID SETTLEMENT

Regions of origin.—The sample included in the above-mentioned survey[3] included 30,000 families who had entered the region since 1929 and who had one or more children in the public schools in the spring of 1939. Of these, some 34 percent had come from northern Great Plains States (North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Wyoming, and eastern Montana); about 19 percent from southern Great Plains States (Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico); some 19 percent from the North Central States (Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio); about 14 percent from California; and 5 percent from Utah, Arizona, and Nevada. The remainder came from more remote parts of the Nation and from foreign countries.

Occupational backgrounds were also disclosed by this survey. Prior to coming to the Pacific Northwest about 25 percent of these people had been farmers and 10 percent had been farm laborers; about 12 percent skilled workers of various kinds; about 6 percent owners or managers of some kind of business enterprise; about 4 percent in one of the professions; about 11 percent semiskilled workers; and about 10 percent unskilled workers. Studies made in 1937 by the former Oregon State Planning Board and based on employment service registrations of persons entering the State revealed a similar pattern of occupational background and skills.[4]

Lack of adequate opportunity for the farming group is evident. Prior to coming into the region about 25 percent had been farmers; at the time of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics-Farm Security Administration survey was made in 1939 only 12 percent had succeeded in getting settled on land. Formerly, 10 percent had followed farm labor as an occupation; in 1937 only 7 percent were so occupied. The majority of the people who have been unable to follow their usual occupation apparently now find themselves pushed into the unskilled-labor groups, onto Work Projects Administration, or onto relief. Formerly, only 10 percent followed unskilled occupations; but when the survey was made 20 percent of the migrants were making their living at unskilled work; an additional 8 percent had established residence and been certified for Work Projects Administration employment, while 7 percent were wholly unemployed. People with industrial skills and professional and clerical training seem to have had much better success in getting established; but even in these groups there has been rather heavy occupational mortality.[5]

Effects of migration.—Despite the difficulties that are being encountered in assimilating these people they are fundamentally a distinct asset to the region. The majority of the adult newcomers are young people in the most productive period of life. Those from the Northern Great Plains and the North Central States (53 percent of the total) come from an area in which the educational levels have been relatively high, where the general standard of living has been reasonably good, and where the cultural backgrounds are similar to that of the Pacific Northwest. Most of these are about as well qualified for ready assimilation into the economic and social system of the region as any group that might be attracted to it.

The Pacific Northwest covers about 11 percent of the land area of continental United States. In 1930 it contained only 2.6 percent of the Nation's population. Potential resources of industry—such as the commercial forests, minerals, water power, and agricultural products—exist within the region. Limited consumer markets, however, have made it difficult to develop many types of industry that might be feasible with a larger regional population. It is, therefore, obvious that certain kinds of economic expansion will come only as a result of population growth.

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[3] Troxel and O'Day: op. cit.

[4] Migration Into Oregon, Oregon State Planning Board, 2 vols., 1937.

[5] Troxel and O'Day: op. cit.

The net reproduction rates (1929–31) of Oregon and Washington population are considerably below the level that is necessary to maintain a staole population; they are 0.82 and 0.84 respectively, while a rate of 1.00 is required. Idaho and Montana have rates sufficiently high to maintain an increasing population—1.35 and 1.15 respectively. To put these facts more simply, it can be said that on the basis of these rates, every hundred women passing through the child-bearing age are giving to the next generation in Oregon only 82 women, in Washington only 84; while in Idaho the 100 women are giving to the next generation 135 women, and in Montana 115.[6]

If these birth and death rates prevailing in Washington and Oregon should continue at approximately the present level, and if these two States should fail to gain population from interstate migration, their population would reach its peak about 1950 and thereafter steadily decline. The prevailing birth rate in Idaho and Montana is sufficiently high to maintain an increasing population, provided there are no heavy losses through interstate migration. Considering the region as a whole, the present higher rate of natural increase in Idaho and Montana is sufficient to compensate for the low rate in Washington and Oregon, and to maintain within the region a very small natural increase until about 1970. This assumes, of course, that there would be no net losses through outward migration of people now residents of the region. Beyond 1970 the births and deaths would be in approximate balance for a time, but there would be a gradual swing toward an excess of deaths over births. On the basis of the birth and death rates prevailing in the four States in the period 1929–31, the total natural increase in the 1930–40 decade is about 200,000—which it will be noted is somewhat less than the probable net gain through migration. If the birth and death rates should remain constant until 1970, the natural increase to be expected in the 1960–70 decade would be a mere 20,000.

Bearing this prospect of limited natural increase in mind, the long-range interests of the region, as well as those of the Nation, clearly demand a continuing, reasonable, and orderly inward migration of people. A positive and energetic program to facilitate the rapid economic assimilation of these people is necessary both to secure the full benefit of increasing population and in self-defense against arrested regional development, which would probably result from a declining population.

Rather obviously, the factors affecting migration—relative population densities in various areas, distribution of resources, long-time trends—are such as to favor a long-continuing net migration to the Pacific Northwest, provided there is reasonable development of economic opportunity in this region.

People coming to the Pacific Northwest in the early decades of settlement found great unappropriated natural resources; the situation now is radically changed. Lands suitable for free and immediate settlement are no longer available. Studies of migrant settlement made in 1936 by the Department of Agriculture showed that a great many of the new settlers were locating on the poorest lands. Out of some 20,000 settlers who located in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho between 1930 and 1935, about 24 percent had occupied abandoned farms, 48 percent were trying to make some kind of a home on unimproved land, and only 28 percent had been able to rent or purchase a going farm at the time this survey was made.[7]

On the fringes of all the larger cities, there is also a concentration of the newcomers who have been able to build for themselves a small house or garage. Many of the less fortunate have occupied cheap auto camps and any other shelter that might be used.

In some of the more isolated communities, like those of the intermountain valleys of Montana, there has been wholesale occupation of cut-over forest lands. Much of this settlement is doomed to fail, in spite of the admirable courage and determination of the people.

Other difficulties facing the migrant have been investigated and discussed by various agencies and groups. Many of these were brought out in a public conference on the subject of migration and economic opportunity held in Seattle last year under the auspices of the regional planning commission and the Northwest Regional Council.[8]

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[6] James E. Maxwell: Preliminary Analysis of Population Data, Pacific Northwest States, Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, 1939.

[7] Roscoe E. Bell: The Immigration of Farm Families Into Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, Farm Security Administration, Portland, Oreg., 1937.

Increased demand for the farms that are available for rent, due to the pressure of incoming groups, is a factor in causing rentals to rise above the level at which the tenant can make a satisfactory living for himself and his family. Under this pressure there will be an increased tendency to deplete soil resources and neglect repairs and improvements. Rental contracts have tended to become less and less favorable to tenants. It is reported that these rising rentals often absorb the gains made by tenants who have been assisted by the Federal program of rehabilitation and supervised loans. As the tenant begins to regain an independent position through this Federal assistance and rehabilitate the farm according to the maangement plan under which he operates, he may be blocked from further progress by the loss of his farm to some land-hungry person who outbids him by offering a higher rental. There is urgent need to devise ways and means whereby the level of farm rents and the terms of rental contracts shall be kept within the bounds of justice and equity.

Coming as they do with little or no capital reserves, many of the Great Plains farmers must start again at the foot of the so-called agricultural ladder as wage earners. Most of those who have acquired a few acres of land by contract purchase still are faced with the necessity of obtaining employment as agricultural wage workers. It is in this status that the drought migrant faces his greatest difficulties and hardships.

The drought migrant finds himself in competition not only with the resident agricultural workers who have normally been available for part of the seasonal demand, but also in competition with the group of agricultural workers which for a long time has been "following the crops" up and down and across the Western States. Having established a reputation for being industrious workers, willing to take lower wages, for being unidentified with labor movements, the drought migrants have had, throughout the Northwest for several years, a depressing effect upon wages and conditions of farm labor. There has been an oversupply of farm labor. Jobs have been shortened because of this fact.

Suggested lines of action.—A number of conclusions, based on studies made thus far, point to certain types of action necessary to alleviate and prevent the most acute human distress of these migrant peoples:[9] (1) That Federal agencies, States, and counties recognize the need for rehabilitating migrant families on good lands and whenever practicable turn work-relief expenditures toward projects which will create permanent economic opportunity; (2) that the Federal Government recognize the desirability of the population redistribution now in progress and by appropriate legislation extend certain minimum social services that the States cannot supply to nonresidents that are needy and in distress; (3) that the Farm Security Administration's present program to provide camps for migratory farm labor be developed as rapidly as possible so that the migratory farm labor families in the States of the Pacific coast and of the Pacific Northwest may have available sanitary living conditions on their circuits, that these camps, or similar camps constructed by other public and private agencies, be increased in areas where facilities are not now adequate to meet the needs of migratory groups seasonally employed; (4) that a program for the medical care of all low-income farm groups be developed through the cooperation of State medical groups, health agencies, and the Federal Government; that local and State health authorities be provided with more adequate staffs to maintain reasonable sanitary standards both in the interests of protecting the migratory group and of shielding the local community from communicable diseases; (5) that State employment services give continued attention to the improvement and dissemination of information regarding demand for seasonal agricultural labor in order to counteract exaggerated advertising of employment opportunities and to reduce as far as possible the futile wandering of these people in their search for work; (6) that suitable machinery be set up to provide realistic information concerning conditions in Pacific Northwest agriculture to any who may contemplate moving here from the Plains; (7) that the United States Department of Agriculture and the State extension services be equipped with the staff necessary to provide increased services to settlers in their search for good lands in the Pacific Northwest and to aid settlers in learning how to adapt their previous farm experience to Pacific Northwest conditions; (8) that the regional agricultural laboratories of the Department of Agriculture give special attention to the possibility of developing new small community industries based on surplus, low-grade and waste agricultural commodities, that other interested groups, private and public, give attention to such industries which might provide off-season employment to agricultural labor.

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[8] See Proceedings, Fifth Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Conference.

[9] Migration and the Development of Economic Opportunity in the Pacific Northwest, Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, 1939, pp. 13–16.

PRESENT AND FUTURE PROSPECT FOR NEW ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY IN AGRICULTURE

Present situation.—Of the 188,000,000 acres in the region, slightly less than one-third (51,000,000 acres) is in farms. Of this farm land, less than one-third (16,000,000 acres) is cultivated. Crop failure and the summer fallowing system practiced in much of the dry-farming area cut down the acreage normally harvested to about 10,000,000 acres. In the final accounting the region's producing cropland is limited to about 5 percent of the total land area. The corresponding cropland area for the Nation as a whole is almost 19 percent. (See table I and figure 1.)

TABLE I.—*Comparison of agricultural land uses in Pacific Northwest and United States, 1935*

	Pacific Northwest		United States	
	Acres (millions)	Percent	Acres (millions)	Percent
Total land area	188	100	1,904	100
Land in farms	51	27.1	987	51.8
Crop land	15.8	8.4	458	24.0
Crop land harvested	10.2	5.4	357	18.9

Within recent years this crop-land base has not kept pace with the increase of population. The ratio of improved land in farms to population has been on the decrease since 1880 (fig. 2). In the 15 years, 1920–35, there had been no net increase in the improved land acreage, but there had been a fairly rapid population growth.

The notable lag in the bringing in of new crop lands has in part been offset by more intensive farming methods and a decrease in the proportion of the population directly dependent on agriculture. The more intensive use, however, has brought with it impairment of the productivity of the soil. Recent surveys made by the Soil Conservation Service indicate that about 3,000,000 acres now under cultivation in the Pacific Northwest are unsuited for sustained cropping, and should ultimately be shifted to pasture and forest. Until new lands become available, however, the present heavy pressure of new farm population seeking settlement opportunities will not permit very much crop land retirement. If farming is to retain its appropriate position in the economy of the region and keep pace with the anticipated expansion of industry, a rather extensive program for the development of new crop lands is fully justified. New lands are also needed to offset large acreages that are going out of production elsewhere in the Nation.

Potential development.—Careful inventory of the lands potentially available for agricultural use is now in progress. This work is being carried on through a joint project of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the National Resources Planning Board, in collaboration with other Federal and State agencies. Because of the lack of detailed engineering studies, which are necessary to determine the feasibility of many proposed projects, this inventory will not be conclusive in a great many cases, but it will provide a usable compendium of all existing information and a reasonably reliable measure of the "ceiling" for agricultural land development in the region.

Preliminary estimates made by the Soil Conservation Service, based on its surveys and upon census data, indicate that there are, in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, 5,000,000 acres or more of land not now in cultivation that would be suitable for cropping if used under good soil-conserving practices. Much of this land is already in farms, but, for one reason or another, it is not being used in ways that are commensurate with its real productive capacity. Of the 5,000,000 acres tentatively estimated to be available, 1,000,000 are now in pasture, another million are covered with stumps, brush and timber, a quarter of a million or more are in need of drainage or flood protection, 2,750,000 are suitable for irrigation.

Further investigations may bring an upward revision of these tentative estimates, but they will probably not greatly change the general aspect of the picture. The best that can be done will probably not push the productive crop land in the Pacific Northwest above 7 or 8 percent of the total land area. As noted above, the crop land harvested in the United States as a whole in 1934 was 19 percent of its total land area.

With respect to additional farming opportunities, estimates have not been completed on the number which would be provided by the new developments and changes in land use. The indicated land-use readjustments, however, in addition to creating a net addition to the cultivated acreage, would also make for more effective and more productive use of the land now in farms. Hence, it seems probable that the percentage increase in farming opportunities would be greater than the anticipated ultimate increase of 15 percent in cultivated land.

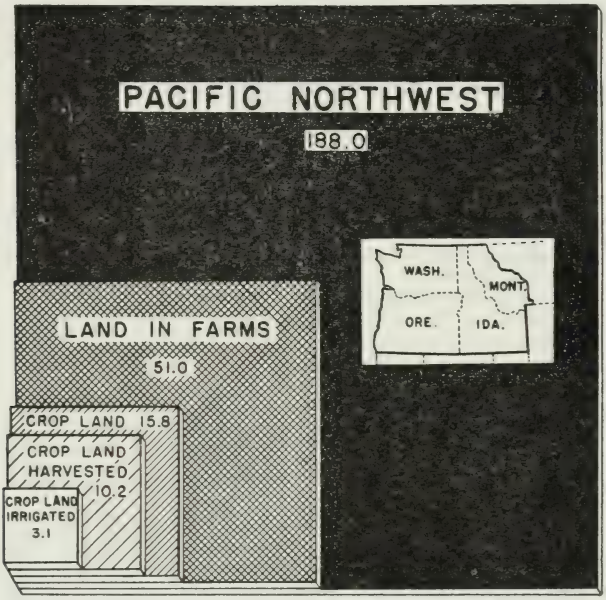


Figure 1

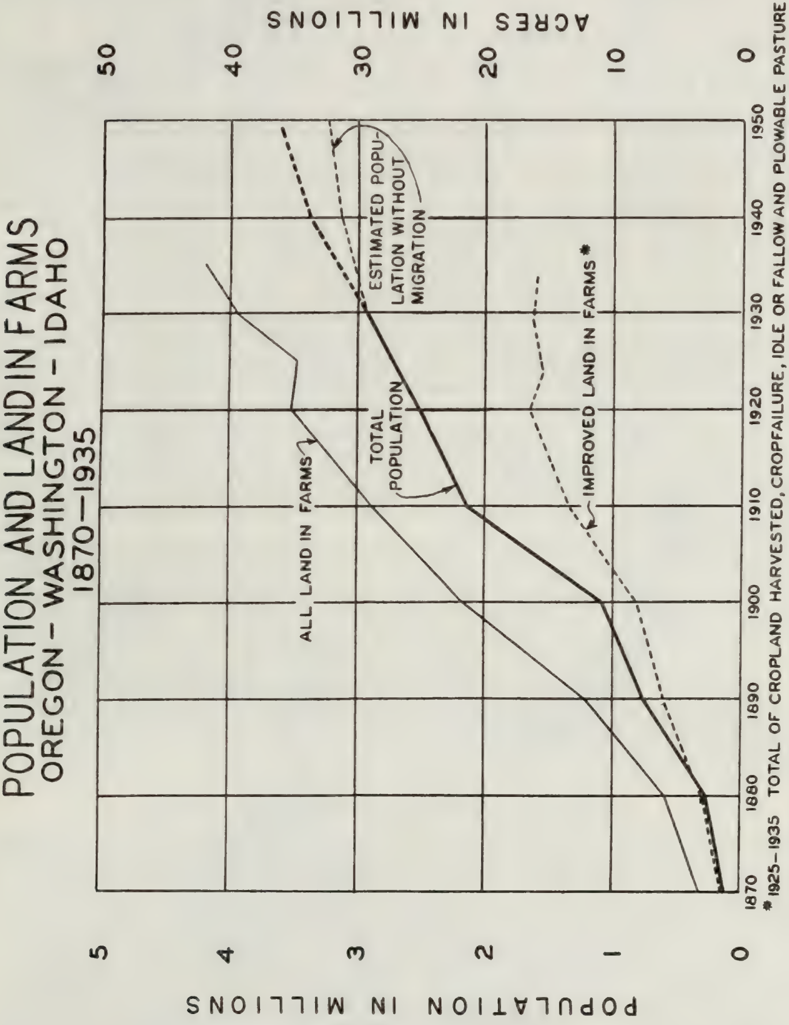
PACIFIC NORTHWEST
LAND IN FARMS AND IN CROPS
1934

Figures indicate millions of acres.

Source – U.S. Census of Agriculture. 1935.

With reference to irrigation, opportunities for additional settlement are in prospect through development of the 1,200,000-acre Columbia Basin project and of lesser acreages elsewhere in the region. These projects now under development, and others not yet fully investigated—the largest of which includes about a million acres in the Snake River plains—should ultimately result in expansion of the irrigated area from approximately 5,000,000 acres at present to about 8,000,000 acres. This will not be entirely in addition to the present cultivated acreage, however, because a substantial part of the irrigable land already is under cultivation without irrigation.

Actual development of large projects proceeds slowly. Completion of the Columbia Basin project, it is estimated, may require 20 or more years unless there is evolved a developmental program properly financed and more closely timed to immediate requirements. Meanwhile, the need increases for additional opportunities. Development and settlement possibilities on smaller irrigation projects and in the other kinds of areas noted require prompt and further investigations; for, in comparison with the larger irrigation projects, the smaller-scale proposals enjoy the advantage of potentially more rapid and flexible development.



TAKEN FROM SELBY, H.E. "ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY IN AGRICULTURE" PROCEEDINGS FIFTH PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGIONAL PLANNING CONFERENCE.

FIGURE 2

Lands which can be made available through dyking are, for the most part, found in small tracts, each of which is capable of development within a relatively short period. Drainage, in addition to that involved in new dyking projects, would provide additional settlement opportunities in areas now occupied but used less intensively than they would be if adequate drainage were provided.

The third type of land which offers possibilities for additional settlement is the cut-over areas that are suitable for clearing. These lands are both an asset and a liability. There are stump and brush lands which have soils suitable for agricultural use—the greater part of such areas is not. Settlers are often unable to choose the good lands among the poor. When this occurs the familiar problems begin to emerge: Burdensome costs for school and road facilities, tax delinquency, and finally, abandonment one by one of the ill-fated farming enterprises. Even in many of the areas that are suitable for farming the first one or two attempts to carve out a farm from the wilderness of stumps and brush may fail. The third or fourth family, building on the unrewarded labors of those who failed, may finally succeed in clearing an area sufficiently large for a going farm.

In order to decrease the wastage of human effort and to direct the clearing operations to areas that are truly suitable for settlement, more definite effort should be made to organize this type of land reclamation on a basis comparable to that employed for irrigation. If costs are to be reduced to reasonable levels, the most improved methods of clearing should be employed. This can generally be done most cheaply and systematically on a project basis, either by way of mutual associations, cooperatives, or publicly organized districts.

Suggested lines of action.—To meet the urgent human need that has emerged from this influx of farm population; to retard, as much as practicable, the continued settlement of people on lands incapable of producing a reasonable living; to improve land use and decrease the kind of misuse that has already forced many of these people to leave farm homes elsewhere; the Regional Planning Commission, on the basis of its studies, has recommended the following lines of action; (1) Determination of areas suitable for additional settlement through the various types of land-use surveys now in progress. Special emphasis is placed upon work of local county agricultural planning committees and upon technical soil surveys. (2) Determination of types of farming and size of farm unit best adapted to areas suitable for settlement. (3) Development of policies to provide necessary guidance and assistance to settlers, and at the same time to assure continuation of a desirable settlement pattern in which a satisfactory plane of living might be maintained. (4) Strengthen and extend both organized and individual efforts designed to maintain productivity of crop lands—soil conservation districts, more extensive use of essential mineral fertilizers, more conservative use of irrigation water to prevent erosion and leaching out of plant food in soil. (5) Strengthen and extend efforts to develop the more effective processing, manufacturing, marketing, and use for food and industrial purposes, of agricultural products. (6) Strengthen and extend programs for reclamation of good agricultural land.

Land development and industrial growth.—Land development, in the opinion of the Commission, should be carried forward in parallel with industrial growth. Recent indications fully justify a faith that new industries will spring up under the stimulus of the low-cost power that is being developed. Together land and industrial development afford the basic means whereby economic opportunity may be opened to those who need it. They also provide the basic structure upon which to build a secure economy. Balanced industry and agriculture developed on a regional basis, will add to national security and safeguard against some of the economic waste and dislocations which grew out of the industrial concentration produced by the war economy of 1914–18.

PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION

Economic dependency.—The economy of the Pacific Northwest is very largely dependent upon activities that stem from its farms and forests. Out of the total of gainfully employed persons in the 4 States, about 24 percent are working on the farms or in manufacturing or processing industries based on the products of farms. At least 13 percent are engaged in the forest products and wood-using industries or in forestry itself. Together, these two spheres of economic activity account for 37 percent of the total gainful employment. Since the various service industries are fundamentally dependent upon the commodity-producing industries in the approximate ratio of 1 to 1, it may fairly be concluded that no less than 75 percent of all the employment in the Pacific Northwest rests upon the production of its farms and forests.

A similar picture of dependency upon land resources is obtained through study of the external trade of the region.[10] The value of outgoing commodities is made up of products of forests and agriculture to the extent of over 80 percent. On the other hand, manufactured products make up over three-quarters of the value of incoming commodities. The external economy of the Pacific Northwest then largely resembles that of newly settled areas, exporting raw and semifinished materials and importing manufactured goods.

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[10] Balance of Trade of the Pacific Northwest, Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, 1937.

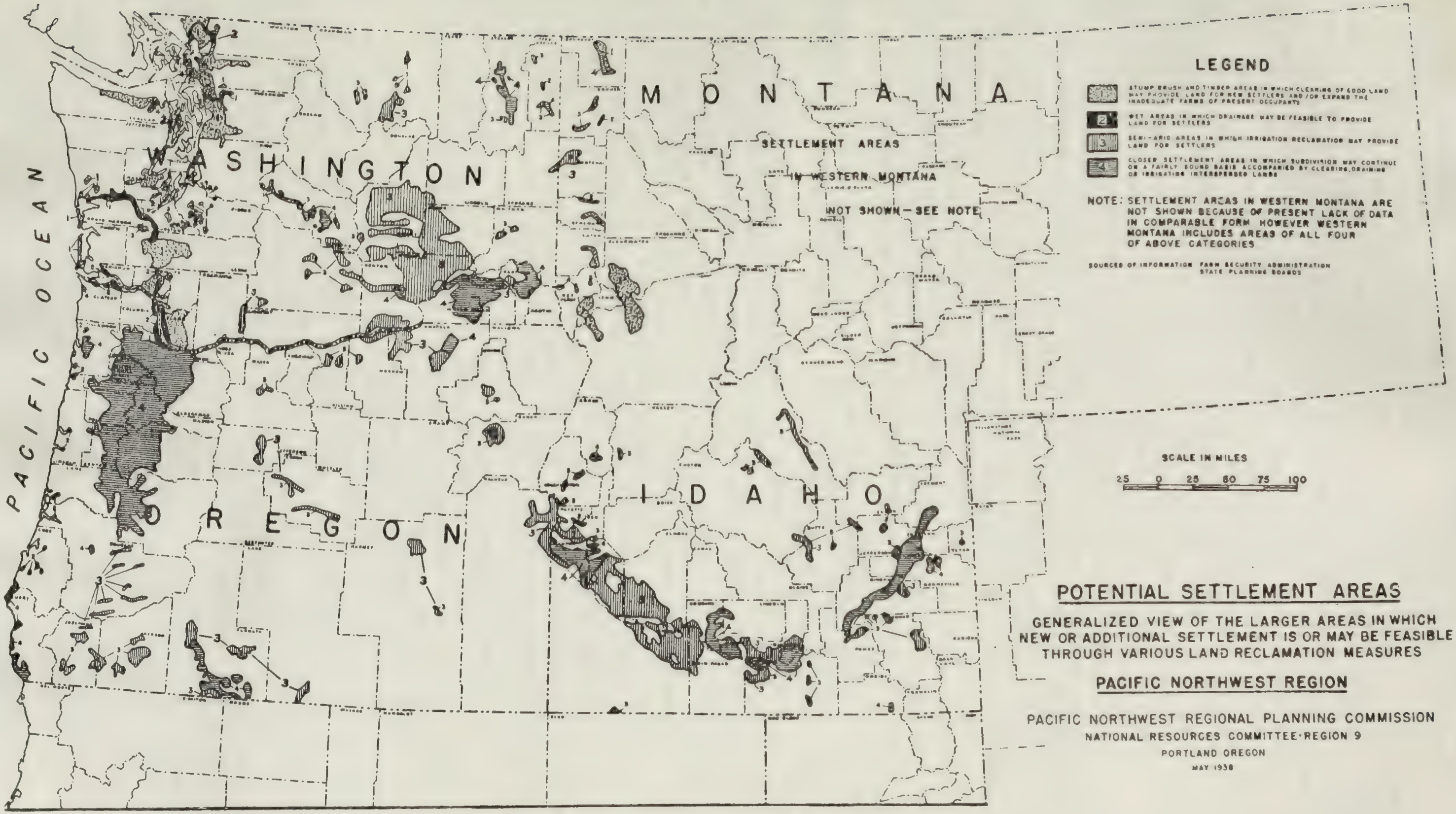
PACIFIC OCEAN
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
SETTLEMENT AREAS
IN WESTERN MONTANA
NOT SHOWN—SEE NOTE
LEGEND
1 STUMP BRUSH AND TIMBER AREAS IN WHICH CLEARING OF GOOD LAND MAY PROVIDE LAND FOR NEW SETTLERS AND/OR EXPAND THE INADEQUATE FARMS OF PRESENT OCCUPANTS
2 WET AREAS IN WHICH DRAINAGE MAY BE FEASIBLE TO PROVIDE LAND FOR SETTLERS
3 SEMI-ARID AREAS IN WHICH IRRIGATION RECLAMATION MAY PROVIDE LAND FOR SETTLERS
4 CLOSER SETTLEMENT AREAS IN WHICH SUBDIVISION MAY CONTINUE ON A FAIRLY SOUND BASIS ACCOMPANIED BY CLEARING, DRAINING OR IRRIGATING INTERSPERSED LANDS
NOTE: SETTLEMENT AREAS IN WESTERN MONTANA ARE NOT SHOWN BECAUSE OF PRESENT LACK OF DATA IN COMPARABLE FORM HOWEVER WESTERN MONTANA INCLUDES AREAS OF ALL FOUR OF ABOVE CATEGORIES
SOURCES OF INFORMATION FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
STATE PLANNING BOARDS
SCALE IN MILES
25 0 25 50 75 100
POTENTIAL SETTLEMENT AREAS
GENERALIZED VIEW OF THE LARGER AREAS IN WHICH NEW OR ADDITIONAL SETTLEMENT IS OR MAY BE FEASIBLE THROUGH VARIOUS LAND RECLAMATION MEASURES
PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGION
PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION
NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE·REGION 9
PORTLAND OREGON
MAY 1938

Figure 3

The continuation of the present trends of development in its economy carries serious threats to the continuing well-being and security of the region. The resources of forest and soil are not yet managed on a sustained-yield basis. Natural resources are being used up to provide the present regional income and standard of living. Land and soil elements are being worked out or depleted more rapidly than they are being replaced. Exhaustion of available stands of timber is removing the major means of support of a number of districts. Even the region as a whole faces a serious crisis a generation or so hence when the supply of available old-growth timber will have been seriously depleted and before new growth will have become adequate to provide forest-supported economic opportunity at the present level. The high relative dependence upon extractive industries and corresponding low reliance on manufacturing activities in the region betokens a less than economic use of certain resources—of skilled labor, science and technology, capital.

Maintenance of the economic props of agriculture and forests calls for action along a number of lines: Rehabilitation and replacement of worn-out lands and depleted-soil elements; continuation of development of new land through reclamation of various kinds; establishment of sustained-yield management, more complete and advanced use of materials, and elimination of avoidable wastes, in connection with the forest resource.

Need of expansion in manufacturing.—To build up the third—the manufacturing—prop to the regional economy, there is great need steadily to expand and diversify the commodity-producing industries of the region. There is need not only to provide economic opportunities for the new population that has entered and will enter the region, but also to strengthen the economic base through the more complete utilization of various material resources, such as power, minerals, low-value agricultural products and surpluses, and waste products of the forest industries.

It is by no means suggested that each region should be a self-sufficient economy; it should, however, have as broad a base of economic activities as its natural resources will sustain.

Important possibilities for increasing employment in the Pacific Northwest probably lie in the expansion and diversification of manufacturing industries. In forest products, in food products, and in a few specialty industries the region is producing for national and world markets. In return it obtains large quantities of consumers' goods and capital equipment from other regions. The economies of large-scale production and other factors fully justify long-distance transportation of a great many commodities. However, the costs of many products might be lowered and their consumption increased by more intensive use of materials, labor, and capital available within the region.

Excessive regional dependence on the production of one, two, or three basic commodities is unwise either from the regional or the national point of view, because it places large communities in a highly vulnerable position. Exhaustion of the basic resource, technological changes, fluctuations in demand and price level of the special commodities, or other factors, may disrupt the whole economy of a region that has a narrow base of support. Where this occurs, the ultimate cost in relief and rehabilitation may far outweigh the savings that high specialization is supposed to produce.

No one yardstick is entirely satisfactory as a measure of the progress of regional development in manufacturing activities, but one which may serve as adequately as any other is the amount of new wealth created per capita as a result of the labor, capital, and technical skill applied in the manufacturing process. The new wealth created, or as defined by the Census Bureau the "value added by manufacture," converted to dollars per capita of the Pacific Northwest population was $146 in 1937, while the corresponding figure for the Nation was $195. In the manufacture of food and kindred products the regional per capita value exceeded the national by 4 percent, in forest products it exceeded the national by 545 percent, and in paper and allied products by 136 percent. In all other manufacturing activities the regional value per capita was far below the national average. (See table II and figure III.)

Table II.—*Value added by manufacture per capita of the population in the 4 Pacific Northwest States and United States, 1937*

Industry groups	Pacific Northwest States	United States	Ratio of Pacific Northwest to United States (percent)
All industries [1]	$146.44	$194.75	75.2
Food and kindred products	26.89	25.95	103.6
Textiles and their products	1.41	22.99	6.1
Forest products	63.12	9.79	644.7
Paper and allied products	15.55	6.60	235.6
Printing, publishing [2]	8.39	13.87	60.5
Chemicals and allied products	1.21	13.88	8.7
Products of petroleum and coal	.86	4.55	18.9
Leather and its manufactures	.21	4.58	4.6
Stone, clay, and glass products	1.84	6.75	27.3
Iron, steel, and their products [3]	2.81	26.56	10.6
Nonferrous metals and products	.87	6.63	13.1
Machinery [4]	4.08	26.82	15.2
Transportation equipment	1.18	14.59	8.1

[1] Includes rubber products and miscellaneous industries.
[2] And allied industries.
[3] Not including machinery.
[4] Not including transportation equipment.

Source: U. S. Census of Manufactures and Census Bureau Estimates of 1937 (population).

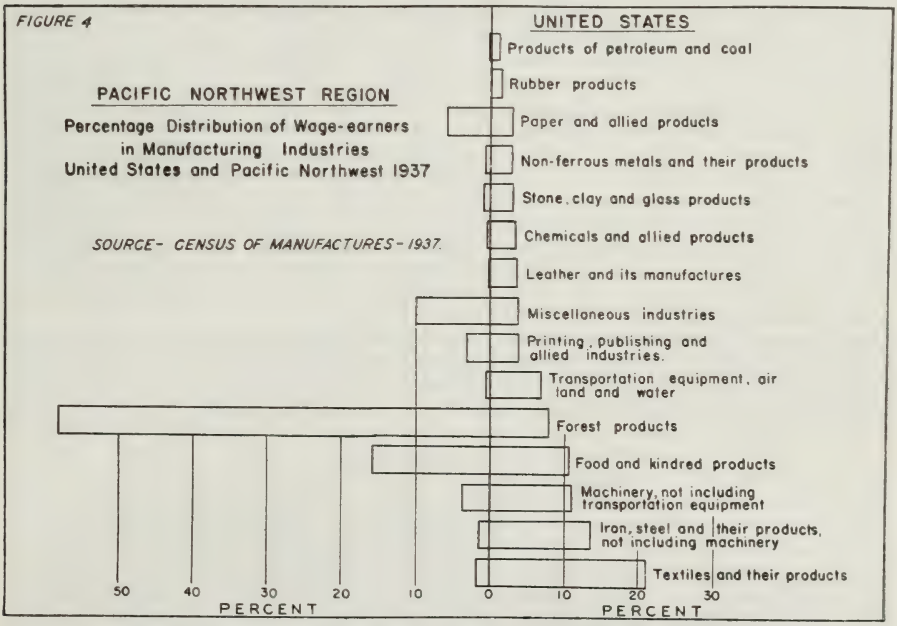

Figure 4.—Distribution of wage earners in manufacturing industries.

Notable among deficiency groups are some in which the region is a large producer of the essential raw materials—wool in the textile field; hides in the leather products field; copper, lead, zinc, etc., in the field of manufacture of nonferrous metals. All of these materials are used in the manufacture of commodities consumed on the Pacific slope. Under present arrangements, the raw materials in the products locally used traverse the continent twice in their transit from primary producer to ultimate consumer.

The combined forces of the post-war readjustment and two business depressions have made it difficult to isolate underlying or prevailing trends in the development of manufacturing industries in the region. The level of regional industrial activity has changed little since 1919, but significant in the upward trend since 1933 is expansion of industries based upon the major resources of the region: paper and allied products, and food and kindred products industries. Whether this is the beginning of a trend toward increased local fabrication of Northwest raw materials is difficult to determine. It is certainly a step in that direction. Prospects for the industrial utilization of the region's hydroelectric energy as augmented by the large Federal projects at Bonneville and Grand Coulee seem to indicate beginning of a marked widening of the range of processing and manufacturing activities in electrochemical and electrometallurgical industries.

Kinds of industry desirable.—Types of manufacturing industries that would aid in diversifying and expanding economic activities and in providng larger employment opportunities in the Pacific Northwest include: (1) those based on available resources, that would carry manufacturing processes as far as possible toward finished products to supply regional needs as well as outside markets. (2) Key basic industries that would induce establishment of secondary and subsidiary industries, particularly electrometallurgical and electochemical plants that would consume large quantities of the region's low-cost power. (3) Industries that would lower prices of essential commodities needed to maintain soil fertility and agricultural productivity—fertilizers, weed killers, lime, agricultural implements, etc. (4) Industries that would provide employment during slack periods in agricultural and lumbering operations. (5) Diversified local industries processing local raw materials—canning plants, wool processing plants, flax and linen plants, wood specialty plants, etc. (6) Factories that are needed to supply related existing industries and to build up integrated industries in fields such as lumber products, pulp and paper products, iron and steel and their alloys, light metals, etc. (7) Factories supplying munitions, military supplies, and other essential materials in time of war.

Factors in industrial expansion.—A number of factors are conducive to industrial expansion in the Pacific Northwest. The regional population is steadily increasing (at nearly twice the national rate). However, at the moment it does not offer immediate markets for mass production industries requiring large local consumption. Materials are available for a number of potential wood and byproduct industries, such as pulp, paper, furniture, cellulose, rayon, plastics, plywood, wallboard, insulating materials, carbon, distillates. Materials are also actually or potentially available for further diversification of processing and manufacturing industries based on agriculture: packing, canning, freezing of food products, industrial products from farm surpluses and byproducts. Metal and chemical industries could well be expanded on the basis of regional and coast markets. Conditions with respect to climate, labor, supply, capital, transportation facilities, and other utilities are also generally conducive to further expansion.

Large quantities of low-cost electric power are available on an extensive transmission network. This combination of great quantities of power continuously available at deep and inland waterways offers unique advantages for a number of industries. The full effects of this new hydroelectric industry are still to be felt in the region. That low-cost power has speeded up industrial development in other regions so favored is common knowledge. It is not expected, however, that in the case of the Pacific Northwest it will cause a migration of existing industries from their present locations; rather, it will provide a stimulus for the establishment of new types and branches of industry in which cost of power is an important factor. On such a foundation the region may look to the important broadening of secondary or "light" manufacturing activities.

Factors tending to retard regional industrial development are less numerous, but nevertheless important. Lack of a large consuming population is probably the greatest of these. Quite generally, established channels and interests, and inertia, may cause industrial expansion in old rather than new fields. Long-established concerns find little reason for expanding in a new region if they can expand and operate at a profit at present locations. For new concerns to enter many fields, protected by basic and process patents, is a difficult procedure.

Suggested lines of action.—Opportunities for expansion of existing industries and establishment of new manufacturing plants in the Pacific Northwest have not been adequately analyzed.[11] There is need for more scientific and coordinated attack on this problem than has been attempted heretofore. Research and experimentation are needed not only to disclose latent opportunities awaiting new industries, but also to develop improved processing methods and to reduce costs of manufacture and distribution. More comprehensive survey of the region's available resources—particularly the essential and strategic war materials—is needed. Present and prospective uses for electrical energy merit particular attention. Special investigations and research are needed to determine possible new uses for the region's mineral, forest, and agricultural products. Encouragement should be given to the establishment of general (private) industrial research agencies, in order to stimulate private investment in new industrial fields. Studies should be made of industrial markets, transportation facilities and costs with the view of lowering barriers to broader industrial development. Various types of needed aid to new industries should be explored. Tax structures should be studied with the view of improvement to prevent bad practices in interstate competition for industry. Cooperative surveys (initiated by the Bonneville Power Administration) of potential industrial sites in a number of strategic local areas should be continued and extended, with the view of fostering industrial locations in proper relationship to communities, housing, power, transportation, and other essential utilities and services. State departments, universities, as well as a number of Federal agencies should have an interest in all of this fundamental research work.

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[11] Mention is made of studies of resources and basic industries made by North Pacific Division, United States Engineer Department, in connection with studies of comprehensive plan for the development of the Columbia River and for the Bonneville power and navigation project. Such studies are being carried forward by the Bonneville-Grand Coulee Power Administration and cooperating agencies.

The expanded and diversified industrial development of the Pacific Northwest visualized as essential to more secure regional and national economies—a trend which actually may be well under way as indicated by recent establishment of new key industries—involves a number of auxiliary problems. Since trade involves fundamentally an exchange of goods and services for goods and services, and since exports from the region cannot well be expanded while restricting imports, the effects of new industries upon balances of trade and payments must be considered in the effort to prevent new dislocations from arising. The effects of new industries upon employment must also be evaluated—will certain new industries raise or lower average incomes and living conditions—will they decrease or increase seasonal variations in employment? The effects of new industries of various kinds upon regional capital, investment, dividends, and permanent wealth must be examined. Similarly, the effects upon regional resources and their conservation or continued use must be explored. New industries will create new housing problems—some of them very acute—in a number of areas. Rational and equitable taxation of new industries is a problem of industrial location and establishment. Labor availability and other conditions with respect to labor and labor relations will be important in connection with the establishment of new industries.

The problem of location of new industries in the Pacific Northwest is one that concerns all parts of the region. Widely available hydroelectric energy will encourage a degree of industrial decentralization not otherwise practicable. The location and establishment of new industry should be adjusted to the lasting economic and social needs of the region, as well as to the requirements of immediate security.

REGIONAL STUDIES IN PROGRESS

In the foregoing statement the Commission has tried briefly to cover the more fundamental elements in the problem. In its previously mentioned background report for its study of this subject,[12] the Regional Planning Commission discussed at some length the whole problem as seen by itself and cooperating groups. This report emphasized the human aspects primarily and land and basic industry secondarily, but it also pointed out the need of preservation and development of resources and economic opportunity in other lines—in agriculture, forestry, mining, fisheries, commerce, distribution, and recreation. It also discussed the ancillary problem of development and correlation of public programs designed to improve conditions with respect to migration and economic opportunity.

The Montana State Planning Board, in a study related to current investigations in both the Northern Great Plains and Pacific Northwest regions, has made a fundamental approach to understanding and solution of the problem through a county-by-county appraisal of existing and potential opportunities on the land for migratory and stranded families.[13] This study also suggests a parallel exploration of public works needed for the improvement and stabilization of land and water use and of employment.

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[12] Migration and the Development of Economic Opportunity in the Pacific Northwest, Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, 1939.

Feeling that solutions of many of the problems of migration lie largely in the rational use of resources in certain basic fields—notably land, producing industry, and government—the Regional Planning Commission is carrying forward three main studies: (1) An inventory of lands potentially available for agricultural use; (2) a survey of the problems involved in the expansion of manufacturing industry; (3) preparation of a regional plan and program of Federal and State public works, with special attention to the problems of coordination in planning and administration.

The land inventory is being carried on as a joint project of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the regional office of the National Resources Planning Board with the collaboration of other State and Federal agencies. Because of the lack of detailed engineering studies for many of the proposed projects, it will not delineate all the areas which may sometime become feasible, but it will provide a usable compendium of all existing information and reveal approximate limits of new economic opportunity that may be provided through land development.

The industrial-economic survey is jointly sponsored by the Regional Planning Commission, the Bonneville Power Administration, and the Northwest Regional Council. Specific investigations under way include technological studies of the feasibility of certain heavy power-using industries; a region-wide survey of available plant sites; a study of the composition and magnitude of the flow of commodities out of and into the region; a study of State and local taxation of industrial corporations; and a study of the existing complexion of labor relations in Pacific Northwest industries.

The public works studies involve continuous consultations and interchanges of information among the principal Federal and State agencies operating within the region. Special efforts are being made to develop types of procedure and of cooperation which will insure the most effective use of public funds expended upon resource development and conservation. A major outcome of this effort will be a 6-year regional program—including Federal and State public works of developmental significance—which may serve as a general guide in the programming and budgeting of public capital improvements.

The programs that will be developed in these special fields are, of course, only a part of the broader regional development plan for which the Regional Planning Commission has endeavored to develop and maintain a framework of data, and of suggested over-all objectives, policies, and programs.

Respectfully submitted.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION.[14]
By B. H. KIZER, *Chairman.*

The foregoing statements of fact or opinion are those of the Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission and do not in any way involve the National Resources Planning Board.

Dr. ROWELL. I wish to introduce a statement submitted to the committee by Mr. Robert Franklin, of the Associated Farmers of California, Inc. Accompanying this statement is a copy of the report made by the California State Chamber of Commerce in May of this year entitled "Migrants—A National Problem—and Its Impact on California." It is requested that this report be reprinted in the proceedings of this committee.

(The statement and report appear below.)

STATEMENT OF THE ASSOCIATED FARMERS OF CALIFORNIA, INC.

The Associated Farmers of California, together with its 42 county units, is a voluntary cooperative organization of approximately 50,000 farmers banded together to handle farm-labor-relations problems. Naturally, the organizations and their members have been among those hit hardest by the impact of the migration problem your committee is in California to study.

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[13] Montana State Planning Board: Development of Economic Opportunities in Montana for Migratory and Stranded Families, Helena, Mont., 1939.

[14] Members: Walter C. Clark, vice chairman, Idaho State Planning Board; D. P. Fabrick, chairman, Montana State Planning Board; David Eccles, executive secretary to the Governor of Oregon: B. H. Kizer, chairman, Washington State Planning Council. R. F. Bessey, consultant; and J. C. Rettie, associate consultant.

Realizing that the committee has its own staff of statisticians and that various private, State, and Federal agencies have already made available much data in connection with the migration, we would like to present and stress certain of our observations and experiences which we believe will be of significance in interpreting these data you have and are accumulating.

There is no disputing the fact that the migration of numerous destitute people from other States has had a decided effect upon agriculture in California. Particularly, this migration has had an effect upon the farm-labor problems. Creating a vast oversupply of labor, the migration has in some instances even changed the character of farming methods.

Many of these people have become farm workers in this State. But they have taken those places by crowding out with sheer numbers the old migratory workers who followed the seasonal crops from one end of this State to the other before the coming of the new hordes.

So we beg of this committee to differentiate sharply in evidence taken in this State between the migratory worker who throughout the years has worked in agriculture here and upon whom California agriculture depended, and these new migrant hordes who are now overcrowding our rural areas.

It is the belief of the farmers that no one cause can be blamed for migration to this State. After years of close association with the migrants themselves, we can say with certainty that no especial villain can be found, neither the California chambers of commerce with their fulsome descriptions of the State, nor the crop-control programs in the States of out-migration which, as they cut down acreage in cultivation, have many times been called the migrant promotion administration.

Many other causes have been listed, such as drought, worn-out land in the States of out-migration. Included in that picture in many instances, according to Hugh Bennett, of the Soil Conservation Service, is the lack of cooperation by these farmers in methods to offset ravages of the dust storms.

It is our belief that the migration resulted from many and composite causes.

Likewise, it is our belief that no single utopian scheme can be devised, even by the Federal Government, to solve this problem. But we do believe that the American people can, with a full knowledge of conditions, and without resorting to hatreds in an effort to create a class consciousness, work out a solution by attacking the problem from all fronts.

Here in California, if the rate of migration can be retarded, the migrants now here will for the most part become assets to the State. It is not that we cannot assimilate these people, but we cannot assimilate them fast enough so long as the present economic situations exist.

These people will become both producers of goods and consumers of goods to the best interests of our agriculture and our industries if we can stop the rate of in-migration to the extent that we, with the facilities and resources available, can cope with the problems they present.

Thus, the Associated Farmers of California have studied for many months the report and recommendations of the State-wide committee on the migrant problem, sponsored by the California State Chamber of Commerce. (Copy attached.)[1]

This report was studied not only from a State-wide angle with due regard for its effect upon California agriculture, but also it was studied by our county groups with respect to local and county situations. More than 700 copies were placed into the hands of our farm leaders in every agricultural county in California.

After months of study, the Associated Farmers held a State-wide meetings in Los Angeles, at which representatives from all of the agricultural areas endorsed the entire report and all recommendations with the exception of section A of the recommendation on page 33 of the printed report.

This organization places particular stress upon the recommendations for Federal aid in the States of out-migration which should give us a chance to assimilate those people already here.

With respect to the refusal of the farmers to join with other groups in supporting a recommendation that the Farm Security Administration be continued as a necessary emergency method of meeting a portion of the most pressing needs for temporary housing of migrant families, we find that the farmers present practical instead of theoretical reasons.

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[1] See reprint of this report, p. 2755.

Farmers in the areas where migrant camps have been placed, not all, but in most instances, declare that the fault lies not in the idea, but in the administration of the camps.

We find that in most of these camps the migrants are set apart from the communiy with no chance of assimilation. We find that under the bureaucratic method of administration they are in many instances a rallying point for radical and subversive elements, housing saboteurs who work from them because inside the camp they cannot be touched by local, county, or State law-enforcement agencies.

We find in most instances that the camps have been arbitrarily placed in communities regardless of advice or counsel of public officials, farmers, farm organizations or community leaders. They have been opened and run regardless of hurt to the community. The records of the Farm Security Administration showing the huge cost of moving some of these camps when they later found out for themselves after spending large sums of tax moneys that they were wrong, records showing even that such camps have been washed out by floods after community leaders had advised them not to build there, will illustrate these facts.

We find further that these camps have been so located as to give these migrants political control of lightly populated rural areas, giving them the power to vote bonds and heavy expenditures in many fields, while the farmers, whose lands stand mortgaged for the bonds, find themselves suddenly without voice.

In other words, the Farm Security Administration bureaucratic administrators we have come in contact with in this State in relation to migrant camps, have subverted moneys intended for the relief and rehabilitation of these destitute people to the perpetuation of their own political and social thinking. The result has been that the camp program has not done those things it was intended to do but has left just a crumb of shelter for a very small portion of those in need.

We would point out that the migrant problem in California has been magnified by this subverting of moneys intended for relief. There is much evidence, however, to show that a large portion of responsibility for such activities lies on California, where for the past few years the State relief administration, under directors prior to the man presently in charge, was dominated by and used for the Communist Party.

Attached hereto with the request that it be made a part of the record is an official Report of the Assembly Relief Investigating Committee of the California State Legislature.

The farmers found to the serious hurt of their local communities and the Nation as a whole, that with the relief moneys being subverted and used as a base, the Communists attempted to use the migrants and the migration to seize control of California agriculture.

Naturally the migrants, destitute and homeless, were ready prey for the subversive organizers who were preaching that the present American system doesn't work. Weary families who had journeyed hundreds of miles with the hope of the magic word "California" in their breasts, only to find on their arrival 10 men for every job, became eager disciples of prophets who painted a Utopia under communism. Others, bewildered and beaten down, followed the first leaders who came along.

The result was and is that the Communists were able to create a class consciousness and in some instances a class hatred in the rural areas of California. Minimize it as you will, the constant pounding of propaganda, the countless organizations set up by the Communist Party under a front of aiding the migrants, have had an effect which will be serious on the Nation as a whole for years to come.

At the present time in the areas where most of the migrants are concentrated, Communists are working day and night in various front organizations, realizing this is the most fertile field for their indoctrinations. We hope your committee will take these things into consideration in connection with any recommendations you make in regard to the distribution and administration of relief for the migrants. Unless relief is so administered so that these people are a part of the community and State in which they live without barriers which now hold them apart from those around them, this problem cannot be solved to the best advantage of the American form of government.

These are the reasons for the exception taken by the farmers to section A of the recommendations on page 33 of the report by the State-wide committee on the migrant problem.

However, we do wish to point out to this committee that the farmers in California believe the report of the State-wide committee on the migrant problem presents the most complete data yet compiled on the problem and its effect on California.

In your hearings and during your tour of the State, it is hoped the committee will study for themselves some of the things done by the farmers individually and privately for these people.

In an effort to root these people in the various communities, even though we realize it cut down the total number of workers used in a single season, this organization and other farm groups have sponsored a diversification of crops and a lengthening of growing and harvesting seasons in order to furnish longer periods of work. The same amount of work is required but by these methods we hoped to root these people, have them become a part of the community. An outstanding example of this is in the Salinas Valley where the growing season providing employment has been lengthened in lettuce to approximately 10 months per year.

One of the greatest benefits in efforts to root these people by providing employment in local areas could be done by the National Congress by an investigation and change of section 21.10 of the rules and regulations issued under the Wagner-Peyser Act, as approved again most recently on August 31, by the Federal Security Administration. This ruling states:

"The State service shall require that each employment office under its supervision refrain from referring any person or persons to any position left vacant by reason of a labor dispute at any place of employment by a person belonging to a grade or class of workers participating in, or directly interested in such labor dispute at such place of employment. For the purpose of this rule, the term 'labor dispute' shall include any controversy concerning terms or conditions of employment or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing, or seeking to arrange terms or conditions of employment regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relations of employer and employee."

Under these regulations the farmers find they cannot work with or use with dependability or efficiency the California Department of Employment which works with the Federal agencies. We have found to our sorrow that a Communist can come into a rural community claiming to represent a labor organization and because of this ruling, declare a labor dispute in existence. This has been done many times even when such a person has never even been near the farm involved, the farmer involved, or the workers involved. In most instances, the farmer did not even know they had been declared unfair until they went to the agency to obtain labor.

In Kern County in 1939, more than 80 such farms were effected. Immediately that that is done, the employment service refuses to refer workers to that farm, and the farmers must go elsewhere to get their labor supply. Mind you, the State department, with which we must work in this regard, is taking instructions from the Federal Government. As long as this regulation is in effect, the systems now in existence for aiding these migrants to find jobs cannot be utilized by agriculture.

Diversification programs throughout the State have increased the length of employment for farm workers in their own communities and has contributed to settling them permanently so that they can be assimilated. In this, the farmers throughout California have followed the leadership and advice of the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture of the University of California, under the direction of Dean C. B. Hutchinson. The job done by the extension service has been magnificent, both from an agricultural point of view and from its effect upon rooting the migrants to specific localities.

The farmers of California privately have done more to provide housing than all of the State and Federal agencies combined. In Madera County alone, farmers have built in 5 years, at their own expense, 3,000 cabins for their farm workers.

This organization sponsored a housing program of this type years ago, but we have had to let up on it because farmers in their enthusiasm to do their part of the job have almost gone too far. There is no method of financing available to them except the regular short-term loan methods. Continued bad returns for crops have placed them in a highly vulnerable position with taxes and costs continuing to mount so that such financing methods for building housing on farms threatens to force them into bankruptcy.

Long-term loans as suggested by the State-wide committee on the migrant problem would assure an immediate resumption, with an highly increased tempo, of the program of building housing directly on the farms.

Realizing that your statisticians will compile figures from the reporting services of the United States Department of Agriculture, showing wage scales of agriculture in the various regions stated, we will only comment to the extent of accepting our responsibility in this direction.

The farmers realize that California's high scale of farm wages has undoubtedly drawn a portion of the migrants. We are proud of the fact that this standard has been maintained despite the enormous oversupply of labor, diminishing farm returns, and increasing taxation loads. It might be well to call to the attention of the Committee that California agriculture has been able to maintain these wages by efficient methods of operation.

Thus it is interesting to note that whereas mechanization of agriculture has been blamed many times for forcing migrants out of the States of out-migration, California with a heavy in-migration load is probably the most highly mechanized agricultural area in the United States.

It is the profound belief of the farmers that mechanization of agriculture is necessary to compete on the open market to keep down the costs of agriculture products and for better production. Mechanized agriculture in this State has produced in-migration instead of out-migration. Machinization of agriculture in the States of out-migration might tend to put those farmers on a footing where they can compete in world markets.

There is no doubt that mechanization of agriculture has been speeded up in commodities where labor trouble has occurred at peak harvest times.

With farm sciences advancing it would be well for your committee to take into consideration the vital part preservation of domestic markets for American farmers plays in the migration problems. Farmers need mechanization for cheaper and more efficient production, but they also need a larger share of the domestic market if they are to employ these people who are now jobless. Where Government regulations and restrictions have raised and set costs of farm production, the farmer must get enough protection in the market to return these added costs.

In viewing all this, we believe the committee will find that while the proportionate impact of the burden of the in-migration problem in California has fallen heaviest on the rural areas of the State, this is not an agricultural problem. While a portion of the migrants have been agricultural, people, remember that a large number of them were not, and because these people migrated to rural areas, that should not make them solely the problem of the farmers.

It is certain that the farmers, with thousands of destitute people in their front yards, have tried to do their share. For this, because the migrants were in the rural areas, the farmers have quite generally received only criticism for failing to solve the problem and no credit for what they have done.

We wonder if the committee has taken into consideration the effect upon the whole problem in the closing of jobs in cities to the migrants.

California had more migrants coming into the State during the 1920's than the 1930's records will show. But during the 1920's industries were expanding and the cities were assimilating the major portion of these people.

Now, with jobs in the industrial centers for the most part controlled by organized labor, this job control is preventing the migrants from seeking jobs there. Organized labor has selfishly and shortsightedly built a barrier around industry and the cities.

The unions have placed restrictions on membership, demanded that workers be hired through hiring halls, and built other definite restrictions so that labor is almost completely regimented. There is a definite lack of fluidity in the labor market so that workers cannot change, nor industries change types of work done for even the normal flow of business. The regimentation has been carried to such a point that a class system of workers on various jobs or types of jobs has been created. Labor's constant attempts at expansion in this direction have not only been raising the prices of the materials the farmers must buy, but also have cut down the return to the farmers for their commodities. A specific example of this is self-evident in the processing of sugar beets in this State. The workers in the sugar refineries are drawing the highest wage scales in the history of the industry, and the farmers are receiving the lowest returns they have ever received for sugar beets.

In our programs of getting community leaders to work together, utilizing the resources at their command at home, to try to solve the problem in their own individual areas, we have hoped to get industry interested in making use of this untapped labor supply. Again, even in the rural cities, we find job control cropping up with so many restrictions that industrialists hesitate to attempt expansions which might take up a goodly part of this slack.

Another observation in connection with attempts to solve these pjroblems in local areas. The moment a better condition is obtained the migrants flock to the area and the resources available crack under the strain. So do the resources of a State crack when they are called upon to bear more than their proportionate burden.

This committee is probing a great American tragedy. If they can find the answer to one simple question, an answer, however, quite involved, they will have done a great service. "How long is a migrant a migrant?"

In other words, we know these people are continuing to come into California at a rapid pace. But we cannot yet arrive at an average length of time they are here before they are assimilated. You can hardly pick a farm in California on which some of these migrants are not employed.

Yes, in fact, a large number of the farmers themselves were once migrants. There are more migrants and ex-migrants in California than native sons. If we could find out, under present conditions, how long it is taking to assimilate them, the rate of assimilation, we would have something upon which to base our work for a solution.

Farmers in this State have long worked for and hoped for the national Congress to recognize this migration problem as of national concern. We have eagerly awaited this committee's hearings in this State.

There has been fear that the problem is of such magnitude that the committee could not view it in its entirety. We know that serious as the problem is, it has been overdramatized by selfish groups and crackpot schemers, and we hope the committee has time enough to probe to the bottom of all those things which may be presented.

If, from these hearings, the committee is able to devise legislation which will lead toward the eventual solution of the problem so vital in its human elements and from our standpoint so vital to agriculture, we pledge you the support of California's farmers.

ASSOCIATED FARMERS OF CALIFORNIA, INC.,
JOHN S. WATSON, *President.*

(Seal of Associated Farmers of California, Inc. Incorporated June 22, 1934.)

MIGRANTS—A NATIONAL PROBLEM AND ITS IMPACT ON CALIFORNIA—REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STATEWIDE COMMITTEE ON THE MIGRANT PROBLEM, CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

By Harrison S. Robinson, Chairman, Migrant Committee, California State Chamber of Commerce

The migration of large groups of people from one part of the country to another has happened many times in the United States. Each time it occurs many problems are created. But they do not follow a set pattern. Nor are the problems uniform either in long-range seriousness or immediate acuteness. The facts of one migration are not the facts of another.

There are two obvious extremes of attitude toward such a migration. One is to leave the migrants to themselves, except to be disagreeable when they get in one's way; and the other is to go to great lengths in the direction of thinking and planning and doing for migrant people, so that they tend to become a separate and even a dependent class in the community. Clearly the right course lies between these extremes; and certainly there will be sharp differences of opinion as to just where between the extremes the right course lies.

The California-bound migrants of the late 1930's and of this first year in a new decade are fellow Americans, and to the extent that they are hurt in their independence, their self-respect, their ability to support themselves, their decent living, their health or their adequate schooling, the rest of us in some related measure will be hurt also.

The attitude of the people of California and of the United States toward this great internal problem is significant because it will throw much light upon the question, What kind of people are we today? An attitude of indifference will indicate stupidity. An attitude either of impatient anger or of sticky sentimentality will show that we are weak. If we cannot with reasonable promptness get the important facts and act intelligently upon dependable information, we are not competent.

Consciously bucking a current tendency of the American people to run their affairs on rumor, the first part of a systematic job of getting the facts regarding interstate migration into California has been concluded; and the results are set forth in the accompanying report on problems of interstate migration in California. It is the product of months of study by a committee of representative California citizens whose names and connections are listed elsewhere.

A fact-finding subcommittee of this larger committee, under the chairmanship of Paul Eliel, on the faculty of Stanford University, gave time and energy unsparingly to the difficult task of assembling information, through conferences with public officials, hearings, and field trips, and to the drafting of conclusions and recommendations for consideration by the large committee and finally by the Board of Directors of the California State Chamber of Commerce.

The research department of the chamber has gathered a vast amount of factual information for interpretation by the committee and has contributed essential portions of this to the final draft of the report.

All major policy conclusions and recommendations of action set forth in this report have been approved by the committee and the board.

The report deals in large part with those phases of the migrant problem which are the most urgent because they tend to create serious and definite emergencies. For the sake of the migrants as well as of those who have lived longer in this State, California must have a respite from the continuance of large-volume in-migration, while the problems created by the vast number of migrants already here are attacked in a friendly and constructive way.

The report offers a basis for united and harmonious action by all California interests, public and private, and by those agencies of the Federal and State Governments whose activities relate them to one or another of the phases of the migrant situation.

The report presents a plan for doing first things first. It does not deal with the greater and even more complex problem of how the migrants who remain in California can best become self-supporting dwellers in our State. That will be the subject of another study to be begun immediately.

The California State Chamber of Commerce will endeavor to unite the people of California and the State and Federal Governments in action along the lines of the policies and recommendations set forth in the following pages.

MIGRANT COMMITTEE, CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

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Dan C. Murphy, sheriff, city and county of San Francisco, San Francisco.
C. V. Newman, president, Calavo Growers of California, Santa Ana.
R. E. Oehlmann, farmer and packer, Sebastopol.
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Dr. Robert G. Sproul, president, University of California, Berkeley.
Paul C. Smith, general manager, San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco.
A. T. Spencer, chairman, agricultural committee, State chamber of commerce, Gerber.
Jesse Tapp, vice president, Bank of America, San Francisco.
Dr. Rufus von KleinSmid, president, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, president, Stanford University, Stanford University.

Secretary

R. N. Wilson, director, agricultural department, California State Chamber of Commerce.

Fact-finding Subcommittee

Paul Eliel, chairman; Mrs. Bradley Brown; Mrs. A. W. Haynes; Dr. M. R. Benedict; Jesse Tapp; and Alex Johnson.

Research Director

Herbert F. Ormsby, director, research department, California State Chamber of Commerce.

PROBLEMS OF INTERSTATE MIGRATION IN CALIFORNIA

Report of the migrant committee, California State Chamber of Commerce, drafted by fact-finding subcommittee and research staff. Approved by migrant committee and board of directors, April 1940

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

1. IMPACT OF MIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA

Large Influx of Unskilled and Destitute Job Seekers.

During the period from July 1, 1935, through 1939 inclusive, more than 350,000 migrants whose breadwinners were in need of manual employment entered the State of California by automobiles at border checking stations maintained by the department of agriculture.[1] That the total number of migrants who have entered California during this period was far in excess of this figure is evident when it is realized that no count has been made of persons in need of manual employment entering the State by bus, as coach passengers on railroad trains, or as riders on freight trains. A very substantial number of migrants in need of manual employment must also have entered the State by one or another of these methods.

It is not to be assumed from this, however, that all of the persons thus counted entering the State by automobile through border stations, or by other means of transportation, have remained within the State. No information is available as to the number of migrants departing from the State. Consequently, the net increase in that part of the State's population in need of manual employment, resulting from arrivals of removal migrants[2] during the last 5 years, is not positively ascertainable. That most of those coming into the State have remained, however, is generally accepted by all students of the question.

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[1] See chart A, migrants entering California, and table 3.

[2] The term "removal migrant" is used to distinguish those whose relocation is relatively permanent from the "constant migrants" or casual seasonal laborers who habitually move back and forth across State lines.

Among those migratory job seekers who have gone back to their States of origin, many have afterward returned to California, and in many instances they have brought relatives or friends with them.

Additions to California's population through the entrance of these hundreds of thousands of persons represent a continuation of the normal westward movement of population, which has been a regular factor in California's growth since it became a State. Seriousness of the current problem and the peculiar difficulties which it has created are due to the fact that the normal composition of the migrant stream has been changed by the prolonged series of disasters which have affected certain agricultural areas, and by the impact of mechanization. Consequently, although the total number of migrants probably was smaller in the decade 1930–40 than in the 10-year period of 1920–30, in the later decade, there was a far larger number of persons uprooted from their customary economic environment, dispossessed and destitute.

Over the past 10 years, net migration into this State, that is, arrivals less departures, has been more than 1,200,000 persons, according to best available estimates. More than 75 percent of these, or 850,000, have arrived in the last 5 years, since January 1935. A majority of them have been in the younger working age group. At least half of them represent additions to the potentially employable labor force.

No Similar Increase in Work Opportunities.

There is no evidence of any commensurate increase in available gainful occupations or employment in California during this decade of depression. In agriculture, there is no evidence of any substantial increase in the number of persons gainfully occupied as farmers or farm laborers, in 1940 as compared to 1930. Proportionately, this occupational group can be expected to amount to less than 13 percent of the total of gainfully occupied people in California, which was the percentage in 1930.[3] Evidence indicates relatively greater increases in occupational or employment opportunity in the fields of manufacturing, trade, service, and other activities.

However, the available evidence indicates a 25-percent increase in California's population over the decade, and a relatively greater increase in the number of people of working age, while factory employment, the only activity where adequate data are available, showed less than a 15-percent increase in employment over 1929 during the peak year of 1937.

Refugee Families Gravitate to Cotton Growing Counties.

Estimates of the net increases in resident population over the past 5 years, since January 1, 1935, indicate that the largest population increases have occurred in the five southern San Joaquin Valley counties.

Comparative net population increases over this period in this region and in other regions of the State are indicated to have been as follows:

Areas	Estimated number of persons [1] added to permanent population Jan. 1, 1935 to Jan. 1, 1940	Percent of increase in population during 5-year period
5 Southern San Joaquin Valley counties	136,000	36.9
6 Adjacent San Joaquin and Sacramento Valley counties	67,000	16.8
Los Angeles County	367,000	15.0
Remainder of the State	341,000	11.5
	911,000	14.7

[1] Source: Annual population estimates by the research department, California Taxpayers Association.

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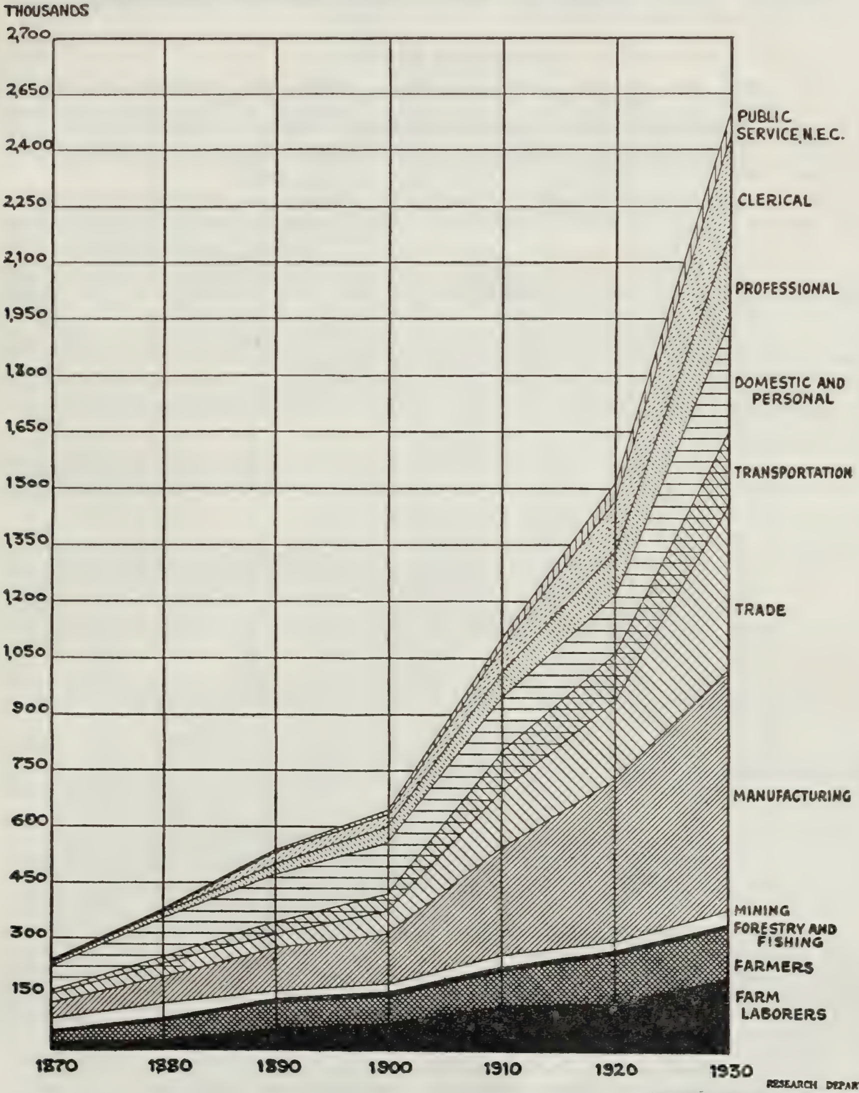
[3] See charts B and C on occupational trends—California 1870–1930, and tables 1 and 2.

CHART B

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED OVER 10 YEARS OF AGE BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS - CALIFORNIA, 1870-1930



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In certain areas the situation is much worse than in others, although the numbers of people involved may be smaller. Evidence indicates that the most serious concentration of distressed population in relation to available opportunities has occurred in the five cotton growing counties of the southern San Joaquin Valley. In total, these have had a 37 percent estimated increase in population over the past 5 years. Population increases in Tulare, Madera, and Kern Counties have been from 46 to 52 percent, most of which came between 1936 and 1938. Yuba County in the Sacramento Valley also has had a 35 percent increase.

Coming from States where cotton has been the principal crop, these refugee families have gravitated to cotton-growing areas in California, and are endeavoring to settle down there. The fact that cotton acreage in the San Joaquin Valley has been reduced to about half of the 1937 total, and over 200,000 acres excluded from returning to cotton production by the Federal crop-control program, has intensified the problem in that region.

Housing, Health, Educational, and Relief Problems.

In such areas as the San Joaquin Valley, where the resident population of entire counties has been increased by 40 or 50 percent within a 5-year period, with more than half of this increase concentrated within a 2-year period, it is obvious why there have developed some acute problems of housing, health and sanitation, education of children, hospitalization, and relief.

The data for larger areas do not begin to reflect the intensity of concentration or the impact of removal migrants that appears in certain rural localities.

Many school districts in Kern County, for example, show increases of from 100 percent to 300 percent in attendance over the past 5 years. In that same county the county outlays for health and sanitation jumped from $155,880 in 1934–35 to $308,063 in 1939–40. County costs for free hospitalization of indigents jumped from $298,546 to $858,026 over the same period.

The impact of this deluge of jobless and destitute people on the communities which they have made their destination can be measured in several ways.

Local Property Tax Levies Rise Unequally.

Evidence of the relative impact of migration and efforts of local governmental agencies to deal with it can be found in the local property tax levies of those counties where the influx has been heaviest.

In the five southern San Joaquin Valley counties, combined county and local district tax levies have increased approximately 100 percent during the past 5 years. The increase in 6 adjacent valley agricultural counties to the north was 50 percent. The increase in Los Angeles County, where migrant inflow also has been heavy, was 55 percent. Over the remainder of the State, the increase was 38 percent. (See table 5.)

These increases were principally in school costs, social welfare aids, hospitals, and health and sanitation. Not all of the increases can be attributed to migrants, but most of them were caused by migration.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the increasing pressure of this economically unassimilated population on local resources is shown by the increases in the rate of the property tax per $100 of assessed value. For example, the 1934–35 combined county and district tax rate in Kern County was $2 per $100. In 1939–40 the rate had increased to $3.13, or more than 50 percent. In Madera County the corresponding increase was from $1.64 to $2.79, and in Tulare County it was from $2.06 to $3.20. (See chart G.)

Information collected with regard to school attendance and the taxes levied by local school districts gives striking evidence of the unequal increases in the problem counties.

In Kern County, for example, elementary school attendance increased 29 percent between 1934–35 and 1939–40, and school district taxes levied (including bond service) increased 172 percent. In Madera County attendance increased 34 percent and school taxes 144 percent during this same 5-year period. In Kings County, school taxes increased 200 percent. District levies principally are for construction of buildings and other facilities required.

Over the 5 southern San Joaquin Valley counties as a whole, school tax levies increased 126 percent over the 5-year period, compared to a 70-percent increase in the 6 adjacent Valley counties to the north, a 67-percent increase in Los Angeles County, and a 61-percent increase over the remainder of the State.

Unemployment Relief Rolls Show Serious Condition.

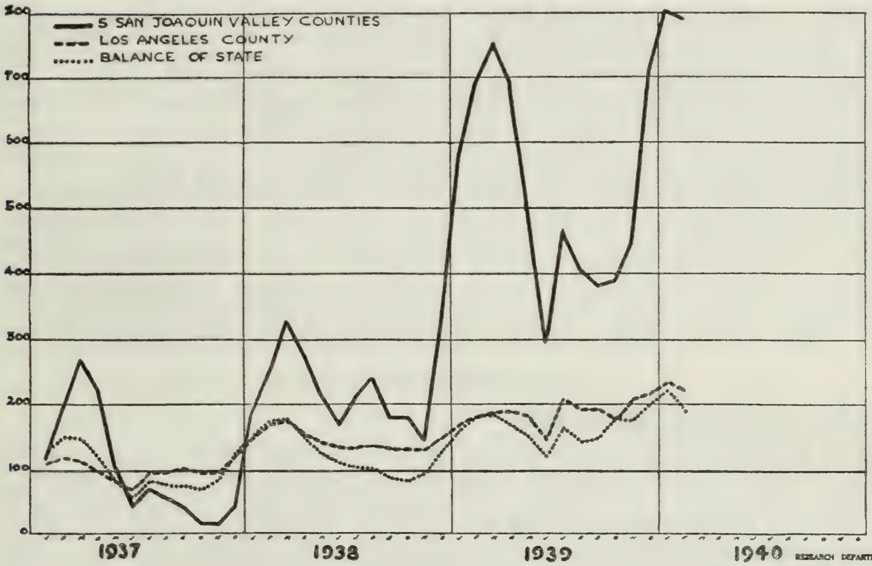
In 1939 the yearly average number of persons on the State unemployment relief rolls in the 5 southern San Joaquin Valley counties was 45,391, compared to 8,975 in 1937. This is an increase of 405 percent. This does not include those cared for by Farm Security Administration grants or employed on Work Projects Administration relief projects.[4]

In 6 adjacent Valley agricultural counties to the north, the comparative relief load increase was 179 percent. In Los Angeles County it was 80 percent. For the remainder of the State the increase was 60 percent. The accompanying charts compare, in the form of monthly index numbers based on 1937 averages, relief cases and relief expenditures in these 5 counties, with similar data for Los Angeles and the remainder of the State. Attention is called to the relatively enormous increases in the valley counties as indicative of the seriousness of the problem in these areas. (See charts D and E and table 6.)

CHART E

TRENDS IN UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF EXPENDITURES

INDEX NUMBERS – 1937 MONTHLY AVERAGE = 100



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Yearly total payments for unemployment relief during 1939 increased 426 percent in these five counties as compared to 1937, and as contrasted to a comparative increase of 88 percent in Los Angeles County and 58 percent for the remainder of the State. (See table 6.)

Even the data for dependent children, where only a 1-year residence is required, show the same exceptional increase in these counties. Kern County showed an increase of 155 percent in payments to dependent children between 1937 and 1939. The average increase for the five southern San Joaquin Valley counties was 92 percent, the average increase in the adjacent valley counties was 46 percent, the increase in Los Angeles County was 94 percent, and for the remainder of the State 54 percent.

Further evidence of the lack of assimilation of recent migrants to California or the relative degree to which they have become dependent upon relief in the various counties is furnished by an analysis of the heads of families on the State unemployment relief rolls, as of February 1939.[5]

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[4] In addition the average number of migrant family cases receiving direct relief grants from the Farm Security Administration during 1939 was approximately 2,200 cases, or 7,700 persons in these five counties. An additional 6,191 relief cases were employed on Work Projects Administration projects, representing some 19,000 persons.

In Madera County, for example, 55 percent of the heads of families on the State relief rolls during February 1939 had been in the State less than 5 years, In Tulare County the comparative percentage was 52 percent. In Merced and Kern Counties it was about 46 percent. In Stanislaus County it was 45 percent, and in Yuba County 38 percent.

For the remainder of the State, outside the 11 Valley agricultural counties analyzed, only 16 percent of the heads of families on relief had less than 5 years' residence. (See table 8 and chart F.)

Oversupply of Workers Reduces Average Earnings.

Although adequate data are not available on either the average annual earnings of the previous group of migratory laborers who regularly followed the crops in California prior to this influx, or of the more recent removal migrants who have sought seasonal employment in agriculture, it would seem obvious that another serious impact of the migration has been to reduce average earnings per worker.

Whether the oversupply of potential agricultural workers amounts to two persons for every available job or more, as some have estimated, the fact remains that there is an enormous oversupply of workers even at the peak periods of demand, and total farm wage payments are being divided among a vastly greater number of persons than they were 5 years ago.

Recently published results of a field survey of a thousand migrant families, in California, made by the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, show that 38 percent of these obtained the principal part of their income from agricultural labor.[6] Another 8 percent showed canning and packing of agricultural products as the principal source of their income. Some 23 percent were principally engaged in other nonagricultural industries. Some 31 percent, or nearly a third, were dependent principally on public assistance for their income.

Less than a third of the families included in this survey were able to maintain themselves without public assistance during some period of the year.

Average family income for the group of 364 out of the 1,000 families who reported agricultural labor as their main source of income, was $759.88 during the year 1938, of which about 75 percent was from agricultural employment, 11.4 percent from industrial employment, and 12.5 percent from public assistance. The median income for this group of families principally engaged in agricultural labor was $650. More than one-fifth earned less than $450 during the year, almost one-half earned less than $600, and about one-fourth earned more than $750.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

Origins and Economic Background.

As a whole, the migrant group is made up of American-born whites. During 1936 and 1937, migrants checked at border agricultural stations were classified roughly according to racial stock. Of the slightly more than 202,000 who entered the State at border stations during these 2 years, more than 187,000 were classified as whites, approximately 8,000 as Mexican, approximately 3,000 as Negro, 2,800 as Filipino, and some 1,300 as of various other racial stocks. As to this predominant white group, a substantial portion, but not all of it, has an agricultural background and as previously indicated, is largely from the cotton areas. Recent unpublished studies to which the committee has had access indicate that a portion of the migrant stream has been drawn from urban and semiurban areas. This group has a nonagricultural economic background. It appears that little more than a third of the employed newcomers even in the southern San Joaquin Valley are now engaged in agricultural labor. Contrary to some reports, it is believed that the rural group represents a fair cross section of Southwestern and south central agricultural workers and small farmers. This group is accustomed to working in a nonmechanized and nonirrigated agriculture, with comparatively low investment in improvements and equipment per cultivated acre. In addition they are accustomed to an agriculture with comparatively low value per acre as compared to values under irrigation in California.

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[5] Previously unpublished data furnished the committee by the division of planning and research of the State relief administration, based upon a 10-percent sample survey of the total caseload, February 1939.

[6] The Migrants, by Varden Fuller and Seymour Jarrow. Article published in March-April 1940, issue of Land Policy Review. Based on survey of 1,000 recently settled migrant families made by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

It is believed that the group as a whole does not possess unsatisfactory work habits but that they are probably accustomed to a slightly slower tempo of work than is expected in California. This is due to the fact that in the States from which they have migrated they have been, in many instances, tenant farmers who were masters of their own time, and who adjusted their work habits to the nature of the agricultural operations in which they were engaged.

The committee's view is that as a whole the group is anything but shiftless, and that the majority are anxious to secure and retain employment. There are, of course, many conspicuous exceptions to any such generalized description.

Of the 350,000 migrants in need of manual employment who have entered the State through border checking stations since the middle of July 1935, more than 65 percent were from the Great Plains and South Central States. Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kansas were the States of origin of more than 52 percent, and another 15 percent credited to Arizona and New Mexico were principally cotton pickers from Texas and Oklahoma who had stopped en route long enough to obtain auto license plates from the former States (see table 7).

Of the removal migrants who have concentrated in the San Joaquin Valley agricultural counties, probably 65 to 70 percent were from the five States named above, as indicated, and at least a third were from Oklahoma.

3. FACTORS CAUSING MIGRATION IN STATES OF ORIGIN

High Birth Rates, Surplus Population, and Unemployment.

In the southern cotton-growing States generally, and in many sections of the area from which migrants are now moving westward, there has been for many years a growing problem of rural poverty, associated with high birth rates and an increasing surplus of population in relation to available land resources. The Ozark regions of Missouri and Arkansas are a well-known example of such problem areas.

The normal movement of surplus rural population from these areas to the northern and eastern industrial cities was cut off by the prolonged depression which began in 1930, and the movement reversed to some extent. Between 1930 and 1933, many unemployed workers from the cities returned to farms. Rapid population increase on lands of diminishing fertility has been a fundamental factor.

In the five principal States of origin of the migrants now entering California, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, and Kansas, there were in 1935 more than 6,400,000 persons living on farms.

Drought, Soil Erosion, and Agricultural Depression.

On top of the general agricultural depression which reached its climax in 1933, there occurred in 1934 and again in 1936 severe droughts in the Great Plains States, accompanied by wind erosion, and dust storms. In certain sections of the Panhandle region of Texas, and in western Oklahoma, the topsoil was literally blown off the land.

These areas where drought and wind erosion were so severe as to cause farm owners to abandon their farms were relatively limited, however, in comparison to the total farm area of these States of origin of the migrants to California. These disasters uprooted a far greater number of tenant-renters and sharecroppers than of farm owners.

Migration of the refugee families from these sections to California, in search of better economic opportunities began in 1934 and reached a peak in 1936 and 1937. (See table 3 and chart A.)

Mechanization and Agricultural Readjustment.

Less dramatic than drought and dust storms, but probably more important as a continuing cause of migration from the southern plains and cotton States, has been the increasing mechanization of farms with tractors and other large-scale power equipment, accompanied by consolidation into larger units of operation.

Contributing and interrelated factors have been reductions in cotton acreage, partly attributable to Government crop-control programs, and the provisions for the division of crop-control benefit payments between owners and tenants, which are reported to have given farm owners an incentive to eliminate share-renters and sharecroppers or to cut their acreage, and at the same time to have provided cash for the purchase of mechanized equipment.

Regardless of what the principal causes of cotton acreage reduction have been, the results are plainly shown by the fact that 1939 cotton acreages harvested in Oklahoma amounted to only 40 percent of the 1925–29 average. In Texas they were 50 percent and in Arkansas they were 65 percent of the predepression average. In these three States alone the harvested acreage of cotton has decreased almost 4.000.000 acres since 1933.

In the newer sections of the Cotton Belt, such as the high plains area of Texas and Oklahoma, there has been an especially rapid trend toward mechanization.

While these fundamental changes in the economy of the cotton-growing States vary in their importance as between different producing areas, in general it can be said that they have resulted in extensive displacement of both sharecropper and wage laborers, and also in the reduction of tenure status, from that of renter or cropper to that of wage hand.[7]

These displaced tenants and farm laborers are joining the migrant stream westward.

Inadequate Local Relief and Welfare Aids.

In most of these States, and notably in Oklahoma and Arkansas, where rural poverty, low incomes, and low standards of living prevail, unemployment relief and other social welfare aids from State or local governments have been very meager. (See table 9.)

Practically all relief aids or rehabilitation grants are furnished by the Federal Government, through such agencies as the Work Projects Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Farm Security Administration. Needy people not reached by the Federal programs, or cut off by any curtailment of them, are under immediate compulsion to migrate. (See table 9a.)

TABLE 9 (a).—*Comparison of local relief grants to Federal relief grants in principal States of out-migration, calendar year 1939*

	Oklahoma	Texas	Arkansas	Missouri
FEDERAL RELIEF PAYMENTS				
F. S. A. subsistence payments	$427, 000	$818, 000	$263, 000	$869, 000
W. P. A. work projects	24, 921, 000	39, 999, 000	18, 915, 000	48, 126, 000
W. P. A. other agencies	1, 350. 000	2, 818, 000	569, 000	698. 000
Other Federal projects	6, 131, 000	21, 139. 000	4, 580, 000	10, 627, 000
C. C. C.	7, 375. 000	12, 870, 000	6, 350, 000	8, 922, 000
N. Y. A. student aid	609. 000	1, 134. 000	245, 000	622, 000
N. Y. A. work projects	1, 301, 000	2, 427, 000	1, 046, 000	1, 397, 000
Total Federal	42, 114, 000	81, 205, 000	31, 968, 000	72, 261, 000
STATE AND LOCAL RELIEF PAYMENTS				
General relief	708, 000	1, 384, 000	220, 000	4. 375, 000
Total Federal and State	42, 822, 000	82, 589, 000	32, 188, 000	75. 636, 000
Percentage ratio of State and local relief payments to the total	1. 66	1. 67	0. 68	5. 78

Source of data: Division of Public Assistance Research, U. S. Social Security Board, Social Security Bulletin, March 1940.

Increased Mobility of Population.

An obvious factor which has facilitated such interstate migration has been the increased availability of automobiles and good roads. This makes it possible for families to load their household equipment in cars, and start across the continent in search of better economic opportunities.

Thus it happens that a thousand persons who last week were residents of Oklahoma or Arkansas may this week be camping beside the roads or on the ditch banks in California.

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[7] The Social Effects of Recent Trends in Mechanization of Agriculture, by C. H. Hamilton, Agricultural Experiment Station, A. & M. College of Texas, 1938. The Impact of Industrial Labor and Agricultural Control Policies Upon Farm Labor, by William T. Ham, agricultural economist, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, United States Department of Agriculture, March 1940, issue of Rural Sociology.

4. FACTORS ATTRACTING MIGRANTS TO CALIFORNIA

Seasonal Jobs at Relatively High Wage Rates.

A major factor in starting and maintaining the flow of distressed rural families and farm laborers from the southern cotton regions into California has been the fact that large numbers of seasonal workers are employed in agriculture in this State, and that wage rates and piece rates have been substantially higher at all times than the rates paid in those States of origin.

The fact that in California there are normally required at the peak of farm operations in October at least 100,000 more workers than are required in March creates a vast ebb and flow of migratory workers, and a situation which offers at least a speculative hope for employment to any person who arrives at the right place at the right time. There is, moreover, an equally great seasonal spread in the number of jobs available in nonagricultural employment as shown by the 1938 records of the State department of employment for employees covered by unemployment insurance. Here there is shown a spread of more than 100,000 employees between the low month of February and the peak month of August. (See chart H and table 10.)

In spite of the various indications that annual earnings of casual seasonal workers have been low due to intermittent employment, available evidence shows that wage rates and piece rates paid by California farmers have been so much higher than those paid in the Southern cotton-growing States, as to be a powerful factor in drawing job seekers to this State.

During the peak of the migrant movement in 1937, the average of piece-rate wages paid in California for cotton picking was 95 cents per 100 pounds, as contrasted to 65 cents in Texas, 70 cents in Arkansas, and 75 cents in Oklahoma.[8]

During 1939, the average piece-rate wage for cotton picking was 85 cents per 100 pounds in California, compared to 55 cents in Texas, 60 cents in Arkansas, and 65 cents in Oklahoma, as shown by the United States Department of Agriculture records. (See chart I and table 11.)

In January 1940, California farmers were paying an average of $2.85 per day to farm laborers employed on a daily basis, without board, compared to $1 per day in Arkansas, $1.25 per day in Texas, and $1.35 per day in Oklahoma and Missouri. This comparatively great difference in wage standards between these Southern areas and California is reflected in all available records of wage payments, and has been maintained for many years. (See table 11.)

In such surveys as have been made where migrants have been asked for their reasons for coming to California, the majority of replies have been to the effect that they heard of opportunities for work at good wages. Principally such information came to them by direct communication, either by word of mouth, or by letters from friends or relatives. Less often it reached them through newspaper accounts.

Development of the Cotton Industry.

Another closely related factor has been the rapid expansion of cotton growing in California and Arizona, which occurred between 1932 and 1937. The acreage of cotton harvested in these two States increased from 236,000 acres in 1932 to a peak of 919,000 acres in 1937, and then sharply dropped to 514,000 acres in 1939. Since the total labor requirements per bale of cotton average 126 man-hours in the western irrigated areas, it may be readily understood that the increase in production in the San Joaquin Valley from 124,000 bales in 1932 to 718,000 bales in 1937, and then a reduction to slightly over 400,000 bales in 1938 and 1939 was accompanied by tremendous changes in labor requirements.[9] (See chart J.)

Prior to 1938, incoming migrants from the southern cotton regions, familiar with cotton, were finding employment due to rapidly expanding labor requirements.

Labor Recruiting by Arizona Cotton Growers.

One of the factors contributing to the steady flow of cotton State migrants into California in spite of the existing oversupply of workers is the continued

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[8] Reliability and Adequacy of Farm Wage Rate Data. Report by Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture, February 1940.

[9] Changes in Technology and Labor Requirements in Crop Production for Cotton, Works Progress Administration, National Research Project.

CHART H

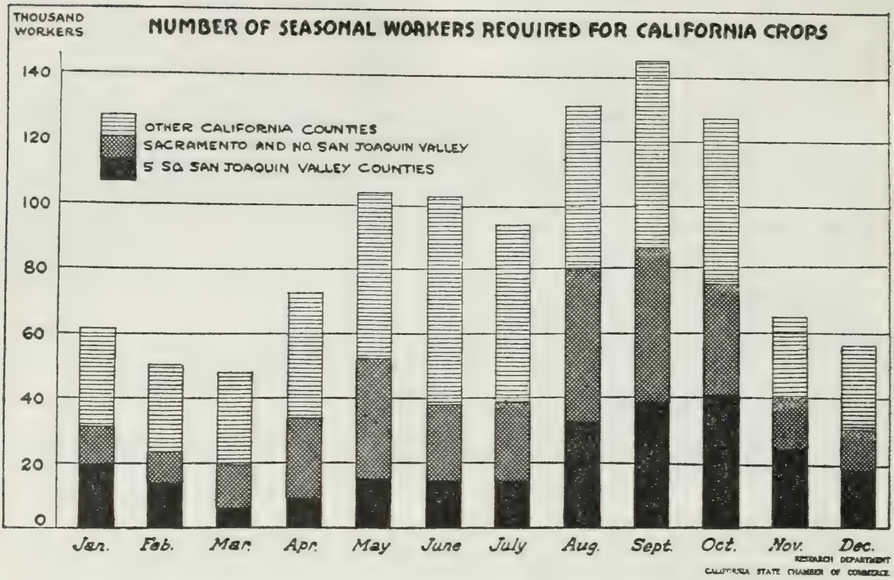
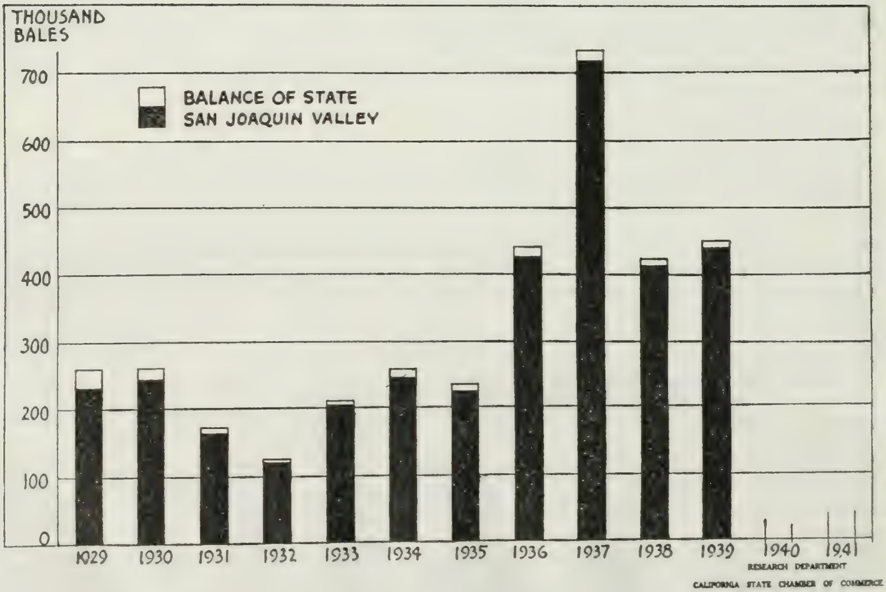


CHART J

CALIFORNIA COTTON PRODUCTION SINCE 1929
500 lbs. Gross Weight, Bales
SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY



practice of recruiting cotton pickers by cotton growers in the adjacent State of Arizona.

Arizona cotton growers, since the inception of the industry in that State, have imported large numbers of nonresident seasonal workers to harvest their cotton crops. For the past 10 years the Arizona growers have carried on through their Farm Labor Service an active and elaborate system of labor recruiting, throughout the States of Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, using handbills, newspaper advertisements, publicity stories, letters, traveling agents, and similar means of attracting pickers.

In the fall of 1937, some 30,000 seasonal cotton pickers from these States were employed in Arizona. According to a survey that year, 42 percent of those from Texas were attracted by this advertising, and about 30 percent of those from Oklahoma.[10] Another 20 percent came because they heard rumors of good cotton and good wages. At the end of the 1937 picking season large numbers of these families were stranded in Arizona. Many of them came on into California. Public criticism caused some reduction in the labor recruiting activities by the Arizona cotton growers' organization in 1938 and 1939, but advertising for pickers was carried on in both years.

At the present time there are several thousand migrant families in Arizona being taken care of by Farm Security Administration grants. It is likely that most of these will come on into California as soon as seasonal crops offer any opportunities for jobs—to those who get here first. Over the last 2 years, the border count shows a movement into California of migrants who have been in Arizona long enough to obtain license plates, amounting to 10,000 persons a year.

The fact-finding subcommittee, after careful investigation, found no evidence that any California farmers, farm organizations, or other responsible agencies during the last decade have carried on any labor recruiting campaign in Oklahoma, Texas, or other States of origin of the agricultural migrants, using handbills, newspapers, or other advertisements for labor. One or two isolated instances of such advertising by labor contractors may have occurred over that period, but the essential fact agreed to by all competent investigators is that any such rare exceptions have been insignificant in their effect.[11]

Public Welfare Aids More Liberal Than Other States.

Another factor which undoubtedly has been of importance in acting as a magnet to draw persons to California has been the very high standards of public assistance in California, as compared to the standards in the States of out-migration. This statement has reference not only to unemployment relief standards of State and local agencies but to other forms of public assistance and unemployment insurance as well. It has been felt from the beginning of the work of this committee that it would be highly important to be able to measure more accurately the relative weight which should be accorded to the factor of public assistance in causing these impoverished families to continue to come to California in spite of warnings as to lack of jobs, but no such objective study of the problem has been possible.

Some evidence of the great disparity between relief standards in California and in the principal States of out-migration is shown by the following comparisons:

As reported by the Division of Public Assistance Research of the Social Security Board, the average monthly payments to general relief cases during the month of January 1940 amounted to $31.35 per case in California, as compared to $4.86 in Arkansas, $4.96 in Oklahoma, and $7.08 in Texas. In the adjacent State of Arizona, general-relief payments average $14.30, or less than half of the California payments. The term "general relief" means the cash payments provided to the needy unemployed or to unemployable indigents by State or county relief agencies or both, and the figure does not include any estimate of the value of surplus commodities provided in addition to cash.

Average monthly payments to recipients of old-age aid in California were $38 per case, compared to $6 in Arkansas, $8.91 in Texas, and $17.58 in Oklahoma.

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[10] Migratory Cotton Pickers in Arizona, Works Progress Administration, Division of Search. Based on field interviews with 500 workers.

[11] At committee hearings evidence on this question was obtained from Dr. Emily Huntington, of the Department of Economics, University of California, based on a special field survey; from W. V. Allen, United States Farm Placement Service; from Lawrence I. Hewes, regional director, Farm Security Administration; from Carey McWilliams, director of the State division of immigration and housing; and from other State and Federal officials who met with the fact-finding subcommittee.

Aid to dependent children average $43.94 per family in California, compared to $8.12 in Arkansas and $12.24 in Oklahoma. Texas has no such program.

Work Projects Administration wage payments averaged $62.48 per person in California, compared to $41.02 in Texas, $40.91 in Oklahoma, and $42.46 in Arkansas. (See table 9.)

Similar disparities in benefits available are shown in the provisions of unemployment insurance laws adopted by these States, under the social-security program. The average weekly benefit payments for total unemployment under the California act are $14.22, compared to $6.33 in Arkansas, $8.08 in Texas, and $9.93 in Oklahoma, as shown by the latest available reports.

It would be unrealistic to assume that these facts are not generally known by the residents of the States of out-migration, or that they have not been a powerful factor, particularly affecting that part of the migration which has occurred since the winter of 1937–38.

Health, Climate, Publicity, and Other Factors.

Another factor attracting many persons to the southwest regions of Arizona and California has been health. A study of those on transient relief in California during 1935, indicated that more than 20 percent reported that the principal reason why they came to this State was to benefit health. The climatic, scenic, and recreational advantages of this State, which attract tourists to California, also attract impoverished transients.

Publicity is often mentioned as a factor. So far as controllable community advertising is concerned, California has not, within the last decade, carried on any national advertising for farm settlers. Two regional tourist advertising agencies carry on national programs designed to attract tourists, but during recent years these advertisements have included prominent warnings advising readers not to come to this State in search of employment. As previously pointed out, there has not been any advertising in States of out-migration designed to attract farm labor to California. On the contrary, extensive efforts have been made through the employment services and other agencies to warn local residents there not to seek farm work in California.

Investigation indicates that the kind of publicity which most often does have a direct effect in starting movements of unemployed workers or distressed farm families toward California is the straight news or feature stories carried by daily wire services to all parts of the country and extensively broadcast by newspapers and radio stations. News reel films are another factor.

These may be news reports on employment to be furnished by large public works construction projects, reports of seasonal needs of labor for crop harvest in some locality, reports of expanding employment in some industry, such as the recent boom in the aviation industry, or similar news which is featured with a "prosperity" or "employment" slant. Often these stories omit the essential fact that there are already more than enough job seekers within this State to meet all of these needs.

One notable example of this is the tragic situation created in Shasta County, where news features on the Shasta Dam construction brought thousands of families to that locality a year or more before any actual construction began, and left them stranded there as a burden upon the community.

Conclusions and Recommendations

5. CONTINUED MIGRANT INFLUX REQUIRES EARLY ACTION

No Prospect of Early Assimilation of Migrants Already in State.

What has been presented up to this time is a brief outline of some of the more important aspects of the migrant problem in an effort to provide background against which may be projected the several proposals which have been made for meeting the problem in whole or in part, or in attempting to provide special facilities and services for the migrants.

There is ample factual evidence to support the conclusion that California now has a serious oversupply of unskilled workers, particularly in relation to agricultural employment needs or farming opportunities.

Further Inflow Threatens Stability and Civil Liberties.

The best available evidence indicates that this State not only cannot hope in the near future to adjust its economy to adequately employ those already here, but that should the inflow of depression migrants from the Great Plains and Southwestern Cotton States continue at anything like the scale of the past 5 years it will seriously disrupt the economy of California, jeopardizing wage scales, living standards, and social welfare programs.

During the first 3 months of 1940 the border count of migrants "in need of manual employment" entering California was 11.210 persons, an increase of nearly 18 percent over the same period last year. The figure for March of 1940 was 5,007 persons, as compared to 3,790 persons in March 1939 and 8,930 in March 1938.

This continued movement of destitute farm families into California, in spite of increasing unemployment and extraordinary relief and social welfare burdens, is an alarming and dangerous situation.

In the destination localities, emotional tensions are increasing. Possible effects upon the maintenance of civil liberties present a situation of utmost seriousness.[1]

This continuing and increasing influx of destitute people is a factor which is primarily responsible for the attitudes of local residents in localities most severely affected. Their natural instinct of self-preservation has led them to oppose certain types of projects for the welfare of migrants which appear socially desirable to persons far removed from the scene, but which according to the local viewpoint will result in attracting more distressed people from localities where similar aid is not available. This dilemma indicates why piecemeal attempts of single communities or States to deal with the social welfare aspects of interstate migration may do more harm than good, and why it must be dealt with on a national basis.[2]

This also indicates why the first steps in any program for dealing with this problem should be emergency steps to retard and control out-migration from the States of origin and to check the inflow of more unemployed migrants to California.

Interstate Migration Is a National Problem.

This committee, like every other group which has studied the migrant problem, quickly agreed on the conclusion that it is national in scope, and that it is a phase of the national unemployment problem.

While there can be no "solution" of the problem other than general economic recovery, a great deal can be done to alleviate hardships and suffering both to migratory people and to the communities involved, if the responsibilities and the cost burdens can be clearly determined and equitably distributed.

In this regard, thought on the problems of interstate migration as they affect California will be clarified by recognition of the fact that the problem of migratory agricultural labor is only one interrelated segment of the larger problem.

Welfare of Seasonal Labor Required Is a State Problem.

The working conditions, housing, medical care, and welfare aids for the migratory and other workers actually required in agriculture in California should be primarily a responsibility of farm employers and the people of this State.

However, available evidence indicates that it is probable that less than a third of the migrants from the southern cotton States who have settled here in the last 5 years are required as farm laborers, or have any prospect of being assimilated into the agricultural economy of this State either as farmers, tenants, or farm laborers.

The other two-thirds and the additional thousands arriving every month present a different problem, and require a far different allocation of responsibilities. They are in large measure the responsibility of the Federal Government and of the States of out-migration.

6. RECOMMENDED ACTION TO RETARD OUT-MIGRATION

Extend Federal Relief Programs in States of Origin.

If the premise is accepted that the only way adequately to meet the problem of migration to California, and to check its continuance, is to make adequate economic provision for the residents of the principal States of out-migration so that their tendency to migrate will be minimized, it must follow that this objective can be achieved only as a result of joint Federal-State action. It probably is no exaggeration to state that in some of the States from which migrants have come, their departure is looked upon as anything but a calamity and is really considered as a blessing. Every indigent inhabitant who leaves these States imposes upon the already strained finances of State or local governments a lesser burden for public assistance and other forms of indigent care, and transfers this burden to California, or some other State to which the migrant moves. Consequently, it probably is out of the question to expect that in these States with their limited financial resources adequate action will be taken by State or local governmental agencies designed to aid potential migrants. Relief standards and standards relating to other forms of public assistance are not likely to be raised.

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[1] See statement presented by Harrison S. Robinson to subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor, San Francisco, January 25, 1940.

[2] Migration and Social Welfare, by Philip E. Ryan. Report published by Russell Sage Foundation, 1940.

Consequently, it would appear that the only agency through which potential migrants can be aided in their home States is the Federal Government.

Those familiar with conditions in the problem areas of States of origin of most of the distress migrants now coming into California, such as Texas, Oklahoma, and the Ozark regions of Arkansas and Missouri, report that large numbers of former tenants, share-croppers, and farm laborers are still under economic pressure to migrate from those areas. There is evidence that the potential future number of out-migrants is much larger than the number that has already left.[3]

Curtailment or withdrawal of the various Federal Emergency Relief programs in those regions, such as Works Progress Administration, Farm Security loans and grants, Soil Conservation, and other programs undoubtedly would cause a large increase in out-migration.

Whatever the long-time solution may be, it would appear that from the short-time emergency viewpoint the wisest national policy would be for the Federal Government not to reduce its relief or rehabilitation programs in those areas, but on the contrary to extend them.

Greater concentration of available funds in these areas would appear to be possible, even though larger total appropriations are not made.

In this connection it may be pointed out, for example, that during 1938, subsistence grant payments by the Farm Security Administration in these four States of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri totaled only $468,000 or slightly over 2 percent of the national total, in spite of the fact that this area has 18 percent of the Nation's farm population. Subsistence grant payments to farm families in the two States of North and South Dakota were $12,595,000 during that same period, or more than 55 percent of the national total, although these two States contain only 2.3 percent of the Nation's farm population.

During 1939, subsistence payments in these farm States by the Farm Security Administration were increased to $2,337,000 or 12 percent of the national total, while payments in North and South Dakota were reduced to $6,466,000 or 34 percent of the national total.[4]

Such facts indicate that the allocation of these funds is largely a matter of administrative policy or discretion, and that the greater concentration of available relief grants shown by the comparison of this one Federal agency in 1938 and 1939 could be further extended by this agency and others, if public support for such a national policy is expressed.

Recommendation: That Federal programs of relief and rehabilitation in the principal States of out-migration be maintained and further increased, so far as possible, by the greater concentration of available funds in such areas.

The committee also believes serious consideration should be given to the possibility of developing industrial activities and other means of nonagricultural employment in the areas of greatest out-migration. In this connection the committee has in mind a program which might be compared to the rehabilitation of the so-called depressed areas in Great Britain, under which light industries were subsidized for a five-year period. Such a program would take into account the fundamental fact agreed to by most students of the problem, which is the surplus farm population of these regions eventually will have to be absorbed in nonfarm occupations.

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[3] The Farm Security Administration reports that about 120,000 eligible farm families in the five principal States of out-migration are not receiving aid through their loan or rehabilitation and grant programs. Studies by Goodrich and others, at the University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, published in the report, Migration and Economic Opportunity, show potential out-migration of vast numbers from the Great Plains and Southern States.

[4] Social Security Bulletin, March 1940, tables on pp. 65–67.

Remove Glaring Inequalities in Local Relief Aids.

Steps toward equalization of general relief aid available in the States of out-migration and in California would help to check continued migration. If reasonable supplementation of local relief payments could be made legally by the Federal Government, it would not appear to be necessary to increase average payments to the point where relief standards in the out-migrant State would equal the standards in California. On the contrary, it is entirely possible that they could be substantially lower in view of the fact that living standards and costs in these States are lower, and each relief dollar probably could be spread further.

Any formula for such a grant-in-aid program probably should take into account the relative ability of various States to provide necessary relief aids.

Recommendation: That consideration be given by Congress to a grant-in-aid or such other emergency program as might be developed to supplement local general relief aids in the States of out-migration, and to remove the most glaring discrepancies in these and other public-welfare aids available to needy people. That in the development of such a program, consideration also be given to the desirability of matching grants on a basis of per capita wealth or other measure of relative ability to pay.

Integrate Programs of Federal and State Agencies.

The present lack of integration between State and Federal programs, and the consequent dangers which flow from such a lack of integration, only point again to the necessity of enlisting Federal action in attempting to secure far wider cooperation among the States, and between the States, the counties, and the Federal Government, so that an effective and workable plan of meeting the social-welfare aspects of the migrant problem may be developed.

As pointed out in the report which Colonel Harrington, Federal Work Projects Administrator, made to the President on March 15, 1939, "according special treatment to nonresidents that is not available to residents is bad practice and tends only to aggravate the problem of migration." Coordination of the policies of the several Federal agencies handling relief or public-welfare activities, so as to avoid violation of this policy, would seem desirable.

Issue Warnings as to Lack of Jobs.

In addition to Federal action in the direction of equalizing the relief and social-welfare aids available in the States of out-migration and destination, and removing any such artificial stimuli conducive to migration, there are, of course, many direct actions which can be taken by administrative agencies.

The United States Farm Placement Service in 1938 and 1939, in response to requests from the State chamber of commerce and other California agencies, broadcast warnings to residents of these States not to come to California in search of employment. Recently, as urged by this committee, the Secretary of Agriculture through the Farm Security Administration has sent letters to hundreds of thousands of families in these States, warning them of the unfavorable employment situation in California.

These are commendable and effective lines of action by Federal agencies which should be extended and continued.

Within this State, it may be possible to persuade news agencies, and particularly the wire services, to exercise greater care in the handling of such stories as may indicate increasing employment opportunities.

Also, the committee suggests that there is need for some joint undertaking by employers and governmental agencies which will establish some definite preference in the hiring of workers already settled in the State, accompanied by widespread publicity on this policy. So long as new unassimilated workers continue to flow into these areas, and the limited amount of available work is spread among them, incomes are bound to be inadequate for decent living, even though wage rates are comparatively high.

It is believed that much could be done in checking further entrance of unemployed migrants to California and their settling in agricultural areas if California growers adopted the policy of only employing qualified citizens of California for agricultural work until such time as the available supply of qualified citizens was exhausted.

Urge Arizona To Stop Recruiting in States of Origin.

Some Arizona growers endeavor to justify the continued recruiting, circularizing, and advertising for cotton pickers in the southern Great Plains States on the ground that because of lower piece rates for short-staple cotton and lower average earnings as compared to piece rates and earnings in California, it is difficult if not impossible to recruit pickers from California's surplus of workers. Piece rates paid for picking short-staple cotton in Arizona have been 5 to 10 cents per 100 pounds lower than in California and picking is more difficult, due to lower yields per acre. (See table 11.)

Preliminary conferences with representatives of some of the larger concerns operating in cotton ginning, financing, and distributing in both California and Arizona indicate a willingness to cooperate in the elimination of this practice. Whether the cooperation of all Arizona growers can be obtained in depending entirely upon their public employment service and the farm placement services in California and Texas is not known. Unless it can be obtained, however, it is certain that new groups of migrant workers will continue to be brought into Arizona, and eventually find their way into California.

Two possible means of meeting this situation by official action are suggested. One is to establish some form of interstate compact between the Southern and Western States involved. The use of such compact for the purpose of gaining adequate information relative to the flow of migrants is obvious. Such a compact could also be invoked in order to establish joint provisions within the several States on such matters as advertising for workers in excess of actual needs.

In the event of failure of efforts to obtain voluntary cooperation or interstate compact agreements, another suggestion which the committee believes worthy of consideration is the possibility of Federal legislation along the lines of the so-called Byrnes law, which might make illegal certain forms of interstate advertising or solicitation for workers by employers or labor contractors. By this is meant such forms of solicitation as would have the effect of bringing more workers than there are jobs available, or continuing to attract workers to a particular area long after the actual need for them has disappeared. The use of handbills is an example.

Recommendation: That steps be taken for conferences both between unofficial and official agencies in Arizona and California, including the Farm Labor Service of the Arizona cotton growers, to the end that the Arizona cotton growers may be persuaded if possible to discontinue entirely the practice of labor recruiting in the States of out-migration, and depend upon the services of the United States Farm Placement, in cooperation with the employment services of California and other States.

7. CONCLUSIONS WITH REGARD TO PLACING MIGRANTS ON LAND

Return of Surplus Farm Migrants to Land in Other States.

Even though the migrant stream to California may be checked, this will not relieve the State of the problems which face it because of the presence within its borders of a far larger number of people than can presently find jobs in agriculture or in other forms of employment. Consequently, if pressures are to be relieved in California, if labor surpluses are to be diminished, with consequent increases in earnings and living standards for workers in agriculture, if tax rolls are to be relieved, and if the problem of housing migrants is to be reduced to some such proportions as will permit an approach to its solution, it is necessary that steps be taken to attempt to provide facilities for employment. In order to accomplish this, the committee's conclusion is that, rather than attempting primarily to locate migrants with agricultural experience within California, efforts should be made to provide opportunity for some of them to return to agriculture in other States, preferably those from which they originally migrated.

Discussions had with migrants during the course of the field trip which the committee made in the southern San Joaquin Valley in January indicate that probably there are substantial numbers of those now in California who would be not only willing but eager to return to the States from which they originally migrated, provided it were possible to give them some assurance that they would be able to acquire a piece of land adequate for their needs.

There is no legal way in which migrants can be required to return to the States from which they came, and there should not be in such program the slightest element of compulsion. What is suggested is assistance to those who desire to return, and the development of programs within their home States by which they can sustain themselves temporarily by subsistence or similar self-contained types of farming, until such time as more opportunities are available for their absorption in nonagricultural employment.

As has been stated,[5] if the concentration of farm holdings in the southern Plains States which has been going on rapidly over the past few years is the principal cause for the displacement of tenants and sharecroppers, then it would appear that the first place to attack the difficulty is at its source in those States, by the improvement of tenancy laws, and by the extension of Federal programs, designed to rehabilitate and reestablish these farm families on the soil, in the environment to which they are accustomed.

Large Capital Investment Limits Possibilities in California.

In the committee's judgment, proposals designed to locate the large surplus of southern Plains migrants already in this State on land in California are limited in their possibilities, in view of the very large capital investment per person engaged that is required for the intensive commercial farming operations which are characteristic of the highly developed irrigated areas of this State.

Aside from cotton growing, on which the Government crop-control program has placed an acreage ceiling in this State near present levels, these former farm operators are inexperienced and unfamiliar with farming practices in this State.

Cooperative Farm Program in California Should Not Be Extended.

The cooperative farm program of the Farm Security Administration can meet only a very small part of the problem now facing California. While such experimental programs are of value as indicating the possibilities for cooperative activity in agriculture, the committee's belief is that for the time being at least such a program should not be extended, due to the fact that under present plans the capital investment per farm family thus provided for is so heavy that it is not warranted. It is probable that, under the plans of the Farm Security Administration for the development of cooperative agricultural projects, the cost per family in such projects will, on the average, run in excess of $10,000, and may run as high as $15,000. Comparable costs under the Jones-Bankhead Farm Purchase Plan are stated to be three or four thousand dollars less per family than under the cooperative farm projects of the Farm Security Administration.

It is felt that it would be far better, from the standpoint of social and economic planning, to devote available funds to the development of such projects in the out-migrant States or preferably devote the funds to the relocation of migrants in their home States. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that several times the number of persons could be taken care of per dollar of investment under such a plan in the out-migrant States than is possible in California. Whether lands are available suitably located and of a quality adequate for such a program is a matter that can only be ascertained by study in the States of origin.

National Study Urged as Basis for Relocating Farm Families.

The State chamber of commerce has urged President Roosevelt to appoint a special committee for the purpose of making a complete investigation of the problem of interstate migration. The President replied to the chamber that due to the fact that certain investigations had already been undertaken by the National Resources Planning Board, he felt that this was the proper agency to carry on such a program. Since that time the Tolan resolution, H. R. 63, has been introduced, calling for a congressional investigation and it is probable that this resolution will secure favorable action at the hands of Congress.

The urgent necessity of carrying on investigations both by the National Resources Planning Board and a congressional committee, if such is appointed, cannot be overemphasized. The complex of problems surrounding this whole matter is one which is becoming increasingly difficult of solution. The development of a constructive program designed to meet these problems is of the utmost importance.

Recommendation: (*a*) That the Tolan resolution, H. R. 63, creating a joint congressional committee to investigate and recommend action on emergency phases of the problem of interstate migration be given support of all interested groups in this and other States.

(*b*) That the National Resources Planning Board, as a part of its studies, investigate the possibilities of the relocation of migrants in general in the areas from which they have migrated, with a view toward reestablishing the roots of such migrants in the land and removing as many of them as possible from the category of agricultural laborers who cannot hope to eke out an adequate living in California under existing conditions.

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[5] Statement before subcommittee, United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor, by M. R. Benedict, professor of agricultural economics, University of California.

(*c*) That the National Resources Planning Board and any congressional committee, which may be appointed, have placed before them the extreme seriousness of the existing situation and the necessity for the speediest possible action in connection with the necessary investigations and the development of a constructive program.

8. MORE EFFECTIVE FARM PLACEMENT SERVICE NEEDED

California Farm Placement Service Ineffective.

The committee heard extensive reports relative to the California State Employment Service, within the State department of employment. It is convinced that the employment service is not adequately fulfilling the needs for the placement of workers in agriculture. During the past year, the California State employment service made only some 46,000 placements in agriculture, as compared to more than one-half million agricultural placements made by the Texas service. The California State Service apparently is not adequately equipped to take care of the problems connected with agricultural placements, from the standpoint of either its methods or its staff. As a consequence, growers do not turn to the agency when in need of workers nor do workers look to the agency as a means of locating jobs.

The committee recognizes that the problem in California, in view of the large surplus of agricultural workers in the State, is not directly to be compared with the situation in Texas. It recognizes that because of this surplus in this State there is a natural tendency on the part of growers and workers to bypass the employment service.

Recommendation for Reorganization of Service.

The committee is convinced, however, that one of the important steps which must be taken is to make more effective the work of the State employment offices in relation to agriculture. Not only would this tend to develop some semblance of order out of what is now an utterly chaotic situation, but it is absolutely essential if anything approaching planning in connection with the problem of migratory farm labor is to be attempted.

Attention is directed to the attached supplement showing in some detail the operation of the Texas Farm Placement Service, as an illustration of what can be done to provide an effective service. (See appendix A.)

Recommendation: That necessary steps be taken to provide for effective reorganization of the California State Employment Service, designed to provide a farm placement service which will more adequately service the needs of farmers and workers.

More Adequate Current Reporting Service on Farm Labor Needs.

In connection with the matters of housing, and improvements in the employment service, as well as numerous other phases of the problem of the migrant in agriculture, it is essential that more accurate statistical information than that now available should be provided regarding year-to-year crop changes and farm-labor requirements in the several agricultural areas of the State. While a comprehensive study as of a particular period, such as that made by Dr. R. L. Adams, is helpful, the committee believes this should be supplemented with current studies which would indicate changes in labor needs, effected by such factors as changes in land use, development of new areas, alteration from season to season in period of crop maturity and similar matters. Such information can be obtained only through the medium of a reporting service which makes its estimates at regular intervals throughout the season. It is believed that with some planning, and a moderate expenditure, reports sufficiently accurate to be of great value can be obtained.

Recommendation: That necessary steps be taken to develop more adequate information on current crop developments and farm-labor requirements, needed both for the better guidance of seasonal workers to available jobs, and for the proper location of camps and housing.

9. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON RURAL HOUSING

Proposals considered by the committee were aimed toward the provision of better housing conditions for that portion of the recent migrant family influx which can be considered as necessary to meet the actual seasonal needs in agriculture.

The subject of housing presents peculiar difficulties. Housing programs can be divided into two broad categories—those in which some measure of planning has been evidenced and those which are purely extemporized. In the first class would be included such efforts as those of the Farm Security Administration and such housing of the better class as is provided by agriculturists and growers. Extemporized efforts include squatter camps of all sorts, rural slum belts surrounding urban areas, auto camps patronized by migrants and used as more or less permanent headquarters, and finally such housing programs as are found in those areas where migrant workers have acquired tiny plots of ground and on which in many cases inadequate structures have been erected.

Proposals for improving the housing situation contemplate an extension of the Farm Security Administration program; provision of additional facilities by growers; and the construction of housing through the medium of State or county housing authorities or both.

Further Improvement in Housing on Farms.

So far as temporary and permanent housing on farms is concerned, the committee reports that many improvements by growers have been made during recent years and that the only suggestion made is that existing programs be aided and extended in every way possible. Recommendations on this point already adopted by the State Chamber of Commerce are as follows:

Recommendation: (*a*) That adequate inspections of farm-labor camp housing and sanitary facilities be made and that enforcement of the requirements set forth in the State law continue unabated.

(*b*) That efforts be made to facilitate new construction on farms, by long-term loans to growers at low interest rates.

(*c*) That the possibility of developing public work projects to construct housing or camp facilities on farms, using construction materials furnished by farm owners and using relief labor, be explored.

Modified Extension of Farm Security Administration Migratory Labor Camps.

Beginning in 1935, the Farm Security Administration has constructed and operated a number of camps for housing migratory farm laborers. These camps have served a useful purpose as demonstrational projects in providing healthful temporary semipermanent types of housing to a limited number of migratory families in need of housing. The nature of the housing problem faced by large numbers of migratory workers makes it necessary to continue various types of experimental or demonstrational efforts in the housing field.

Experience already gained should make it possible to improve upon the projects already developed. The necessity of spreading available funds so as to provide the maximum shelter and sanitary facilities for the largest number of people rather than the provision of permanent high unit cost facilities for a few is obvious. The desirability of reducing the number of family units per permanent camp is also suggested with a view to facilitating the eventual absorption of the units in the long-time pattern of living in the communities where such facilities are located.

Inasmuch as all the migrants now located in agricultural sections of certain counties cannot hope to become permanently employed in agriculture, it would appear that it would not be feasible or desirable to attempt to extend the camp program to the point of meeting the housing needs of all of these people.

It is highly desirable, in the opinion of the committee, that, in determining the location and type of future camps, the Farm Security Administration should embark on a program of active consultation and cooperation with local public officials and local agriculturalists and growers. This procedure will remove some of the doubts and misunderstandings now generally held as to the Farm Security Administration program.

In connection with its attitude toward the Farm Security program of housing, the committee desires to emphasize the following points which it believes to be essential:

Housing of the type provided by Farm Security Administration should be considered as of an emergency character, designed to meet peculiarly pressing problems and not as a permanent solution of the vast housing problem.

That while many persons with whom the subject was discussed were of the opinion that the Farm Security Administration program should be discouraged, the committee takes the position that the provision of housing is so vital that all intelligent approaches should receive encouragement. It does not believe that an extensive enlargement of the Farm Security Administration program should be undertaken, but, rather, that it should be gradually extended as further studies disclose the need for new camps.

The committee is of the opinion that it is highly important to give consideration to the construction of smaller camps than those now built, and that these smaller camps should be more strategically located.

One other approach to the housing problem is that of the mobile camps. While the experience of the Farm Security Administration with mobile camps has apparently not been altogether satisfactory, the committee believes that further study should be made of this problem, including the possibility of enlarging the mobile camp program, as this would appear to be one of the most logical and intelligent methods of meeting the problem of housing temporarily workers engaged in short-term harvesting operations. It is possible that further study of this problem will disclose that mobile units can be developed which will not represent such a heavy investment, which will be easier and less costly to move, and which, in spite of increased overhead costs, might be broken down to smaller units which will more adequately fill the need.

Recommendation: (*a*) That the Farm Security Administration migratory labor camp program be continued as a necessary emergency method of meeting a portion of the most pressing needs for temporary housing of migrant families.

(*b*) That since the emergency need is for more units of shelter, the policy of spreading available funds so as to provide the largest possible number of such units and adequate sanitary facilities to serve the largest possible number of families be urged, in preference to more elaborate, permanent facilities of high unit cost, serving a smaller number of families.

(*c*) That in any extension of this camp program, consideration be given to the desirability of constructing camps of a much smaller size than those now in operation, and scattering these more widely, both with the view of bringing seasonal workers closer to the available jobs, and also facilitating the eventual absorption of such units into the normal social and economic life of the communities where they may be located.

(*d*) That further study be given to the possibilities of enlarging the mobile camp program, as a means of providing adequate temporary shelter in localities where large numbers of workers are required for relatively short periods.

(*e*) That in determining the location and character of future camps the Farm Security Administration be urged to consult with responsible local public officials, farmers and farm organizations, and community leaders, to the end that their information and views may be given adequate consideration.

Rural Housing Projects With United States Housing Authority Funds.

One of the most difficult phases of the rural housing problem is the question of what can be done to provide permanent housing of a better quality in or adjacent to cities and towns in the agricultural areas, where recent migrants, farm laborers, relief clients, and other impoverished people have congregated in improvised and other substandard dwellings, including cheap auto courts and trailer camps within city limits.

Under existing State law, incorporated cities can establish slum clearance and low-rent housing projects, financed by funds available from the United States Housing Administration. Such local housing authorities have been established in the metropolitan centers of San Francisco and Los Angeles.

It is possible for counties to establish local housing authorities to undertake rural slum clearance and low-rent housing construction projects, outside of cities, also subsidized up to 90 percent of the total development cost of Federal funds.

To date, no such local housing authorities in rural areas have undertaken any projects, although one or two were organized under the law. In the localities where the migrant influx has been the heaviest, the self-defensive attitude of local people, and their fear that such undertakings may only serve to attract more unwanted migrants to their community, have been a barrier. There is also a general lack of adequate factual information as to the extent and character of the problem and the technique for any quantitative study of the actual needs.

Local representatives of the United States Housing Authority and various other groups have sponsored legislation to create a State housing authority, with the thought that such a body is necessary to take the leadership in getting rural housing projects of this nature under way.

Surveys of Rural Housing Needs.

Although the committee has not agreed upon any specific recommendation in regard to the particular bills in question, it does suggest the support of any proposal, legislative or otherwise, which will provide funds for and get started at an early date the fact-finding work which must necessarily precede the establishment of any such housing projects, either by a State housing authority or by local county housing authorities. Whether such studies should be conducted under the sponsorship of the State planning board, or some other agency, is a matter for future determination.

The housing schedule which is included in the 1940 Census of Population will provide some of the physical inventory data on housing conditions which are needed, and which can be tabulated in conjunction with income and occupational information for families.

However, supplementary information on rural housing, and on the housing conditions and housing needs for farm labor both on and off the farms, will be required, and surveys of this sort sponsored either by local or by State agencies also should be encouraged.

Joint Issue of Plans and Specifications for Structures.

Another recommendation of the committee which has already been acted upon is that steps be taken to secure active collaboration by the State division of immigration and housing, the Division of Agriculture Engineering of the College of Agriculture, University of California, and the Farm Security Administration, in designing and making available plans and specifications for all types of suitable structures for farm labor housing, including cabins, bunk houses, tent platforms, and sanitary facilities for camps.

10. PROGRAMS FOR HEALTH AND EDUCATION

The committee's studies of the health and educational problems associated with the migrant influx to California are not yet completed, and what follows is necessarily only a brief outline of services now available.

Medical and Hospital Care of Migratory Workers

Free medical and hospital services to migrants who have not established residence in California are furnished by the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, which is a nonprofit corporation formed in 1938 by the Farm Security Administration, in cooperation with the State department of public health, and the California Medical Association. This is financed out of Federal funds. Physicians' services are made available from panels of local physicians, and clinics have been opened in ten agricultural communities. From the beginning of this program in May 1938 through January 1940, some 11,870 migrant families including 27,378 individuals have been given medical care or hospitalization.

Free medical care is also available to migratory workers and their dependents who have established residence in the State, in the event they are unemployed and without resources, through the State relief administration. For those entering the State after April 1, 1940, however, 3 years' presence in California will be required to establish residence eligibility.

Persons who have been in the State 3 years, and 1 year in a county, are eligible for free care in county hospitals, provided they are in indigent circumstances. For treatment of emergencies, such as serious injury, childbirth, or communicable diseases, any person is admitted to the county hospitals, regardless of residence or other rules. Within the limits of these general provisions of State law, there is some administrative variation from county to county in degrees of liberal or strict interpretation.

As stated in a recent report of the director of the State department of health, the gaps which occur in the curative services available to migratory agricultural workers, other low-income groups and indigents are due to the fact that policy and administration are directed by agencies of several different types, bound by different legal restrictions. "No single group of allied Federal, State, and county agencies has the responsibility of planning a solution to what is partly a State-wide problem and in many of its aspects is a Federal responsibility." [6]

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[6] Statement on health problems among migratory agricultural workers made by Dr. W. M. Dickie, director, California State department of public health, to La Follette Committee on Civil Liberties, March 1940 (mimeo.).

Under present conditions, recent migrants who have not yet established residence in California are receiving free hospital and medical care, which is not available to residents of this State or to residents of the States from which they came. One of the recommendations which has been made by the State department of health is that there be established in the States of origin of the migrants medical and health services comparable to the services available to them when they reach California.

Public Health Services by State and Counties.

Preventive medicine and the maintenance of sanitary living conditions are the principal programs carried on by both the State department of public health and the county health departments, although some curative services are being given. Mass immunization of migrants for smallpox, typhoid, and diphtheria has been carried on, by both the State and county health departments, and so far epidemics of communicable diseases have been confined to localized outbreaks.

Station wagons equipped as traveling clinics, carrying a physician, a public health nurse, and a sanitarian, follow the agricultural workers as they move from one part of the State to the other, surveying health and sanitary conditions, treating simple ailments or emergencies, and sending other cases to available clinics.

Medical examination and health supervision of mothers and children in the migrant group are carried on by the bureau of child hygiene, with a full-time staff. Local physicians and dentists employed on a part-time basis, conduct prenatal and child-health conferences and dental clinics. One or more State public health nurses are assigned to each of the principal agricultural counties.

The most serious gap in health services, according to authorities, is the lack of institutional care available to tuberculosis patients who have not acquired residence.

Activities of county health departments are quite similar and closely related to those of the State department. In some counties, such as Kern and Madera, ordinances have been adopted which prohibit "squatter" camps, as being a menace to public health.

Educational Facilities for Migrants.

The difficult problem of providing adequate education for the children of migratory families engaged in seasonal agricultural labor has been met to some degree through the migratory schools, which this State has had for some time.

However, local school authorities, like the health authorities, were wholly unprepared for the enormous influx which occurred, and the concentration of permanent population in some of the problem areas has caused overcrowding and shortages of facilities and equipment.

One of the obvious difficulties arises out of the fact that the local school district, by taxation of local property owners, has to provide land, buildings, and equipment, the allotments of State funds only being available for payment of teachers' salaries.

II. OTHER PHASES OF THE MIGRANT PROBLEM

There are, of course, many other phases of the problem of interstate migration, as well as the interrelated problem of seasonal agricultural labor in California, which have not been covered by this report, such as the field of industrial relations in agriculture, the field of social security or social insurance as related to the needs of seasonal workers, and many others.

This report has dealt primarily with the emergency phases of the problem, the impact of the migration upon the community, and those steps which need to be taken first.

Beyond these, the steps in any intelligent program for dealing with the problems of migration must be the prosaic ones of further research and analysis. Many of these are now under way in governmental agencies, and in our universities. In the light of such facts, as they become available, more can be done to aid in the assimiliation and the employment of those already in California.

APPENDIX A

TEXAS FARM PLACEMENT SERVICE

The Texas Farm Placement Service estimates by counties the labor needs of different crops as they ripen. It makes contacts with the migratory labor supply, and places a considerable proportion of the workers needed in harvesting. These activities have been developed since January 1, 1936. Beginning with cotton, they are being extended to other crops.

The State employment service has a farm placement supervisor. Under him there are 12 district supervisors, to whom 18 or 19 farm placement employees report. The districts correspond to crop regions. The farm placement employee is sent into a crop area at about the time the crop begins to ripen. He makes a survey of probable labor requirements in his area, based upon Department of Agriculture crop estimates and upon other information obtained in the field. The method is outlined in the reports for 1936 and 1937:

> Field supervisors begin a survey of the crops in their districts as early as is practicable, and keep a close check on acreage, rainfalls, insect menaces, and available local labor fluctuations in order that they may prophesy with some degree of accuracy whether they will be able to meet the labor demands from local supply, or whether migratory labor will be needed at the peak season of agricultural activity. This information is relayed to the State office which supervises the organization of the labor market.
>
> The State office maintains a visible system of controls which gives a complete and timely picture of farm-labor activities throughout the State.
>
> Maps show acreage devoted to particular crops and the months in which these crops are harvested, needs for migratory labor in the various parts of the State, and the agricultural activity going on in the State at any particular time.
>
> Charts show farm-placement activity by districts and for the State as a whole, yearly comparisons, and seasonal fluctuations.
>
> A Kardex control system is maintained by districts and by counties, and shows the status of each office at any time. All available data regarding each county are shown on this file.
>
> The system of keeping records is given in the 1938 farm-placement report:
>
> Pertinent information regarding crops and crop dates, labor information, and migratory labor is maintained in a separate Kardex system, set up by offices, and tabbed to show:
>
> 1. Agricultural county.
> 2. Migratory labor required.
> 3. Special attention required.
> 4. Temporary office necessary.
> 5. Additional members of farm crew necessary.
>
> These cards must at all times reflect a current, and insofar as possible, accurate picture of the agricultural situation throughout the State.
>
> Certain communities have special problems. These communities are analyzed and studied; a complete and comprehensive report is made dealing with each special situation, and is kept available for immediate reference or study.
>
> In 1938 a system of large maps was devised for counties in the State requiring special attention, and the detail shown thereon is as follows:
>
> 1. Main crop.
> 2. Secondary crops.
> 3. Community centers.
> 4. Community boundaries.
> 5. Cotton gins.
> 6. Bales of cotton ginned.
> 7. Oil mills and compresses.
> 8. County committeemen.
> 9. Well-known farmers.
> 10. Other farmers.
> 11. Country stores.
> 12. Main routes.
> 13. Woods and wasteland.
>
> Maps designed for next season will be more complete, more all-inclusive, and more useful than these. These maps were worked out by the farm supervisors and placed at the disposal of the offices for their operations.

> As a means of visual aid, maps, charts, and graphs are maintained in the administrative office; as well as a seasonal chart by counties for agriculture, showing planting, cultivating, and harvesting dates.
>
> Migratory labor routes have been determined to an accurate degree; and main traveled highways of these workers, in their movement from the lower valley through the coastal bend, central Texas, and on into the north plains, are charted on a special control map. "Interception points," where emergency farm crew members are stationed to route and effect control of the annual migration, are shown. As the season progresses, it is possible to locate the great mass of workers. * * *

One striking result has been a reduction in the number of outside workers required by the growers. More efficient routing of workers from job to job has brought some stability to the employment and earnings of migratory laborers and their families and has prevented the influx of surplus labor into a community, with the demoralizing effect upon wage rates. The practice has been discouraged of sending to distant points for workers and of transporting them several hundred miles only to find on their arrival far more workers than jobs. Employment Service referrals are based on verified orders.

—*Excerpt from Labor Standards, February, 1940.*

TABLE 1.—*Number of gainfully employed over 10 years of age by major occupational groups, California, 1870–1930*

All persons	1870	1890	1910	1930
Agriculture	47,863	129,715	211,898	332,024
Farm laborers	19,239	59,145	119,611	196,812
Farmers, tenants, foremen, etc	28,624	70,570	92,287	135,212
Forestry and fishing	3,468	8,747	13,173	12,944
Mining	36,573	22,635	31,298	39,743
Manufacturing	41,159	115,406	293,576	636,564
Trade	20,335	37,731	151,598	436,619
Transportation	11,882	31,710	104,293	199,228
Domestic and personal service	64,837	133,009	140,152	294,075
Professional	7,144	26,928	69,453	235,386
Clerical	2,149	31,345	67,751	253,320
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	3,238	6,939	24,476	60,741
Total	238,648	544,165	1,107,668	2,500,644

TABLE 2.—*Proportion of total gainfully employed in each major occupational group, California, 1870–1930*

All persons	1870	1890	1910	1930
Agriculture	20.1	23.9	19.1	13.3
Farm laborers	8.1	10.9	10.8	7.9
Farmers, tenants, foremen, etc	12.0	13.0	8.3	5.4
Forestry and fishing	1.4	1.5	1.2	.5
Mining	15.3	4.2	2.8	1.6
Manufacturing	17.2	21.2	26.5	25.4
Trade	8.5	6.9	13.7	17.5
Transportation	5.0	5.8	9.4	8.0
Domestic and personal service	27.2	24.4	12.7	11.8
Professional	3.0	5.0	6.3	9.4
Clerical	.9	5.8	6.1	10.1
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	1.4	1.3	2.2	2.4

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 3.—*Migrants entering California "in need of manual employment" by months*

Month	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
January	9, 437	6, 002	11, 627	2, 792	2, 940
February	3, 800	6, 260	9, 077	2, 840	3, 263
March	4, 152	8, 139	8, 930	3, 790	5, 007
April	5, 335	8, 006	7, 462	4, 848	6, 339
May	5, 524	9, 298	7, 080	5, 847	5, 514
June	6, 895	8, 907	5, 493	6, 344	4, 894
July	8, 418	9, 427	5, 298	6, 094	5, 557
August	10, 614	9, 707	5, 377	7, 088	6, 646
September	14, 129	9, 070	5, 781	5, 215	5, 965
October	13, 289	10, 026	6, 693	7, 829	----------
November	8, 892	11, 704	7, 793	7, 267	----------
December	7, 157	8, 430	4, 439	3, 337	----------
Total	[1] 97, 642	[1] 104, 976	85, 050	63, 291	----------

[1] These figures include returning Californians.

TABLE 4.—*Comparative population increases*

County	Estimated population Jan. 1. 1935–Jan. 1. 1940		Percent increase 5-year period	Net increase 5-year period 1935–40
Fresno	147, 720	182, 000	23. 2	34, 280
Kern	94, 350	140, 000	48. 4	45, 650
Kings	27, 130	36, 600	34. 9	9, 470
Madera	17, 160	26, 100	52. 1	8, 940
Tulare	81, 470	119, 000	46. 1	37, 530
Total 5 counties	367, 830	503. 700	36. 9	135. 870
Merced	39, 960	50, 300	25. 9	10, 340
Sacramento	153, 640	173, 000	12. 6	19, 360
San Joaquin	111, 890	128, 000	14. 4	16, 110
Stanislaus	61, 490	75, 000	22. 0	13, 510
Sutter	16, 720	19, 300	15. 4	2, 580
Yuba	14, 430	19, 500	35. 1	5. 070
Total 6 counties	398. 130	465. 100	16. 8	66, 970
Total 11 counties	765, 960	968. 800	26. 5	202, 840
Los Angeles County	2, 438, 060	2, 805, 000	15. 0	366, 940
Remainder of State	2, 984, 230	3, 326, 200	11. 5	341, 920
State total	6, 188, 300	7, 100, 000	14. 7	911, 700

Source: Population estimates, California Taxpayers Association.

TABLE 5.—*Local tax levies—comparisons by regions*

County	Local school taxes		Percent increase 5-year period	Total county and district taxes		Percent increase 5-year period
	1934–35	1939–40		1934–35	1939–40	
Fresno	$1, 542, 051	$2, 575, 180	67. 0	$3, 376, 734	$5, 294, 429	56. 8
Kern	1, 531, 764	4, 178, 077	172. 8	3, 462, 205	8, 221, 322	137. 5
Kings	290, 313	873, 104	200. 7	672, 950	1, 661, 274	146. 9
Madera	161, 793	325, 791	101. 4	414, 686	784, 919	89. 3
Tulare	530, 858	1, 223, 195	130. 4	1, 466, 094	2, 811, 309	91. 8
Total 5 counties	4, 056, 779	9, 175, 347	126. 2	9, 392, 669	18, 773, 253	99. 9
Merced	266, 943	501, 850	88. 0	917, 311	1, 515, 899	65. 3
Sacramento	1, 654, 172	2, 398, 664	45. 0	3, 277, 026	4, 620, 559	41. 0
San Joaquin	736, 428	1, 303, 050	76. 9	2, 436, 458	3, 527, 155	44. 8
Stanislaus	358, 026	830, 505	132. 0	1, 088, 505	1, 945, 144	78. 7
Sutter	130, 316	234, 877	80. 2	572, 719	696, 819	21. 7
Yuba	90, 458	253, 465	180. 2	287, 676	589, 203	104. 8
Total, 6 counties	3, 236, 343	5, 522, 411	70. 6	8, 579, 695	12, 894, 779	50. 3
Total, 11 counties	7, 293, 122	14, 697, 758	101. 5	17, 972, 364	31, 668, 032	76. 2
Los Angeles County	26, 391, 295	44, 039, 336	66. 9	57, 982, 312	89, 917, 634	55. 1
Remainder of State	25, 697, 177	41, 450, 170	61. 3	80, 102, 914	110, 339, 082	37. 7

Source: Special tabulation by California Taxpayers Association.

TABLE 6.—*Unemployment relief—comparisons, by regions*

PERSONS RECEIVING UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF, CALIFORNIA, 1937-39

County	Monthly average 1937	Monthly average 1938	Percent increase 1938 over 1937	Monthly average 1939	Percent increase 1939 over 1938	Percent increase 1939 over 1937
Fresno	1, 931	5, 901	205. 6	11, 607	96. 7	501. 1
Kern	3, 835	6, 482	69. 0	12, 859	98. 4	235. 3
Kings	506	1, 668	229. 6	2, 416	44. 8	377. 5
Madera	133	783	488. 7	3, 332	325. 5	2, 405. 2
Tulare	2, 569	9, 152	256. 2	15, 177	65. 8	490. 8
Average 5 counties	8, 975	23, 984	167. 2	45, 391	89. 3	405. 7
Merced	843	1, 746	107. 1	2, 563	46. 8	204. 0
Sacramento	3. 862	5, 703	47. 7	6, 031	5. 8	56. 2
San Joaquin	3, 059	6, 923	126. 3	9, 102	31. 5	197. 5
Stanislaus	----------	1, 262	----------	3, 389	168. 5	168. 5
Sutter	360	566	57. 2	1, 052	85. 9	192. 2
Yuba	430	830	93. 0	1, 750	110. 8	307. 0
Average 6 counties	8, 554	16, 609	94. 2	23, 886	43. 8	179. 2
Average 11 counties	17, 787	40, 594	128. 2	69, 277	70. 7	289. 5
Los Angeles County	68, 046	99, 765	46. 6	122, 292	22. 6	79. 7
Remainder of State	79, 032	102, 185	29. 3	125, 852	23. 2	59. 2

PAYMENTS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF, CALIFORNIA, 1937-39

County	Monthly average 1937	Monthly average 1938	Percent increase 1938 over 1937	Monthly average 1939	Percent increase 1939 over 1938	Percent increase 1939 over 1937
Fresno	$13, 947	$35, 612	155. 3	$94, 858	166. 4	580. 1
Kern	36, 394	47, 774	31. 3	116, 989	144. 9	221. 5
Kings	3, 885	12, 231	214. 8	18, 638	52. 4	397. 7
Madera	782	4, 197	436. 7	24, 622	486. 7	3, 048. 6
Tulare	20, 303	69, 656	243. 1	140, 993	102. 4	594. 4
Average 5 counties	75, 311	169, 560	125. 1	396, 100	133. 6	426. 0
Merced	6, 111	9, 867	61. 5	17, 312	75. 5	183. 3
Sacramento	36, 347	48, 833	34. 4	50, 631	3. 7	39. 3
San Joaquin	27, 795	55, 110	98. 3	76, 363	38. 6	174. 7
Stanislaus	----------	8, 621	----------	24, 031	178. 8	178. 8
Sutter	2, 539	4, 388	72. 8	8, 515	94. 1	235. 4
Yuba	2, 986	6, 186	107. 2	14, 276	130. 8	378. 1
Average 6 counties	75, 778	130, 132	71. 7	191, 127	46. 9	153. 3
Average 11 counties	151, 088	299, 691	98. 4	587, 227	95. 9	288. 7
Los Angeles	699, 405	1, 012, 189	44. 7	1, 314, 609	29. 9	88. 0
Remainder of State	803, 942	962, 832	19. 8	1, 260, 803	30. 9	56. 8

Source: State relief administration—monthly reports.

TABLE 7.—*Persons in need of manual employment entering California by motor vehicle, by States—July 1, 1935–Dec. 31, 1939*

State of origin	Total—54 months		July to December 1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
	Number	Percent					
All States, excluding California	350, 108	100. 0	42, 559	84, 833	90, 761	67, 664	64, 291
Percent			12. 2	24. 2	25. 9	19. 3	18. 4
Great Plains States	181, 027	51. 7	20, 021	46, 587	48, 081	32, 655	33, 683
Oklahoma	80, 711	23. 1	7, 561	22, 989	21, 709	13, 212	15, 240
Texas	37, 356	10. 7	3, 631	8, 304	8, 723	8, 684	8, 014
Kansas	15, 300	4. 4	2, 238	3, 900	4, 484	2, 209	2, 469
Colorado	12, 290	3. 5	1, 584	2, 249	3, 702	2, 428	2, 327
New Mexico	11, 555	3. 3	1, 578	2, 440	2, 680	2, 457	2, 400
Nebraska	9, 961	2. 8	1, 258	3, 019	3, 024	1, 403	1, 257
Montana	4, 569	1. 3	834	969	1, 102	858	806
South Dakota	3, 593	1. 0	468	1, 067	1, 164	526	368
North Dakota	2, 929	. 9	532	912	834	387	264
Wyoming	2, 763	. 8	337	738	659	491	538
Mountain States	57, 062	16. 3	5, 470	10, 745	14, 611	13, 928	12, 308
Arizona	41, 536	11. 9	3, 097	7, 329	10, 613	10, 868	9, 629
Idaho	8, 042	2. 3	1, 193	1, 733	2, 012	1, 514	1, 590
Utah	3, 991	1. 1	678	1, 069	1, 063	623	558
Nevada	3, 493	1. 0	502	614	923	923	531
South Central States	48, 786	13. 9	5, 292	12, 763	13, 548	9, 257	7, 926
Arkansas	26, 954	7. 7	2, 866	6, 890	7, 232	5, 180	4, 786
Missouri	21, 832	6. 2	2, 426	5, 873	6, 316	4, 077	3, 140
Pacific States	33, 885	9. 7	5, 822	6, 685	8, 831	6, 656	5, 891
Oregon	21, 590	6. 2	3, 629	4, 384	5, 592	4, 350	3, 635
Washington	12, 295	3. 5	2, 193	2, 301	3, 239	2, 306	2, 256
All other States, excluding California	29, 348	8. 4	5, 954	8, 053	5, 690	5, 168	4, 483
California	69, 110		9, 901	12, 839	14, 215	17, 487	14, 668

Source: Monthly reports by border inspectors of the Bureau of Plant Quarantine, California State Department of Agriculture.

NOTE.—The data above represent the total numbers of persons in cars with license plates from the States named, including women and children in family groups. The segregation of those cars whose adult passengers are "in need of manual employment" from other travelers is made by the inspectors on the basis of observation and questions. Those with California license plates represent returning migratory workers who have been in this State long enough to change their registration. They are not included in the above totals. The 41,536 from Arizona and the 11,555 from New Mexico represent principally migrant farm laborers from Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, who have remained in those States long enough to change license plates, and then came on to California.

TABLE 8.—*Length of residence in California, heads of families on State relief rolls in February 1939*

[Based on analysis of 10 percent of total caseload in terms of percent entering California in indicated years]

County	1939, percent	1938, percent	1937, percent	1936, percent	1935, percent	1935–39, percent	1930–34, percent	1929 and before, percent
Madera	0	4. 2	29. 6	14. 1	7. 0	54. 9	11. 3	33. 8
Tulare	0	5. 9	21. 0	14. 9	10. 2	52. 0	12. 2	35. 9
Merced	0	0	12. 5	23. 2	10. 8	46. 5	16. 0	37. 5
Kern	0	6. 0	15. 1	17. 6	7. 2	45. 9	16. 0	38. 1
Stanislaus	0	3. 2	23. 2	14. 7	4. 2	45. 3	11. 6	43. 1
Yuba	0	2. 3	12. 0	19. 0	4. 8	38. 1	16. 7	45. 2
Fresno	. 4	3. 2	16. 7	10. 1	7. 0	37. 4	9. 3	53. 3
San Joaquin	. 4	3. 7	10. 1	7. 8	6. 7	28. 7	15. 3	56. 0
Kings	0	0	12. 7	9. 5	6. 4	28. 6	9. 5	61. 9
Sutter	0	5. 0	5. 0	5. 0	5. 0	20. 0	25. 0	55. 0
Sacramento	0	3. 4	5. 4	3. 4	3. 4	15. 6	11. 6	72. 8
Remainder of State	. 2	1. 9	5. 4	5. 3	3. 4	16. 2	12. 5	71. 3

Source: Computed from data furnished by division of planning and research, California State Relief Administration.

TABLE 9.—*Comparative public-assistance data—January 1940*

State	General relief [3]			W. P. A.[1]		
	Number of cases	Obligations incurred	Average amount per case	Persons employed	Earnings	Average per person
California	160, 534	$5, 033, 304	$31. 35	86, 096	$5, 379, 000	$62. 48
Oregon	12, 039	193, 569	16. 08	14, 498	872, 000	60. 15
Washington	24, 349	349, 936	14. 37	25, 608	1, 501, 000	58. 61
Arizona	2, 886	41, 258	14. 30	5, 821	337, 000	57. 89
Arkansas	3, 768	18, 328	4. 86	42, 132	1, 789, 000	42. 46
Kansas	29, 122	424, 001	14. 56	25, 325	1, 259, 000	49. 71
Missouri	35, 955	461, 076	12. 82	76, 757	4, 061, 000	52. 91
Oklahoma [2]	13, 100	65, 000	4. 96	45, 906	1, 878, 000	40. 91
Texas [2]	15, 400	109, 000	7. 08	88, 680	3, 638, 000	41. 02

State	Old-age assistance			Aid to dependent children		
	Number of recipients	Obligations incurred	Average per person	Number of families	Obligations incurred	Average per family
California	134, 740	$5, 120, 596	$38. 00	14, 513	$637, 644	$43. 94
Oregon	20, 521	437, 740	21. 33	1, 918	76, 560	39. 92
Washington	39, 098	861, 880	22. 04	4, 811	143, 654	29. 86
Arizona	7, 848	211, 677	26. 97	2, 482	79, 912	32. 20
Arkansas	18, 464	110, 806	6. 00	4, 051	32, 904	8. 12
Kansas	26, 236	505, 407	19. 26	6, 138	175, 212	28. 55
Missouri	79, 280	1, 307, 863	16. 50	9, 902	231, 635	23. 39
Oklahoma	70, 546	1, 240, 373	17. 58	17, 482	213, 896	12. 24
Texas	119, 900	1, 068, 107	8. 91	0	0	0

[1] W. P. A. and other Federal agencies, December 1939.
[2] Estimated.
[3] Includes cases receiving hospitalization and for burial only, not previously reported.

Source: January issue of Public Assistance—Social Security Board.

TABLE 10.—*Seasonal employment of insured workers in California—1938, number of insured workers on last pay roll of each month, employers subject to California Unemployment Reserves Act*

Industry classification	Average	January	February	March	April	May	June
Mining and quarrying	36, 421	37, 106	36, 291	36, 614	37, 021	37, 187	37, 242
Contract construction	60, 687	55, 216	*52, 975*	57, 808	60, 437	60, 379	60, 380
Manufacturing	345, 626	334, 741	331, 247	332, 064	331, 160	*327, 808*	333, 229
Food manufacturing	100, 286	88, 601	86, 289	*86, 196*	90, 403	88, 418	93, 641
Basic lumber industries	20, 487	17, 669	*17, 511*	17, 732	18, 690	19, 003	21, 502
All other manufacturing	224, 853	228, 471	227, 447	228, 136	222, 067	220, 387	*218, 086*
Transportation	117, 212	114, 614	*114, 242*	*122, 654*	117, 550	117, 172	119, 366
Communication	29, 879	*30, 313*	29, 943	30, 132	29, 877	29, 856	29, 757
Utilities	24, 625	24, 513	24, 600	*25, 126*	25, 053	25, 094	24, 743
Trade	331, 502	324, 575	*318, 681*	321, 247	328, 618	330, 053	328, 447
Finance, insurance, real estate	62, 107	62, 455	62, 100	62, 594	61, 573	61, 690	61, 732
Administrative offices	17, 559	*16, 656*	16, 676	16, 712	17, 944	17, 973	18, 102
Service	209, 968	208, 916	206, 618	205, 640	204, 921	*203, 324*	208, 787
Professional	16, 223	*16, 757*	16, 564	16, 702	16, 125	16, 018	16, 315
Miscellaneous	12, 324	11, 832	*11, 611*	11, 816	11, 981	11, 971	*13, 592*
Unclassified	7, 314	6, 990	7, 113	8, 153	7, 724	8, 675	9, 364
Total	1, 271, 447	1, 244, 684	*1, 228, 661*	1, 247, 262	1, 249, 984	1, 247, 200	1, 261, 056

Industry classification	July	August	September	October	November	December
Mining and quarrying	*37, 679*	37, 050	36, 373	35, 463	35, 072	*33, 952*
Contract construction	63, 183	62, 289	63, 481	*65, 378*	65, 202	61, 523
Manufacturing	352, 382	*393, 883*	373, 064	361, 977	346, 258	329, 699
Food manufacturing	106, 451	*144, 340*	124, 527	110, 551	96, 472	87, 542
Basic lumber industries	23, 117	*24, 038*	23, 866	23, 278	20, 731	18, 710
All other manufacturing	222, 814	225, 505	224, 671	228, 148	*229, 055*	223, 447

TABLE 10.—*Seasonal employment of insured workers in California—1938, number of insured workers on last pay roll of each month, employers subject to California Unemployment Reserves Act*—Continued

Industry classification	July	August	September	October	November	December
Transportation	114, 959	114, 954	116, 232	118, 244	118, 763	117, 791
Communication	29, 728	29, 829	29, 770	29, 677	*29, 613*	30, 054
Utilities	24, 909	24, 650	24, 543	24, 333	24, 066	*23, 871*
Trade	336, 567	337, 336	335, 714	334, 840	337, 745	*344, 198*
Finance, insurance, real estate	*64, 064*	63, 879	*61, 063*	61, 595	61, 123	61, 412
Administrative offices	*18, 337*	18, 195	18, 211	17, 429	17, 231	17, 247
Service	213, 743	213, 044	209, 694	*216, 399*	214, 759	213, 772
Professional	16, 321	16, 071	16, 484	15, 958	15, 683	*15, 675*
Miscellaneous	12, 215	12, 046	12, 893	12, 753	12, 599	12, 581
Unclassified	6, 409	7, 246	*9, 570*	*5, 341*	5, 530	5, 650
Total	1, 290, 496	*1, 330, 472*	1, 307, 092	1, 299, 387	1, 283, 644	1, 267, 425

Source: State department of employment.

NOTES.—For all industries included within the California Unemployment Reserves Act, the above figures show a variation of almost 102,000 employed persons from the month in which the smallest number was employed to the peak employment of 1,330,472 in August 1938. In terms of percentages, peak employment is 8.3 percent higher than the low of 1,228,661 in February of the same year. [Peak and low months shown in italics.]

Widest variation in any one industry group is in the food manufacturing industry, with a spread of some 58,000 persons. The peak employment is 67.5 percent over the low. Basic lumbering industry has a spread of 6,500 persons, with a peak 37.3 percent higher than the lowest employment. Contract construction comes next with a spread of 12,403 persons, and the maximum employment 23.4 percent over the low. The entire manufacturing classification, including food and basic lumber industries, as well as all others, shows a spread of 66,075 persons, and the high point is 20.2 percent above the minimum. Percentages in other industrial classifications vary from a minimum variation of 2.4 percent in the communication industry to 11.0 percent in mining and quarrying.

TABLE 11.—*Wage rates in California and States of out-migration*

	Farm labor wage rates, 1939–40 [1]			Industrial wage earnings,[2] 1937 census (cents per wage earner man-hour)			
	Per month without board, January 1940	Per day without board, January 1940	Per 100 pounds of cotton, 1939	Flour and grain mills	Meat packing	Sheet-metal work	Machine shops
California	$72.00	$2.85	$0.85	$0.630	$0.719	$0.677	$0.716
Oregon	51.00	2.25	----------	.624	.706	.707	.699
Washington	50.50	2.45	----------	.690	.607	.823	.786
Arizona	52.25	2.00	(3)	.576	.553	----------	.585
Arkansas	22.75	1.00	.60	----------	.388	.455	.489
Kansas	33.50	1.65	.65	.515	.600	.524	.504
Missouri	30.25	1.35	.75	.504	.651	.577	.668
Oklahoma	29.50	1.35	.65	.450	.560	.564	.590
Texas	29.00	1.25	.55	.439	.521	.510	.583
United States	35.27	1.55	.58	.527	.630	.619	.691

	Average wage rate for picking 100 pounds of seed cotton [4]							
	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
California	$0.45	$0.65	$0.90	$0.90	$1.00	$0.95	$0.75	$0.85
Arkansas	.44	.52	.60	.60	.75	.70	.60	.60
Kansas	.48	.65	.75	.70	.75	.65	.65	.65
Missouri	.52	.67	.80	.75	.95	.80	.75	.75
Oklahoma	.48	.65	.75	.70	.75	75	.70	.65
Texas	.45	.55	.60	.60	.65	.65	.55	.55
United States	.42	.53	.60	.58	.69	.69	.57	.58

[1] U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

[2] U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1937—Man-hour Statistics for 105 Selected Industries.

[3] Reported data for Arizona omitted because the figures are not comparable. In 1939 Arizona growers paid about 80 cents per 100 pounds for picking short staple cotton and about $1.60 per 100 pounds for picking long-staple Pima cotton.

[4] Reliability and Adequacy of Farm Wage Rate Data, February 1940. Special report by the Agricultural Market Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

CHART A

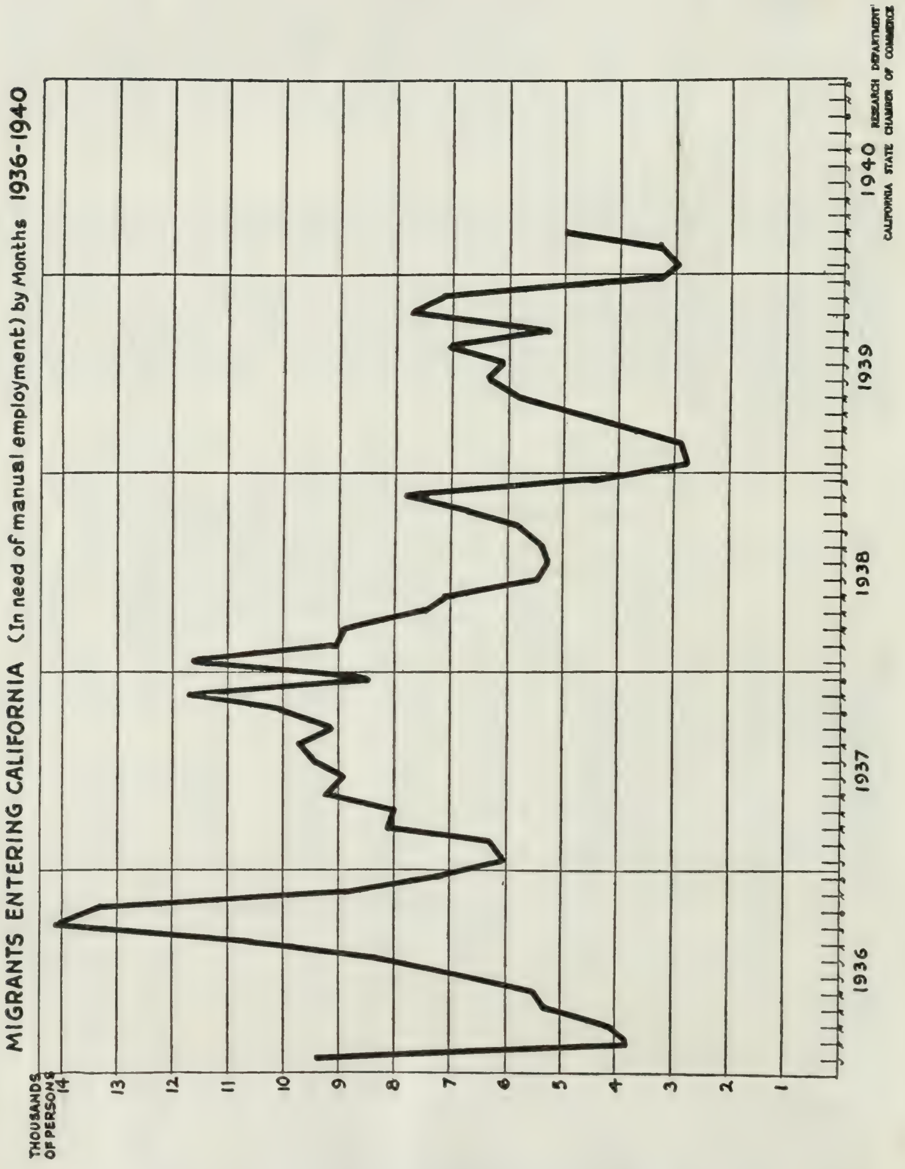
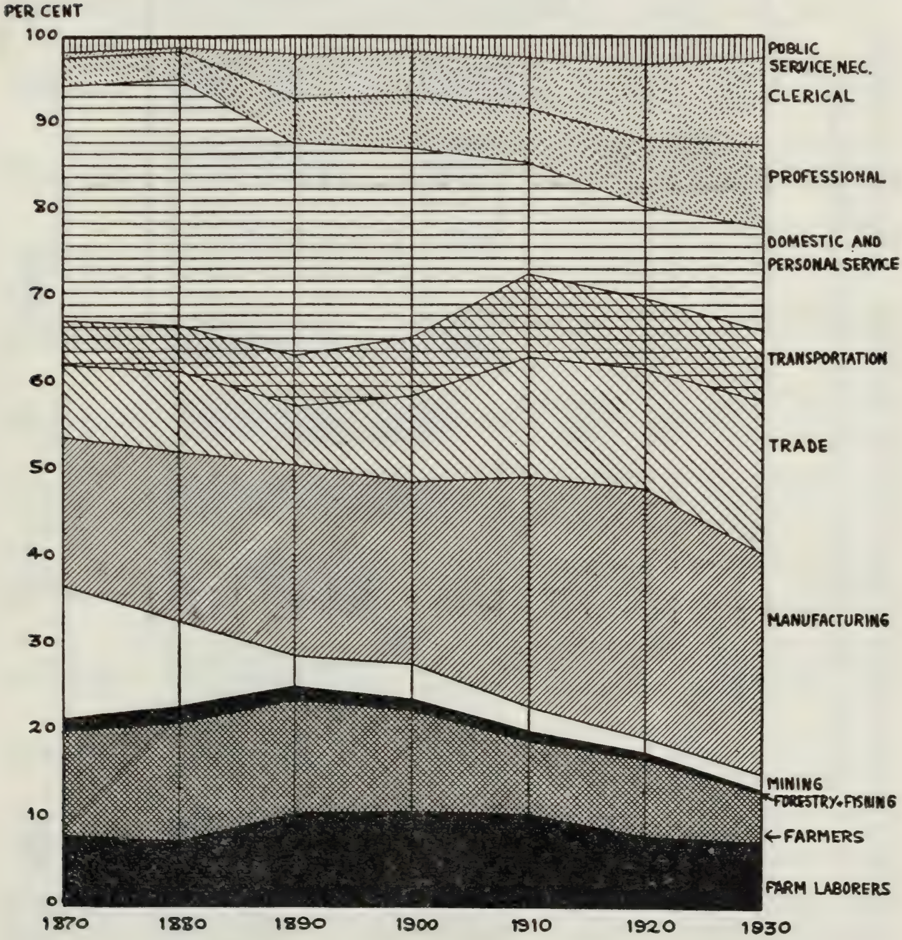

MIGRANTS ENTERING CALIFORNIA (In need of manual employment) by Months 1936-1940
THOUSANDS OF PERSONS
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940
RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

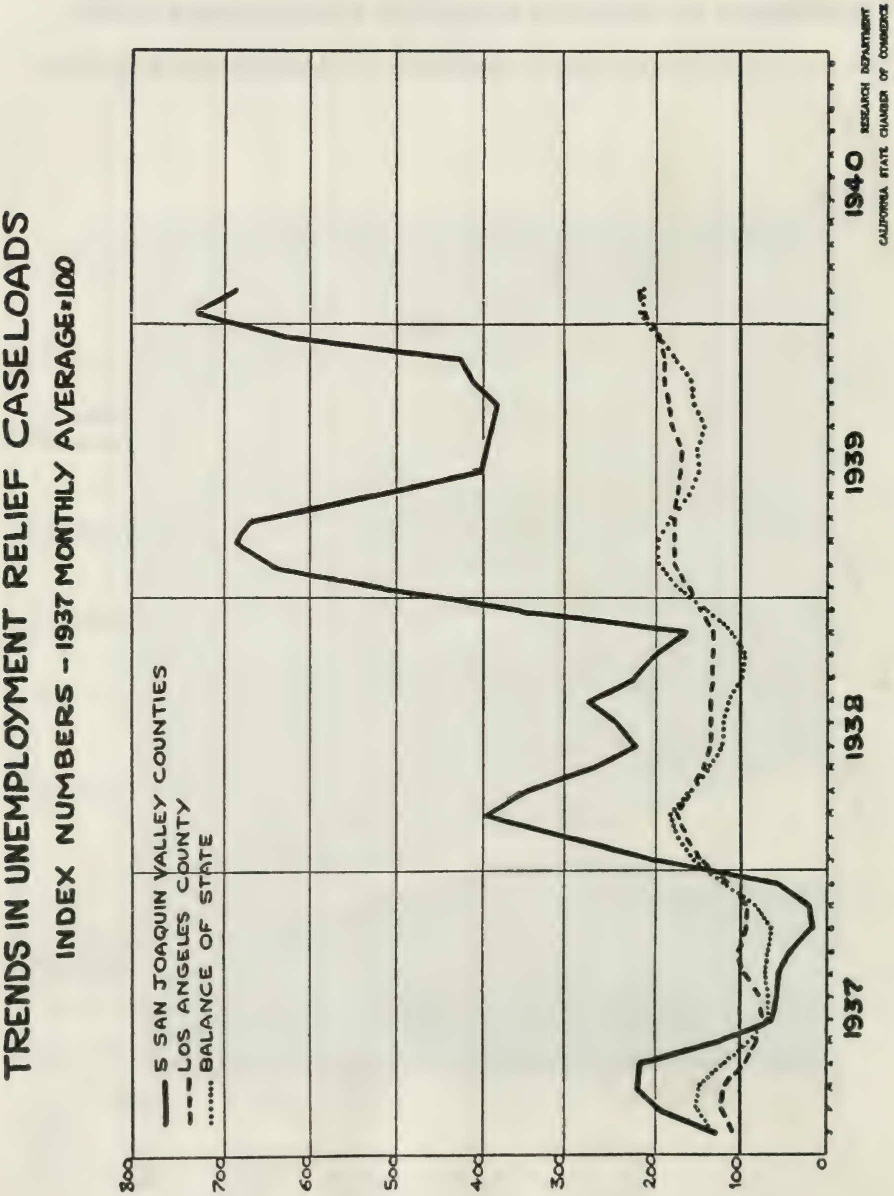
CHART C

PROPORTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED OVER 10 YEARS OF AGE BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS-CALIFORNIA, 1870-1930



RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

CHART D

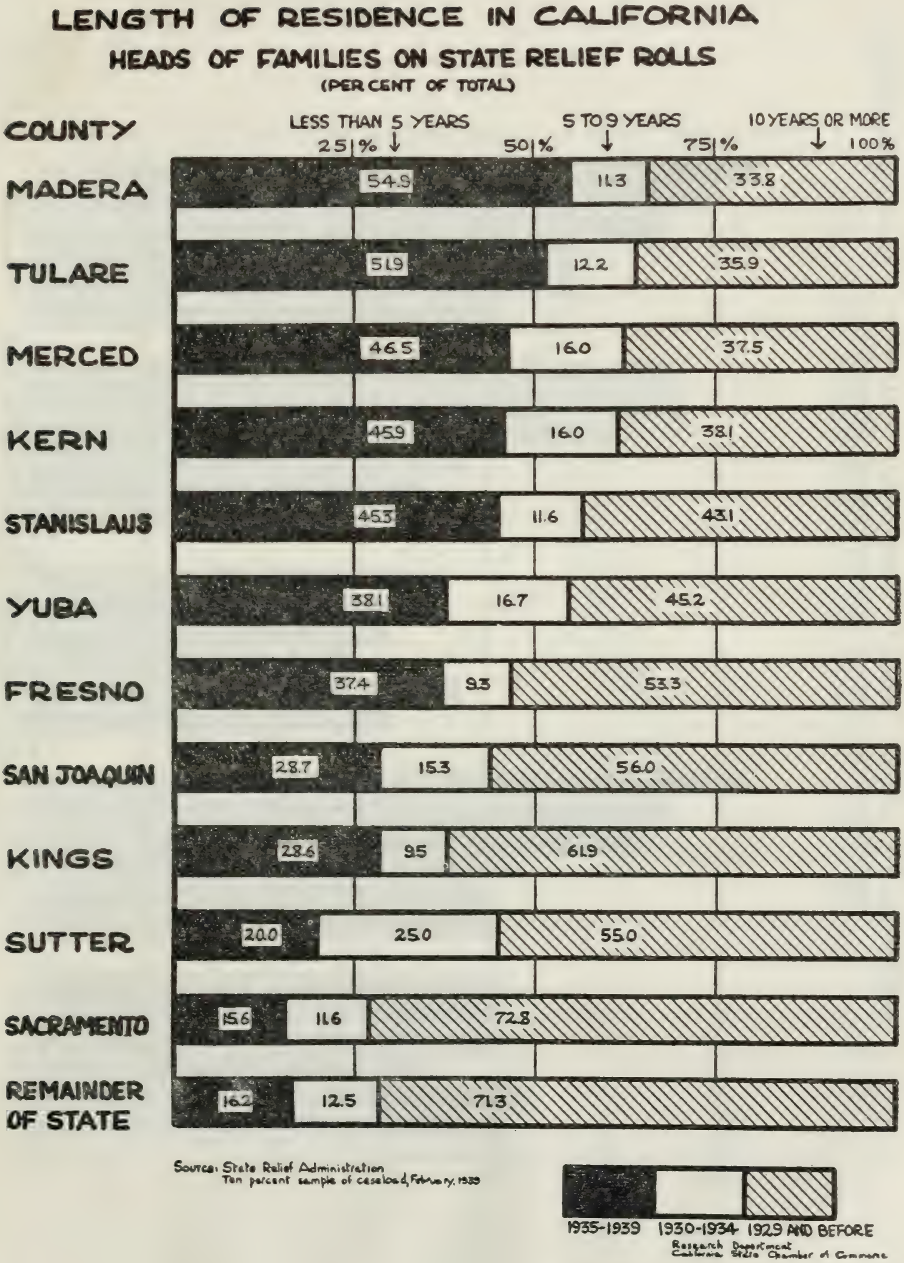


TRENDS IN UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF CASELOADS

INDEX NUMBERS – 1937 MONTHLY AVERAGE = 100

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

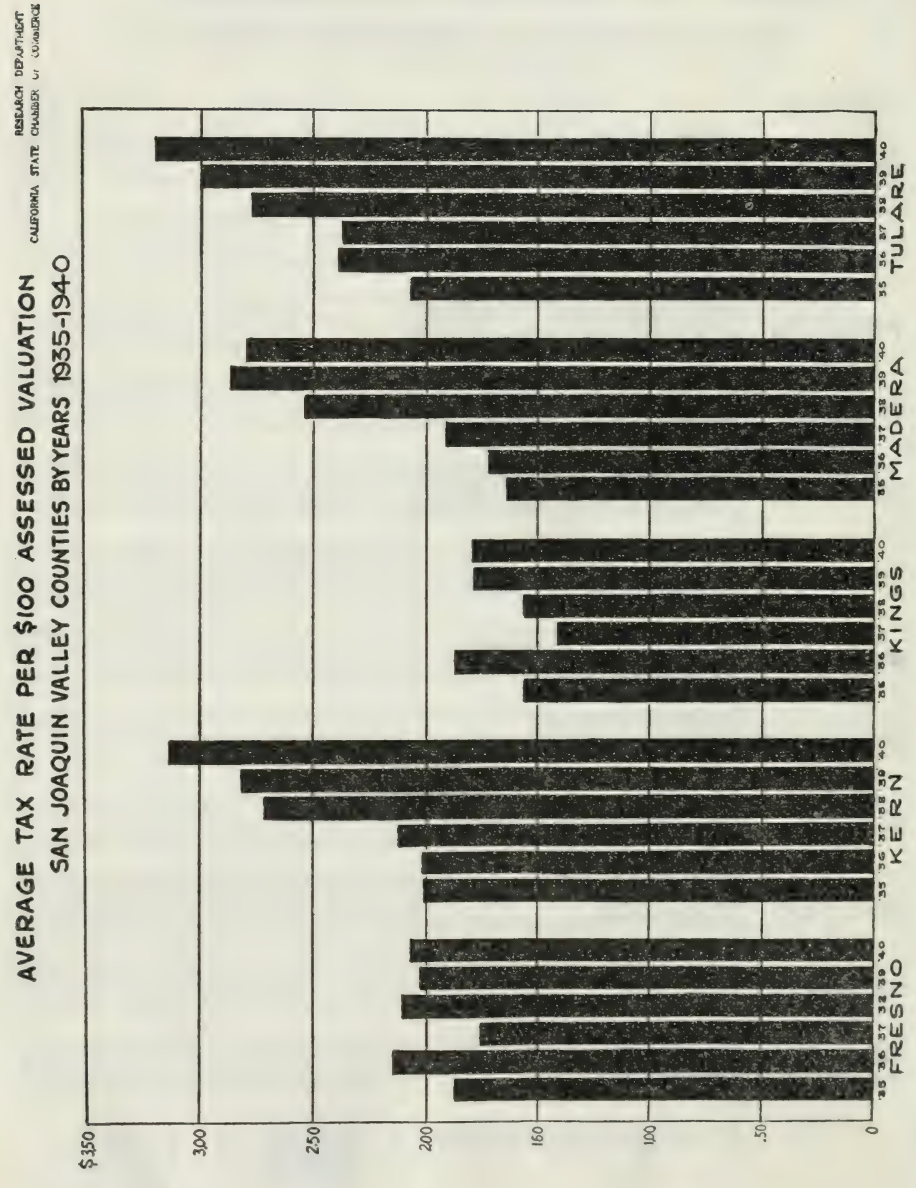
CHART F



Source: State Relief Administration
Ten percent sample of caseload, February, 1939

Research Department
California State Chamber of Commerce

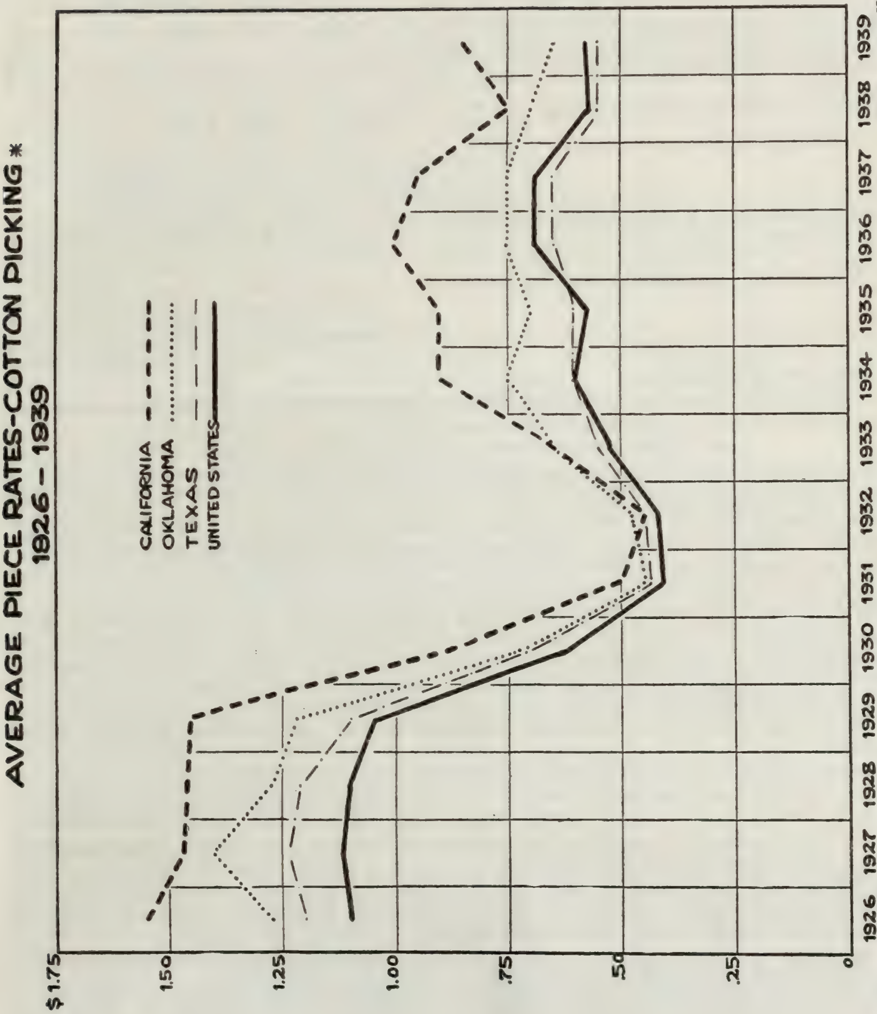
CHART G



AVERAGE TAX RATE PER $100 ASSESSED VALUATION
SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY COUNTIES BY YEARS 1935-1940

CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

CHART I



AVERAGE PIECE RATES-COTTON PICKING *
1926 - 1939

* Average rate for picking 100 lbs. seed cotton – U.S. Department of Agriculture

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Dr. Rowell. I wish to introduce a letter received from the Stanislaus County Central Labor Council, of Modesto, Calif.

(The letter is as follows:)

Stanislaus County Central Labor Council,
Modesto, Calif.

Mr. Edward J. Rowell,
Chief Field Investigator, Special Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
585 Bush Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sir: Answering your letter of September 16 in which you request a statement indicating the way in which migration of destitute citizens affect different activities of this council or its affiliates, I wish to state that transit labor promotes chiseling in hours and wages. As we have a number of unfair contractors and farmers in this locality who take advantage of this condition. Also the chambers of commerce advertise the advantages of California. The result of this advertising is that far more of this kind of labor comes into our district than is necessary to handle the work, which again results in a wage much too low to provide a living standard.

To date the council has not taken any official action with regard to this condition.

Trusting that this information will be satisfactory to you, I am,

Yours truly,

Stanislaus County Central Labor Council,
By H. F. Blanchard, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

Dr. Rowell. I also wish to introduce a letter from the Department of Education of the State of New Mexico.

(The letter is as follows:)

State of New Mexico,
Department of Education,
Santa Fe.

Mr. Edward J. Rowell,
Chief Field Investigator, Special Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
585 Bush Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Rowell: I am sorry that your letter of September 5 has remained unanswered until this time.

New Mexico has at least four distinct regions where the problem of migrant children definitely impinges on the administration of the public-school system. In the extreme southeast section of the State, especially around Hobbs, Eunice, and Jal, we have the problem of migrant children whose parents are oil-field workers; in the areas in which are located the following towns: Roswell, Artesia, Las Cruces, Carlsbad, and Hatch, we have the problem of migrant children whose parents are seasonal farm workers; in the Alburquerque area we have the problem of migrant children whose parents are seasonal truck-farm workers, and in the region around Farmington, Aztec, and Kirtland, we have the problem of migrant children whose parents are seasonal fruit workers.

Naturally these areas, which have just been listed, affect the efficient administration of our public-school system. Such problems as provision of adequate space in the public schools during these seasonal periods; additional teachers during these seasonal periods; the matter of helping to provide adequate food and clothing locally for the children of these workers while in the area; and the matter of their health and the provision of adequate sanitation are all definite administrative problems. It is impossible to plan a long-time program to look after these people since their migratory habits are steadfast.

I am sorry to report that this office has had no opportunity to measure the relative opportunity of these migrant children to secure the benefits of public education and to compare this relative advancement with resident children. However, in the light of subjective reports which are available, we find that at least 90 percent of children from these migrant families are poorly fed and clothed, and greatly retarded in their education work and are bound to become an ever-increasing social problem of our society. We do not believe that the solution of their problems is a matter which can be handled completely through the various State agencies. It is of such magnitude that its solution must be attempted through our national agencies.

I trust that this information will be of some help to you. I can assure you that I am extremely interested in any solution to the problem which you might be able to offer. If I can be of further service to you in this matter, please feel free to call upon me at any time.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Grace J. Corrigan,
Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Dr. Rowell. I wish to introduce a letter from the California State Relief Administration.

(The letter is as follows:)

California State Relief Administration,
San Francisco, September 4, 1940.

Mr. E. J. Rowell,
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Rowell: In answer to your request for information regarding the transient problem as met by the State relief administration, I submit the following which I believe is pertinent to the situation.

The State relief administration is at present enforcing the residence requirements as outlined in senate bill No. 90, namely:

"Section 10 (a). None of the appropriation made by this act shall be expended for the relief of any person who:

"(1) Has not either (i) lived continuously in this State for 5 years, if he began to live in the State of California after June 1, 1940, or (ii) lived continuously in the State of California for 3 years, if he began to live in the State of California on or before June 1, 1940; or

"(2) Has lost his residence by remaining away from this State for an uninterrupted period of 1 year.

"Within the meaning of this subdivision (a), time spent in a public institution or on parole therefrom is to be disregarded in determining the period of residence in this State. Absence from the State for labor or other special or temporary purposes does not occasion loss of residence.

"(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of subdivision (a), the appropriation made by this act may be expended for the relief of any person who:

"(1) On February 18, 1940, (i) is receiving or has received relief from the relief administrator and the relief commission or (ii) is certified or has been certified to the Work Projects Administration or its predecessor by the relief administrator and the relief commission, and

"(2) Has not left the State with intent to reside elsewhere, and

"(3) Has not remained away from the State for a period of 1 year.

(c) Notwithstanding the provisions of subdivision (a), the appropriation shall be available for relief pending transportation, but not to exceed 30 days, and for the costs of transportation of a nonresident to any State in which he resides. Every nonresident, who has once received assistance under this subdivision (c), or subdivision (c) of section 9 of chapter 12 of the Statutes of 1940, shall not be granted further assistance from the appropriation made by this act."

The State relief commission has interpreted the policies of this bill and submitted to us Social Service Memorandum 102—Revised from the State office as follows:

"D. Residence requirements:

"1. No family or individual is eligible for assistance who has not resided continuously in the State for a period of at least 3 years with intent to make it his home or who has lost his residence by remaining away from the State for an uninterrupted period of 1 year.

"2. Time spent in a public institution or on parole therefrom is to be disregarded in determining the period of residence in this State. Absence from the State for labor or for special or temporary purposes does not occasion loss of residence.

"Notwithstanding the above provisions, relief may be extended to any person as continued case or reopening who on February 18, 1940, was receiving or had received relief from the State relief administration, or who was certified or had been certified to the Work Projects Administration, by the State relief administration.

"However, those who were eligible as of February 18, 1940, would lose their eligibility for relief if they have left the State with intent to reside elsewhere and/or have remained away from the State for a period of 1 year.

"3. No persons without residence for 3 years, who are not covered by section D–2, above, may be accepted for relief beyond a 30-day period pending a possible return to legal residence. If, for any reason, the family cannot be returned after relief has been extended for 30 days, the case must be closed and only be reactivated for transportation and subsistence en route. Upon presentation of residence verification, transportation costs, including subsistence en route, may be provided for returning the nonresident to any State where he may have residence. Every nonresident who has once received relief and/or transportation since February 24, 1940 (nonresident), shall not again be granted relief of transportation by the State relief administration."

The procedure used in handling these cases is similar to that used in handling regular applicants for relief. Before accepting a nonresident case for temporary care, need must be established; there must be an employable member of the family who is available for employment; and, if an alien, he or she must prove either that entry was legal if subsequent to July 1, 1934, or that entry was made prior to July 1, 1934. If identifying information reveals the applicant would fall in the transient group, he is assigned to a special worker for an interview.

1. Unattached employable able-bodied men are rejected.
2. Unemployable single men are referred to the public welfare department.
3. Families, single women, and boys 18 to 21, who are apparently residents of another State and who are otherwise eligible as to need, employability, and alien status, are given temporary relief (maximum 30 days) and a wire is dispatched requesting an authorization for return to place of legal residence. Upon receipt of an answer authorizing return, transportation, including food in transit, is provided.
4. Federal homeless. If applicant reports having no legal residence an attempt is made to establish residence through correspondence and efforts are made to secure temporary assistance from private agencies. Should correspondence result in successfully establishing a community of residence the agency is informed and client is referred back to the State relief intake office where return transportation is arranged.

Two cases, selected from an average Federal transient monthly intake of 60 applications, will serve to illustrate the foregoing.

George Britton and his 13-year-old daughter first applied to us for relief July 15, 1940. They stated at that time that they had come to California from Lawrence County, Pa. Mr. Britton was employed as an auto mechanic until June 1939. During the following year he received intermittent employment in his occupation and decided to come to California during July 1940 with friends who were financially unable to assist. Immediately following their arrival in San Francisco it was necessary for Mr. Britton to apply for assistance.

We wired Pennsylvania for authorization and received residence verification and authorization to return the family July 19, 1940. Relief was paid through the 29th but family returned on July 25, 1940.

Francisco and Juana Colon and three children, ages 9, 10, and 14 years, left Coamo, Puerto Rico, because Mr. Colon, a vegetable and fruit peddler, had grown tired of living there. The family came to San Francisco where he had friends who had written him regarding San Francisco.

Correspondence initiated resulted in return authorization being received June 10, 1940, and the family returned to Puerto Rico June 28, 1940.

The following case cites the problem of handling a complex residence situation under Senate bill No. 90.

On May 14 Frank and Margaret Heacock applied for assistance for themselves and 13-year-old daughter. A wire dispatched to Minneapolis, Minn., requesting authorization to return the family was answered: "Frank Heacock does not have legal settlement in Minneapolis. Letter follows." The letter revealed that Mr. Heacock had been in the Veterans' Camp, McCloud, Minn., from October 16, 1937, to December 16, 1939. In enlisting he gave his address as La Porte City, Iowa, where he had been employed December 1936 to July 1937. He was also in the State Transient Camp at Savage, Minn., from September 15, 1937, to October 13, 1937. Although Mr. Heacock had resided in Minnesota from February 1930 to January 1940, authorization to return family could not be obtained because of legal technicalities.

Mr. Heacock came to California with the idea of receiving medical assistance through the facilities of the Veterans' Administration, but was refused as he was not service-connected. On May 27 he slashed his wrists with a razor and was committed to Stockton State Hospital.

Relief was extended Mrs. Heacock from June 5 to July 4. The Catholic Charities secured a position for her on July 1 and agreed to assist until first pay check was received.

I trust that this information may serve your purpose.

Yours sincerely,

EDWIN JAMES COOLEY,
State Relief Administrator, Director for San Francisco Bay Area.

(The following statement was received and accepted for the record, subsequent to the hearings in San Francisco:)

STATEMENT ON AGRICULTURAL MIGRATORY WORKERS BY MRS. F. E. SHOTWELL, SUPERVISOR, MIGRANT WORK, WESTERN AREA, COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The work of the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Home Missions Council pioneered in serving the migratory farm laborers. It was this Protestant Church agency which first saw the need in 1920 and established centers on the east coast to take care of small children while the mothers worked in the fields and canneries. This work extended into recreational activities and a service to the entire family. In 1924 the first work was established on the west coast in Oregon, when centers for small children were established. In 1926 the attention of the council was turned to California. Thus the organization has a background which antedates the colossal migrant problems of the Pacific coast today. Its program was established before the trek westward of American families, driven by drought, dust, and depression to come to the Pacific Coast States, where agriculture had developed to a proportion of diversified crops never before known and dependent upon a migrant group for its harvest.

This rather sudden migration naturally found great groups of families gathered together in unsanitary and ill-suited housing, so the council turned its attention to health, sanitation, and medical care, establishing a program in Oregon, Washington, Arizona, and California. The nursing service was established. Nurses follow the crops, just as the migrants do, and move from five to seven times yearly. They visit in the homes, give instruction in health and sanitation, both to groups and to individuals, and cooperate with civic and governmental agencies in trying to combat the health menace of the situation. Here again the council pioneered, since nurses under this organization were established long before States or counties established a nursing service. Growers are so appreciative of this work that they contribute to the support of the nurses who serve their camps.

Realizing that one of the hardships of these uprooted people from the Central States was their lack of contact with community life, the council established still another service. The majority of these folks lived in small communities formerly and were members of the Protestant Church. Council ministers now travel much in the fashion of the old circuit rider of earlier days, visit in the homes, distribute magazines, Gospels and New Testaments, and hold Sunday schools and church services. Latent talent and new talent is developed, and groups organized by council workers often carry on their program once it is established.

The program and purpose of the council may be outlined as follows:

1. Aims of missionary nursing service—
   - To develop Christian character.
   - To improve standards of living.
   - To safeguard health by teaching modern measures of control of contagious and communicable diseases.
   - To help the migrant to become an integral part of the community in which he is working.
2. A social and religious ministry.
   - To develop a religious ministry.
   - To establish a recreation and social program.
   - To discover and train leadership within local and migrant communities.
   - To list the support, interest, and cooperation of local churches, organizations, and agencies.
3. The extension of special projects such as vacation schools, day nurseries, and centers, as the situations require.

DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

Throughout its existence, the council has viewed its program from the standpoint of a demonstration. Special projects are established with the idea that their effectiveness and value, not only to the migrants but to the community, shall be so impressive that local groups will rally and take responsibility either in part or in full. This has worked out encouragingly in every type of work. Nursery schools and centers for children, established in years past by the council, are now entirely in the hands of the communities. It has already been stated that the council first demonstrated the need and value of a nursing service. The pastoral ministry has perhaps demonstarted to the residents in migrant sections more than any other service their responsiblity toward these unrooted people. He labors not only with the migrants but with the churches and other organizations adjacent to camps, and the results over the comparatively short period of time are amazing. He succeeds in bridging the gap between the settled communities and the camps in establishing contacts which are very beneficial to the well-being of these bewildered people, cut off as they are from all community and church activity. It has been demonstrated that he can spend a few months in a community and establish a program of social and religious activity which will be carried on by local residents after he has gone on to other fields.

Perhaps the two most effective things being done by the council is (1) demonstration work which interests a gradually widening circle to effectively serve the situations involved; and (2) its ability to help establish a more generous, less biased, and better-informed attitude between resident individuals and established organizations and the migratory farm laborers. The fact that the program was established before the situation became so acute, and from its very nature, the council has done much toward mitigating prejudices and promoting friendly relations and effective cooperation between groups formerly antagonistic.

(The following statement by R. W. Henderson was received subsequent to the hearing and submitted for the record:)

MEMORANDUM ON PROSECUTION FOR BRINGING INDIGENTS INTO STATE OF CALIFORNIA, BY R. W. HENDERSON

To the Committee of the House of Representatives Investigating Migratory Labor Problems.

GENTLEMEN: I wish to lay before you certain information concerning prosecutions in Tulare County for a violation of a State statute making it a penal offense knowingly to bring indigents into the State.

These prosecutions and the sentences imposed seem to me to run counter to American traditions of equality before the law and the administration of justice. I have not had occasion to investigate the court records of many cases, but from the newspapers and personal information, I know that the cases hereinafter referred to are typical.

The statute in question reads as follows:

"2615. WILLFUL ACT A MISDEMEANOR. Every person, firm, or corporation or officer or agent thereof that brings or assists in bringing into the State any indigent person who is not a resident of the State, knowing him to be an indigent person, is guilty of a misdemeanor" (sec. 2615, Welfare and Institutions Code of the State of California).

A typical complaint is the one against the Jones boys, which was as follows:

"In the Justice's Court of Visalia Township, County of Tulare, State of California. *The People of the State of California, Plaintiff,* vs. *L. D. Jones, W. K. Jones, and William Ensminger, Defendants.* Criminal Complaint. Personally appeared before me, A. H. Kincaid, who, first being duly sworn, complains and says: That L. D. Jones, W. K. Jones, and William Ensminger on or about the 8th day of November, A. D. 1939, and before the filing of this Complaint, at the Township of Visalia, County of Tulare, State of California, did wilfully bring into the State of California certain indigent persons, to wit: Andrew Atkins Minnie Atkins, Frank Ensminger, Mary Ensminger, Leon Ensminger, Ivry Ensminger, Bobby Ensminger, and Delores Ensminger, all of said indigent persons not being residents of this State and said defendants well knowing said persons to be indigents, all of which is contrary to the form of the Statutes in such cases, made and provided and against the peace and dignity of the People of the State of California. Said complainant therefore prays that a warrant be issued for the arrest of said defendants, and that they may be dealt with according to law. A. H. Kincaid. Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of November 1939. Gareth W. Houk, Justice of the Peace of said Visalia Township. Attest Jeannette Lindman, Clerk" [seal].

It will be noted from this complaint that several of the persons brought into the State were relations of the defendant, Ensminger. As I understand the facts, the Joneses were in Oklahoma and intending to return to California. An arrangement was made with Atkins, whereby Mr. Atkins was to pay for part of the gas used on the trip from Oklahoma to California. Mr. Atkins, who made this arrangement, left the party and disappeared at about the time they entered the State. The sentence imposed in the case is typical. It reads as follows:

"WHEREFORE, it is by this court ordered and adjudged, that for said offense, you, L. D. Jones and W. K. Jones, the said defendants be imprisoned in the county jail of said Tulare County for a period of 6 months, suspended for 2 years on condition defendants immediately return to their homes in Oklahoma and also return all parties named as indigents in the complaint on file therein to their homes in Oklahoma at once and have some police officer or official in their home town in Oklahoma advise the court of their arrival there. Said defendants and said indigents are to remain out of the State of California for a period of 2 years. Done in open court this 30th day of November 1939. Gareth W. Houk, Justice of the Peace."

This is taken verbatim from the record of the justice court of Visalia Township, Tulare County, Calif.

The Adkins, finding conditions in California unsatisfactory, returned to their homes. The Jones brothers, each of whom had a wife in Tulare County, after working in various places outside the county of Tulare, returned to that county. They were, of course, in constant apprehension of being arrested for violation of the terms of their parole. Through their friends they applied to me for assistance. I told them that I believed that the statute in question was unconstitutional and that if they were willing their case could be used as a test case. I went with them to Justice of the Peace Houck at Visalia, and they stated to the justice that they intended to remain in Tulare County. The justice of the peace said that inasmuch as the Adkins had left the State the purpose of the prosecution had been satisfied and he refused to revoke the probation.

On November 15, 1939, a complaint was filed in Orosi Township against Morris and Rankin, which charged them with bringing Dorothy, Billy, and Howard Morris, indigents, into the State. The defendant Myrtle Morris was the mother of the three minor children mentioned in the complaint. She was a widow and had been self-supporting. Of course, she had no alternative but to plead guilty. On November 20, 1939, a complaint was signed in the justice court of Tulare Township accusing Richard Ochoa of bringing certain indigents into the State, namely, Ponciano Borazo, Jim Borazo, Julia Ramos, Alice Ramos, Betty Ramos, and Rudolph Ramos. It appears that these two families are relatives of Ochoa. A doctor in Phoenix, Ariz., advised them that they should take one of the children to California for its health. They came to Tulare County, and Ochoa was arrested on the above-mentioned complaint. He pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment, and his sentence was suspended on condition that he take these people outside the State. He had no money to provide for their transportation, and the people in question refused to leave the State. Thereupon Ochoa was arrested and brought before the justice of the peace of Tulare Township. The justice stated that Ochoa would be released if the people in question would leave the State. The people tsated that they had no money to pay for the transportation to leave the State, and that they did not want to leave the State. Whereupon Ochoa was remanded to the custody of the sheriff of Tulare County. I filed a petition for writ of habeas corpus in the superior court of Tulare County challenging the validity of the statute. After oral argument and the filing of briefs, Judge Stanley Murray of Madera County, sitting in the superior court of Tulare County, held the statute constitutional and dismissed the writ. I then filed a petition for writ of habeas corpus in the district court of appeals at San Diego, Calif. (fourth appellate district). The court granted a writ but before the sheriff could be served, Ochoa was released on parole.

These are but a few of the innumerable cases which were brought in Tulare County during 1939. So far as my information goes there have been no prosecutions in that county since I appeared in the justice court of Visalia Township on the *Jones Brothers case*, and in the superior court in the *Ochoa case*. My attempt to test the constitutionality of the law in the higher courts has thus failed.

From he above facts it appears that in Tulare County poverty is a crime if you cross the State line. The right of citizens to move from one State to another is to be conditioned upon their possession of worldly goods—a right denied to the poor. The sentences imposed in the cases above referred to indicate that the authorities did not believe that they were punishing criminal offenses. They were using the statute to regulate the movement of indigent migrants.

The victims of these prosecutions were, of course, unable to employ counsel. The filing of the charge was equivalent to a conviction. The statute and its enforcement are founded upon the most vicious principles of class discrimination. These matters are worthy of the consideration of all public-spirited citizens independently of any question of constitutional law involved. I attach hereto a copy of my brief in the *Edwards case* for the information of the committee.

Respectfully submitted.

R. W. Henderson,
Attorney at Law,
Bakersfield, Calif.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF YUBA

People, Plaintiff and Respondent, vs. Fred F. Edwards, Defendant and Appellant

Brief for Kern County Branch of American Civil Liberties Union, as Amicus Curiae

Our sole contention in this case is that the statute for a violation of which appellant was convicted is invalid. Section 2615 of the Welfare and Institutions Code reads as follows:

"2615. Willful act a misdemeanor. Every person, firm, or corporation, or officer, or agent thereof that brings or assists in bringing into the State any indigent person who is not a resident of the State, knowing him to be an indigent person, is guilty of a misdemeanor."

Under any possible construction of the statute it is an unlawful interference with foreign commerce. The statute applies to bringing indigents into the State, whether from foreign countries or from other States. The complaint does not specify whether the indigents were brought in from Mexico by way of the Pacific Ocean or from a State adjoining California.

Article I, section 8, subdivision 3 of the Constitution of the United States provides "Congress shall have power—to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes."

In *The State* v. *S. S. Constitution* (42 Calif. 572), the court said:

"Whatever doubts may originally have existed in respect to the concurrent power of Congress and the several States over this subject, it is now well settled that when Congress undertakes by its legislation to regulate a particular branch of our foreign commerce, its authority in this respect is paramount, and is exclusive of all action by the several States on that particular subject."

The court in this case cites and follows the earlier case of *People* v. *Raymond* (34 Calif. 495). In that case a State statute imposing a tax was held unconstitutional because in conflict with Federal legislation upon the same subject. Since the decision of the Steamship Constitution case Congress has fully covered the subject of the admission of undesirable aliens (U. S. Code, title 8, sec. 133).

"The following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: * * * (B) Paupers * * * (I) Persons likely to become public charges" (*Gegiow* v. *Uhl* 239 U. S. 3).

Whatever else may be said concerning the statute, it is difficult to see any weakness in the above argument.

II. THE WORD "INDIGENT" AS USED IN THE STATUTE IS TOO INDEFINITE TO SUPPLY A REASONABLE TEST UNDER POLICE POWER

The dictionaries and the courts have loosely stated that the word "indigent" is synonymous with "pauper," "poor person," or "needy person." For illustrations of the definitions of these terms see the note to *Peabody* v. *Town of Holland* (98 A. L. R. 866). (See also 48 Cor. Jur. 428, Test and Notes.)

The word "pauper" seems to be more definite in its meaning than the word "indigent." However, even the word "pauper" has not a sufficiently definite meaning to guide us in cases of this kind. In the case above cited from A. L. R. it was held that the condition of the person relieved did not of itself establish his right to poor relief, and that he could not be classed as a pauper until relief had been granted by the popular constituted legal authority.

It has been said that adult persons of sound mind cannot be made paupers against their will and to constitute pauper supplies the supplies must have been applied for or received with a full knowledge of their nature (*Bucksport* v. *Cushing* (69 Me. 224); *Sheboygan Co.* v. *Sheboygan Falls* (130 Wis. 93, 109 N. W. 1030).)

Families of absent soldiers in the service of the United States when standing in need of assistance do not incur the disability of paupers by receiving supplies from the cities or towns where such soldiers reside at the time of their enlistment (*Veesey* v. *China* (50 Me. 518), and *Amos* v. *Smith* (51 Me. 602).)

It has frequently been said (see cases last above cited) that one cannot be made a pauper against his will. In this sense the word "pauper" is limited to those entitled to receive and actually receive poor relief, but even in such cases all persons receiving poor relief are not paupers. See two cases last above cited.

The word "indigent" or indigent person includes those who are not paupers. It has been held that a Confederate soldier who from poverty or from age or infirmity is unable to provide for himself is within a statute relating to relief of "indigent persons" although he has a parent or child able and willing to support him and does not come within the statute making provisions for paupers (*Clark* v. *Walton* (137 Ga. 277, 73 S. E. 293)).

In the case of *Goodall* v. *Bright* (11 Cal. App. (2) 540) the court was called upon to construe the phrase "indigent persons in need of hospitalization." It was held that a person who had not sufficient means after providing for those dependent upon him to pay the charges of commercial hospitalization was entitled to hospitalization under the statute.

The word "indigent" occurs several times in the Welfare and Institutions Code. It is nowhere defined. Section 2500 of that code provides as follows:

"2500. PERSONS TO WHOM DUTY EXTENDS.—Every county and every city and county shall relieve and support all incompetent, poor, indigent persons and those incapacitated by age, disease, or accident, lawfully resident therein, when such persons are not supported and relieved by their relatives or friends, or by their own means, or by State hospitals, or private institutions."

"Indigent persons" are but one class of those who are to receive relief. In *Gegiow* v. *Uhl* (239 U. S. 3), the Federal immigration statutes provided "for the exclusion of paupers" and persons "likely to become public charges." The aliens arrived at the port of San Francisco intending to go to Portland, Oreg., to seek employment. The Commissioner of Immigration found that due to the congestion of the labor market at Portland the immigrants would probably not secure employment and he therefore held that they were likely "to become public charges." The Supreme Court of the United States ordered the aliens admitted, saying that the conditions of the labor market could not justify a finding that persons were likely to become public charges. The Supreme Court also pointed out that the word "pauper" is to be distinguished from a person likely to become a public charge.

If the State may constitutionally exclude persons on the ground that their admission will injuriously affect the public health, peace, or welfare, the words "indigent persons" are not sufficiently definite to bring the class so described within the class which thus may be excluded.

III. EXCLUSION OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM ENTERING A STATE IS CONTRARY TO THE DUE-PROCESS CLAUSE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

Sir William Blackstone said in his Commentaries of the Law of England, book I, of the Rights of Persons, pages 134 (p. 86 of vol. I, Cooley's edition):

"II. Next to personal security, the law of England regards, asserts, and preserves, the personal liberty of individuals; this personal liberty consists in the power of locomotion, of changing situation, or moving one's person to whatsoever place one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law."

Willoughby, in his treaties on The Constitution of the United States puts it succinctly as follows:

"By the mere act of taking up residence within a State, which the State cannot prevent, a Federal citizen, ipso facto, becomes a citizen of the State * * *. The Federal Constitution fixes that once for all" (vol. I, p. 345).

The carriage of a person from one State to another is interstate commerce whether it be free or for hire (*Cammenetti* v. *U. S.* (242 U. S. 470).

The Arizona alien-labor law forbidding an employer of eight or more persons to employ over a certain percentage of aliens, was held to violate the fourteenth amendment in *Truax* v. *Raich* (239 U. S. 53).

A statute of the State of Nebraska forbidding the teaching of foreign languages was held to violate the right of teachers to pursue a lawful calling (*Meyer* v. *Nebraska* (262 U. S. 390)).

"The liberty mentioned in that amendment [the fourteenth] means the right of the citizen to live and work where he will" (*Allgeyer* v. *Louisiana* (165 U. S. 578, 589)).

In *Hague* v. *C. I. O.* (101 F. (2d) 774, 307 U. S. 496), the mayor of Jersey City objected to citizens of other States agitating in New Jersey. The Federal courts held that citizens of New York had the same right as the citizens of New Jersey.

The Articles of Confederation provided (art. IV):

"The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States."

The founding fathers, however, omitted all exceptions save and except that the Constitution provided for the extradition of fugitives from justice.

The Constitution of the United States was adopted to do away with the petty rivalries and jealousies beween the several States. In recent years the spirit of localism has revived. "Trade-at-home campaigns" have become almost as militant as "Buy American." In New York it was proposed that a certain percent of pari-mutual employees must be citizens of New York. John Kieran, whose voice on Information Please is known to every radio addict, commented as follows in the New York Times of March 13, 1940:

"How far can we go in that direction? If it's a fundamentally sound principle it should be carried out in all directions. Get after the lawyers who go to court in New York City but live in New Jersey. Shoo away the writers who sell stories in New York City but live amid the wild reaches of Connecticut. Check upon the big butter and egg men, the salesmen in shoe stores, the butchers and bakers and candlestick makers. If there are too many undesirable aliens from New Jersey working in a big New York department store, heave out the excess of interlopers and throw the president of the concern into the calaboose. If the New York newspaper has an excess of reporters residing in Connecticut, picket the printery.

"After that's settled, the residential employment struggle can get down to ordinances protecting residents of one city against invaders from a nearby city and finally it would be a street-to-street struggle * * *. A man would have to live in the street in which he worked."

In Fortune for February 1940, in an article entitled "The U. S. A. * * * This Enigmatic, Paradoxical, the Greatest Nation on Earth * * *. What Is the Secret of Its Wealth?", the author points out that the vast extent of our country and the absence of economic barriers among the several States and between the different sections have given this country its unique position. "If the political boundaries of our States coincided with the economic boundaries, then the area now known as the United States would be far less potent, far less rich than it is. Then New England would be struggling for food, and in the Northwest an automobile would be as rare as in other agricultural countries that have difficulty accumulating foreign exchange * * *.

"This action is like that within a huge retort in which dissimilar substances mix and compound to create a new substance greater than the sum of its component parts. That new substance is what we know as the U. S. A. This is why the United States has become great * * *.

"And it is significant that all the serious problems that now confront the United States are problems of abundance, not poverty. They are problems of maintaining a high standard of living; of an overwhelming desire to keep democracy and make it work, even at the price of suffering."

We may become annoyed with the influx of the populations of other States. In our annoyance we may slap out at somebody who has contributed to this influx. If, however, we understand the underlying forces in American civilization, we will realize that no petty attempt to punish someone for bringing undesirables into this State will solve any problem. Students of constitutional law will understand that the principles that have actuated America's development as a single nation have now become part of our fundamental law and that our constitutional system will not tolerate the provincial spirit which has stimulated the statute in question, or the inaccurate language in which it has been phrased.

Respectfully submitted.

KERN COUNTY BRANCH OF AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,
By R. W. HENDERSON, *Attorney.*

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned.

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